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THOROUGHLY REVISED AND IN GREAT PART RE-WRITTEN

BY ARTHUR HASSALL, M.A.

CENSOR OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

WITH A CHAPTER ON ANCIENT GAUL

BY F. HAVERFIELD, M.A.

STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD



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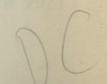
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PREFACE.

THE following Work has been written by an English scholar long resident in France, and intimately acquainted with its literature and history. It is intended, like the preceding works in the same series, to supply a long acknowledged want in our literature, namely, a HISTORY OF FRANCE, incorporating the researches of recent historians, and suitable for the higher forms in Schools and for Students at the Universities. It is unnecessary to point out the importance of a knowledge of French history to every one who aspires to a liberal education; but it may not be amiss to remind the reader that the true meaning and effect of the drama of the Revolution, of which we have not yet seen the catastrophe, can be understood only by a far deeper study of the previous condition and history of France than most of our countrymen are disposed to undertake.

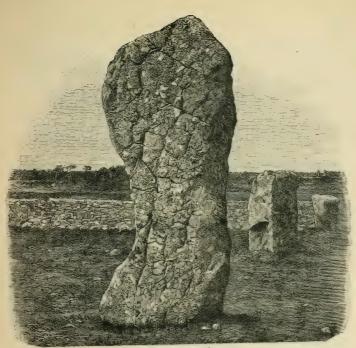
With respect to the execution of the work, it has been the aim of the Author to present a perspicuous view of the events of French history, from the very commencement of the nation down to the present time, avoiding as far as possible the dryness of an epitome, and presenting something more than a chronicle of mere facts and dates. An attempt has been made to draw the portraiture of every important historical character, and to include in a rapid and condensed narrative all the chief transactions, whether political, military, or ecclesiastical, which have marked the varying fortunes of the nation. Many of the most interesting questions connected with the

history, government, and institutions of the country, are discussed at considerable length in the "Notes and Illustrations," which, it is believed, will be found of great service to the student. Copious references to the best authorities are likewise given, with the view of assisting him in prosecuting further inquiries.

The literature of France is particularly rich in works upon French history; but it would be impossible in the limits of a Preface to enumerate all the authorities that have been consulted in drawing up the present narrative. The writer on whom the chief reliance has been placed is Henri Martin, the most valuable of all the French historians, whether we regard his scrupulous fidelity and accuracy, or the breadth and liberality of his views. Constant use has also been made of the works of Velly and Villaret, Sismondi, Anquetil, and Lavallée. In the earlier times the chief authorities followed have been Guizot, the two Thierrys, and Lehuerou, as well as the recent work of Bordier and Charton, which has been found extremely useful.

In conclusion it may be observed, that it has been the earnest endeavour of the Author to avoid the capital error of writing the History of France from an English point of view, a course which cannot fail to convey an unjust conception of the institutions, government, habits, and character of the people. What is needed is an impartial, genial, and even sympathetic account of French history. This has been the principle upon which the Work has been undertaken; but with what success it has been carried out is for competent critics to decide.

In this new Edition the narrative is continued to the Fall of the Second Empire in 1870 and the end of the war with Germany in the following year. The Third Republic is still too much involved in the unsettled issues of passing events to be a fit subject for History.



Le Géant de Ménec-Carnac.

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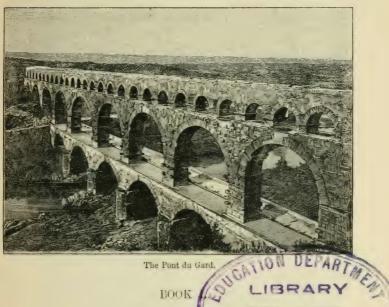
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HISTORY OF FRANCE.



The Pont du Gard. ANCIENT WAUL DEC 6 1909 B.C. 121-A.D. 387

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE TIME OF THE ROMAN CONQUEST TO THE RISE OF THE MEROVINGIANS, B.C. 121-A.D. 481.

§ 1. The Gauls: their civilization. § 2. Druidism. § 3. Germans and others in Gaul. § 4. Early Roman conquest. § 5. Casar. § 6. The Work of Augustus. § 7. Gaul under the early Empire: Romanization. § 8. Attacks of the Barbarians; the fourth century. § 9. Rise of Barbarian kingdoms after 407. § 10. Battle of Chalons. § 11. Character of the Barbarian conquests. § 12. Roman elements which survived: language, cities, land-system, Christianity.

THE history of France may be divided into two periods, the first rather more, the second rather less, than a thousand years in length. The first commences at the beginning of the Roman conquest (B.C. 121), when we obtain our earliest real knowledge of the country, and ends in A.D. 987. During this period the country was

FRANCE.

occupied by Gauls, Romans, and Germans, and France (as we now use that name, did not yet exist. The second period embraces the history of France proper down to the present day. In it we trace the fortunes of a State called France, with a capital at Paris, which first took shape as the kingdom of Hugh Capet in A.D. 987, and, after various changes, has now become the French Republic. These two periods, though distinct, are not unconnected. Modern France is like a great house built out of older houses which have stood on its site before it. The elements which compose it are principally derived from the Gaul, the Roman, or the German, and the first period of its history is therefore, in some sense, a preparation for the second. The following chapter will deal with the Gauls and the Romans under five headings: the character of the Gauls at the time of the Roman conquest, the rise, continuance and fall of the Roman rule in the country, and, lastly, the results upon the later history of France.

I. THE GAULS.

§ 1. When we first obtain definite knowledge about the country, we find it occupied by Gauls. The Romans, who conquered it between B.C. 121 and 49, described it as Gallia (Gaul), and its inhabitants as Galli (Gauls). Sometimes they spoke of it as Gallia Transalpina, in order to distinguish it from Gallia Cisalpina, which was northern Italy; it became, however, so much more important than Cisalpine Gaul, that it was ordinarily known simply as Gaul. In area it included all the lands between the Alps, the Rhine, the Pyrenees, and the Ocean; in other words, it included not only what now is France, but also Belgium, Alsace, and Switzerland.

The Gauls belonged to the group of Celtic races, that is, the races which spoke one or other of the Celtic languages. We find Celts in many parts of ancient Europe. Some invaded Italy, sacked Rome in B.C. 390, and settled in the fertile plains of northern Italy, hence called Gallia Cisalpina. Others penetrated to Britain, bringing with them the languages which have become Welsh, Erse, Gaelic. Others, with whom we are specially concerned, found homes in Gaul. Some centuries before our history begins, they entered the country; they conquered the earlier inhabitants whom they found in possession, amalgamated with them, and thus formed the Gaulish people which occupied most of Gaul at the time of the Roman conquest. This people was not a pure-blooded Gaulish race, but it spoke the Gaulish language and may generally be called by that name.

This people, when the Romans entered the country, was a nationality rather than a nation. It had no political unity and did not form one State. Instead, it was divided into eighty or ninety

independent tribes or clans, which varied greatly in size; the largest (it has been computed) numbered half a million persons, the smallest barely fifty thousand. The tribes were ruled by kings or, more commonly, by magistrates annually elected by the free tribesmen; but the chief power was in the hands of a hereditary aristocracy of nobles, the rich, warlike, and dominant class. These nobles owned the land; they also possessed crowds of slaves and of clients—free men (that is) who submitted themselves to some noble lord, served him in war, and were in turn protected by him. The more powerful among the nobles could levy small armies from these dependents, and thus violently override the lawful government. Cæsar mentions one who, when summoned to take his trial for treason, appeared before his judges with ten thousand men: the trial was not completed.

The civilization of Gaul varied in the different districts. It was most advanced on the south coast, where the Gauls met Greek traders, and learnt from them the use of letters and of coined money. It was least advanced in the north, where fierce Belgic tribes lived amid vast forests, now part of Belgium. Most Gaulish tribes were civilized enough to possess towns, but these towns were merely market centres and had no municipal institutions. The population, as a whole, did not live in them, but pursued agriculture in scattered homesteads, and there was little either of town or of village life. Various handicrafts were practised in various districts; in particular the Gauls were celebrated for metal work and for their skill in the art of enamelling, of which they were thought to have been the discoverers. There was trade also along the natural highways provided by the great rivers, Rhone, Loire, Seine, by which the products of the north-including British tin-were conveyed to the Mediterranean; there were roads also and bridges. But the Gauls were not really civilized when the Romans conquered them. They had no political unity, no organized military system, no real city life, no coherence for trade or other peaceful purposes. The essence of civilized society is cohesion, organisation, union; the Gauls did not possess these qualities.

§ 2. One other feature of Gaulish society remains to be noticed, a feature so strange, so striking, that it has always arrested attention although it has in reality little historical importance. This is the remarkable Order of priests called Druids. They possessed such power that Cæsar classed them with the nobles as the two most potent influences in Gaulish society; but they differed from the nobles in one important respect—they took no part in politics, they exercised no political power. Under one chief priest they formed a priestly hierarchy of various ranks, which met once a year at a place near to the centre of Gaul. Admission to the order was not

obtained by birth, but after long training. Their duties were threefold. First, they were the only priests in Gaul: no religious ceremony was possible without the presence of a Druid. They offered sacrifices, interpreted omens, and professed to kill or cure by magic. In particular, they practised a barbarous rite of sacrificing living men for the safety or recovery from illness of great nobles, and they were suspected of taking omens from the entrails of human victims. In the second place, they were keepers of special doctrines, embodied in verse and handed down by memory from generation to generation. One of these doctrines, according to Casar, showed that men's souls did not perish at death, but passed into other bodies. Thirdly, the Druids were instructors of youth; they were also informal judges, who administered justice to such as sought it, and enforced their decisions by excommunication, not by the arm of the law. They possessed many privileges, notably exemption from taxation and military service, and were, doubtless, socially influential, but their supremacy never extended to politics, and they played no part in the history of their country. They existed not only in Gaul, but also among the British Celts. Cæsar, indeed, was told that Druidism had been introduced into Gaul from Britain.

§ 3. Besides the Gauls, three other peoples were represented in Gaul, Iberians, Germans, and Greeks. The Iberians lived in Aquitania, far down in the south-west, beneath the shadows of the Pyrenees. They were fragments of a forgotten people which had dwelt in Gaul before the Gauls, and had maintained a distinct existence only in the shelter of the mountains. Their representatives, the Basques, survive to this day in the western valleys of the Pyrenees, and still speak a strange language which may be a relic of older days.

The Germans were new-comers, invaders from beyond the Rhine, in quest of warmer and more fertile lands. Less civilized than the Gauls, they were better fighting men, and, at the time when Cæsar went to Gaul (B.C. 58), were threatening to overrun the whole country. It was the work of Cæsar, and after him of the empire, to keep them back; when the empire fell they poured in afresh, and a part of them, the Franks, gave a new name to Gaul, its name of France.

The Greeks in Gaul were traders, citizens of the merchant city of Massilia (Marseilles), which adventurous Phocæans had founded in the dim dawn of history (B.C. 600?), on a magnificent harbour near the mouth of the Rhone. Here, in this far-away corner of the Mediterranean, six hundred miles west of any other Greek city, Greek life and trade flourished. Massilia ruled the coast from Nice to Montpellier, and extended its sway far up the Rhone. Very early in Roman history, before Rome dreamed of conquering Gaul,

the Massiliots became Roman allies, and the alliance lasted till the days of Cæsar. At the date when our present history commences (B.C. 121), the prosperity of the city had begun to decline, and it had occasionally needed Roman aid against the Gauls; but it was still a centre for trade and for Greek life.

II. THE ROMAN CONQUEST (B.C. 121-48).

§ 4. The Roman conquest of Gaul began in B.c. 121. Roman troops and traders had shown themselves in Gaul at least a hundred years before that date, but their visits had only been occasional; the first definite occupation was in 121. Rome at that time was passing through a period of territorial expansion. Through the influence of merchants and millionaires, new 'provinces' were being annexed, new protectorates established, new roads built, and commercial rivals crushed. The first occupation of Gaul formed part of that expansion. The coast from Montpellier to the Pyrences and the adjacent interior, in other words, all south-eastern Gaul that was not Massiliot land, was annexed as the province of Gallia Narbonensis, and the annexation was followed by measures for the encouragement of trade. The seaport Narbo (Narbonne), head of a trade route to the Atlantic coast, became the capital of the new province and gave it its name, while the trade route itself, one of the routes over which British tin reached the Mediterranean, was secured by a garrison at Tolosa (Toulouse). A second garrison at Aquae Sextiae (Aix), in Massiliot territory, ensured to the Roman trader that protection against unruly Gauls which Massilia was now too weak to provide. A road from the Rhone to the Pyrenees opened communication with Spain. The natural result followed. Roman merchants swarmed in the towns of Narbonensis; Roman millionaires bought and speculated in the land, and the province was gradually extended into and up the Rhone valley. It came to include all the land between the Pyrenees, the Cevennes and the Rhone, with the upper valley of that river and a sphere of influence or protectorate beyond. It was, however, treated only as a source of wealth; no effort was made to civilize it. A 'colonia' of Roman citizens was, indeed, established in A.D. 118 at Narbo, but the step was not followed up. The native Gauls naturally and necessarily became acquainted with Roman life and manners, and doubtless imitated them, but they were not citizens of Rome nor was anything done to fit them for becoming citizens.

§ 5. Rome, so far (121-58), owned only a corner of Gaul. Caius Julius Cæsar (58-51) gave her the whole country. In eight campaigns he subdued all the lands between the Pyrenees and the Rhine, the Alps and the ocean, and his conquest was permanent.

This signal success was partly due to Casar's own qualities. He was a unique engineer, whose skill met every need, bridging the Rhine, fortifying battle-fields, blockading an enemy within miles of entrenchments. He moved with a rapidity which took no heed either of mountains, or winter snows, or searcity of food. He exercisal over his officers and men an influence like that of Napoleon or Hannibal. He was utterly indifferent to human life when it stood in his way, and pitilessly annihilated whole tribes of Gauls who opposed him. He was merciful where he saw no profit in eruelty; his elemency, no less than his ruthlessness, persuaded the less courageous and less patriotic of his enemies to accept the Roman voke. His efforts were aided, in the second place, by the condition of Gaul itself, disorganized and disunited. The native tribes, in ceaseless rivalry with one another, could offer no combined resistance. They were torn by internal seditions, by the passions and ambitions of their nobles. They possessed no military system, no trained and disciplined infantry, such as decided most ancient battles, no recognised leaders. Their struggle against Cæsar was magnificent, but it was not war.

Casar came to Gaul in B.C. 58, as governor of Narbonensis: his first year's work was to face two dangerous invasions. The Helvetii, migrating en masse from Switzerland in search of happier homes in Western Gaul, desired to pass through the Roman province. Casar refused them permission, and drove them back into Switzerland. The Germans, harrying Gaulish tribes within the Roman "sphere of influence," were routed and hurled across the Rhine. The two invasions were of different types, the former a peaceful migration of a whole people, the latter a hostile raid of fighting men. Both were crushed. The Roman proclaimed by unmistakable deeds that he alone was master in Gaul, and that no outsider should intrude. Three hundred years elapsed before any such migration or raid was repeated (circa A.D. 250). In the year 57 Cæsar commenced the conquest of Gaul. The tribes of Central Gaul were already within the Roman sphere of influence: he passed northwards and subdued the warlike Belgae. In his third campaign he appeared on the Atlantic coast (B.C. 56), acting especially against the seafaring Veneti in Brittany. By fastening sickles to poles the Roman sailors, awkward landsmen themselves, destroyed the sailing tackle of the Venetian fleet, and, in reward for a patriotic resistance, the Veneti were sold wholesale into slavery. The fourth campaign (B.C. 55) was occupied by two sensational expeditions. The first was into Germany: two German tribes had ventured over the Rhine, and Cæsar having caught them in a trap, massacred them to a man. He followed up this blow by bridging the Rhine near Coblentz, and effecting an eighteen

days' march into Germany: it was a hint that he could retaliate if Germans raided Gaul. Then he turned upon the British Celts, who, as he thought, abetted their Gaulish kinsmen in resisting the Roman arms. Starting probably from Boulogne (Gessoriācum), and landing probably near Hythe, in Kent, he made a brief raid into Kent. In B.C. 54 he repeated the expedition, and extorted from the chiefs of South-Eastern Britain a formal acknowledgment of Roman suzerainty. The suzerainty proved to be as shadowy as suzerainties usually are, but the Britons sent no further aid to the Gauls against Rome. This event concluded the first half of Cæsar's work: he had now conquered Gaul. The rest of his campaigns (54-51) were occupied in retaining his conquest. The Gauls, led by their nobles, turned fiercely upon the conqueror whose hold was tightening upon them. In the winter of B.C. 54-53 one Roman corps was surprised and annihilated by the Eburones, and another, under Quintus Cicero, brother of the orator, narrowly escaped the same fate: Cæsar, in revenge, annihilated the Eburōnes. man, woman, and child. But a more dangerous insurrection followed. In B.C. 52 the brave and chivalrous Vercingetorix, one of the greatest nobles of the Arverni (Auvergne) and hitherto friendly to Cæsar, raised the standard of general revolt, and all Gaul flocked to it. The campaign was a death wrestle round three Gaulish strongholds. Cæsar stormed Avaricum (Bourges), and left no living person within it. He was decisively beaten at Gergovia in the Auvergne (Gergovie, near Clermont). Finally, he blockaded Vercingetorix at Alesia (Alise, in the mountains of the Côte d' Or) in a circle of impregnable entrenchments and starved him into surrender. The Gaulish leader chivalrously gave himself up on behalf of his beaten countrymen: five years later (B.C. 47) Cæsar led him in his triumph through the streets of Rome, and had him executed, according to the old brutal custom, at the foot of the Capitol. The fall of Alesia was the fall of Gaul, but some tribes fought on through an eighth campaign (B.C. 51). The last place to yield was a hill fort in the south near Cahors: Cæsar ordered that its defenders should have their hands cut off and be thus dismissed to their homes. In B.C. 50 he left Gaul: early in A.D. 49 he commenced the civil war against Pompey, and we have here only one more act of his to record. Massilia had hitherto kept its freedom and territory; but in the civil war it sided with Pompey. Pompey was beaten, and Cæsar's hand fell heavily on the Massiliots. Their land was confiscated, and annexed to Gallia Narbonensis; only nominal freedom was left to them. Thus fell the last independent state in Gaul (B.C. 49).

III. THE ROMAN EMPIRE (B.C 27-CIRCA A.D. 250).

§ 6. Cæsar made the whole of Gaul subject to Rome, but he had no time to organize his conquest. After his death (B.C. 44, his work was taken up by his adepted son, Octavian, best known as Augustus, founder of the empire and first emperor. Augustus controlled Western Europe for 56 years (B.C. 42-A.D. 14): he was actually emperor for forty-one years (B.C. 27-A.D. 14), and during his long rule he changed the face of the whole Roman world. His work in Gaul may be divided under two heads, military and civil. His military work was sensational, but it ended in failure. He began by coercing Pyrenean hillmen and other remote tribes which had escaped Cæsar's arm; then he entered on a vaster enterprise, the conquest of Germany between the Rhine and the Elbe. The huge undertaking failed. In A.D. 9 the Roman general Quintilius Varus and 20,000 men were cut to pieces by the German chief, Arminius, probably near Osnabrück in one of the mosses of North-Western Germany. The disaster, following close on a savage revolt in another part of the empire, made it plain that the Roman army was not large enough for its needs. But the imperial finances could not bear the strain of increased military expenditure. Augustus, or rather his successor Tiberius, accepted the inevitable alternative; he abandoned the attempt to conquer Germany, and the Rhine remained the frontier of Roman Gaul.

The civil work of Augustus in Gaul was more important and more lasting. He organized the country, and commenced the development by which Roman civilization, speech, and citizenship spread over it. His organization was based on existing differences between Narbonensis and the rest of Gaul. Narbonensis, situated south of the Cevennes and Auvergne mountains, and enjoying a warm Mediterranean climate, was a southern land, and its inhabitants, pleasure-loving, eloquent, and susceptible to external influences, were then, as they are to-day, very unlike their northern countrymen. The province had, moreover, now been Roman dominion for a hundred years; in contrast to the rest of Gaul, it had come to be styled 'Provincia,' the province par excellence,* and it had grown familiar with Roman life. It received from Augustus a treatment corresponding to its character. The old native tribal system was dissolved: the Roman municipal system was gradually put in its place. In this system the chief feature was the city of Roman citizens, called colonia or municipium, possessing municipal government by a senate, or town council, and elected magistrates (duoviri),

^{*} Hence the modern "Provence," which, however, is east of the Rhone, where at first Massilia ruled.

and ruling a dependent territory which was often as large as an average English county. Such a colonia had been founded at Narbo in 121 B.C. Cæsar, desirous to provide homes for his time-expired veterans, had enlarged it, and had added a second colony at Areläte (Arles) on the Rhone, and Augustus and his successors founded more such municipalities. At the same time they conferred on the more civilized of the natives either the full rights of Roman citizenship, or certain privileges which closely resembled those rights. The capital of the province and the residence of the governor was at first Narbo, and afterwards the splendid colonia of Nemausus (Nîmes), whose prosperity is still attested by stately and extensive ruins.

The rest of Gaul was otherwise organized. It was, in the first place, divided into three provinces of manageable size, Aquitania, the Iberian land, in the south-west, Lugudunensis in the centre, Belgica in the north. Into these provinces, which had been conquered by Cæsar, and to which Roman civilization was still strange, the Roman city system was not introduced. The native tribes were left almost unaltered. They formed the areas for taxation and for local government, and were allowed much home rule under their great nobles, who remained the landowners and local magnates. Each tribe had its own town-centre: but the town. as before, was little more than a market, and the tribe was the important unit. Many towns were ordinarily described by the tribal names, and the modern names of these towns still record the fact; Lutetia Parisiorum, for instance, was capital of the Parisii, and is now Paris; Augusta Trevirorum was capital of the Treviri, and is now Trier. There were about sixty-four such tribes. Their common capital was Lugudunum (Lyon); hither, every August, each tribe sent its representative to the "concilium trium Galliarum," the council of the three provinces, to hold games and sacrifices in honour of Rome and the emperor, and to vote complimentary decrees for the high Roman officials of the provinces. Such councils were instituted by Augustus in most provinces of the empire, to maintain that state-worship by which he thought to bind the provincials to Rome. In Gaul the council had no political importance, but membership of it conferred considerable social distinction, and was eagerly sought by the Gaulish nobles. Lugudunum itself was more than the capital of the Gaulish tribes. It was the centre of the Roman administration. It was also a colonia, one of the very few established outside of Narbonensis, while its position at the confluence of the Rhone and Saône made it one of the greatest commercial cities in the western empire.

All four provinces were ruled, in the usual manner, by governors sent from Rome. Narbonensis was under a "proconsul," appointed

annually by the senate; for the Three Gauls, the emperor nominated three "legati pro practore" for varying periods. Each governor had a staff; there were also in Gaul Roman financial officials who collected the tribute and the various indirect taxes. such as the custom due of two and a half per cent. which was levied on all merchandise taken into or out of Gaul. But such officials were few, and the local administration was wholly entrusted to the inhabitants-in Gallia Narbonensis to the municipal magistrates, in the rest of Gaul to the native magnates. The military arrangements alone were definitely Roman and were peculiar. Except for one cohort (1000 men) at Lugudunum, there were no troops stationed in Gaul. But a large force, perhaps 100,000 strong, was massed along the eastern frontier in cantonments near the Rhine, at Castra Vetera (Xanten), at Colonia Agrippinensium (Cologne), at Moguntiācum (Mainz), at Argentorātum (Strassburg in Alsace), and elsewhere. The army thus served to overawe alike Gaulish insurgents and German invaders. The frontier districts in which it was quartered were partially detached from the civil administration and treated as a military frontier, which came in time to be known as Upper (southern) and Lower (northern) Germany.

§ 7. This organization of Gaul, due in its main features to Augustus, existed for nearly three centuries (till about A.D. 250), and during those centuries Gaul, and indeed the whole empire, had no history. They were not centuries of progress, illumined by new ideas and striking discoveries, neither were they centuries of disturbance. harassed by desperate wars and prolonged political convulsions. A profound and uneventful peace pervaded the Roman world; the government was continuous and orderly, and many districts were happier and more prosperous than they have ever been in succeeding ages. In Gaul the long peace was rarely broken. Once and again Gaulish nobles fretted under Roman rule (A.D. 23, 70); once and again Roman generals, contending for the throne, made Gaul a passing scene of civil war (A.D. 68, 197). But these troubles were few and brief. The garrisons on the Rhine overawed the wild German tribes, and were even able to add to the empire some districts east of that river in South-Western Germany, while they secured for Gaul the blessings of peace. The towns did not even need to protect themselves with walls.

Meanwhile the slow and subtle innovations of time worked almost imperceptibly a great change; we may call it the Romanization of Gaul. By the word Romanization two things are meant: first, that the provincials adopted Roman speech and civilization; secondly, that they acquired the legal position of free Roman citizens. The first of these things was, in general, a necessary preliminary to the

second, for the Pomans, like most nations, were chary of granting citizenship to men who could not speak their language or sympathize with their ways. The Romanization of Gaul proceeded most rapidly in Narbonensis, where numerous colonia formed centres of Roman life and the native Gauls became speedily fitted for citizenship. Progress was rapid also in the east, where large Roman armies occupied the fortresses of the military frontier. The womenfolk of the soldiers, the traders who supplied their wants or needed their protection, and all the "following" of the camp, dwelt under the ramparts of these fortresses and formed half-Roman settlements. Some of these settlements grew to a considerable size, and a few even acquired municipal rights; thus. Colonia Trajana arose outside the gates of Vetera, and Colonia Agrippinensium outside another fortress, now Cologne. The rest of Gaul was Romanized more slowly. Here the great nobles led the way. They were well content with the Augustan system which left them their lands and local influence, and they readily accepted Roman civilization and citizenship. Some received the citizenship from Cæsar, and bore his family name, Julius; others from succeeding emperors. After A.D. 48 many became entitled to sit in the Roman senate, and even those who fretted, Julius Sacrovir in A.D. 23, Julius Classicus and Julius Sabinus in A.D. 70, were really as much Roman as Gaul. The growth of this Romanization can be traced in various ways. Thus the tribal town centres became larger and more important, though they remained tribal centres and only one, Augusta Trevirorum, acquired the dignity of colonia. The Gaulish gods, again, were identified with the gods of Rome. The barbarous human sacrifices of the Druids were prohibited by the early emperors, and Druidism itself declined in prestige. The religion which Christianity superseded in Gaul was almost Roman. Amid all this, some few features still distinguished Gaul from Italy and from other provinces; for example, the large country "villas" of the nobles and their costly sepulchral monuments were constructed in Gaulish, not in Italian, fashion. But these features are few and unimportant; they are curiosities which merely lend variety to the picture. Gaul, none the less, was Romanized, and its inhabitants became Roman citizens in the course of this period.

IV. FALL OF THE ROMAN DOMINION (CIRCA 250-500).

§ 8. Long storm and trouble followed the long peace; amidst tumult, misery, and confusion, the Roman dominion in Western Europe passed to barbarian rulers. Augustus had made the Rhine and the Danube the boundary between the empire and the barbarian tribes, for the most part Germans, of Northern Europe. Succeeding

emperors had not merely maintained this frontier; they had carried it forward to include a small part of Germany east of the Rhine. But, as the years went by, the Germans grew to be too populous for their German homes; terrible enemies, too, Huns and Tartars,

"Kings that rose up out of the populous east,"

assailed them, and they began to press towards and upon the imperial frontier. For a while (circa 150-250) they were easily kept back; but the middle of the third century opened a new and disastrous epoch in Roman history. The empire was now weakened by internal decay; its generals were disloyal, its armies insubordinate, its revenue and population declining. the same time the external pressure increased; after A.D. 250 a quick succession of German hordes began to cross the Rhine or Danube and force a way into the empire. They came with various purposes. Many were raiders, often on a gigantic scale, huge armies sweeping stormily over rich and defenceless lands. and leaving blazing towns and a wrecked government behind them. Others, perhaps the more noteworthy, were large or small bodies of immigrants, anxious for new homes, and willing, in return for them, to submit to Rome. Many of these were settled by the government wherever land lay waste or labour was scarce; they became coloni, agricultural labourers fixed to the soil and compelled to till it for the profit of a great landlord, or laeti, who, in return for lands, served in the imperial armies. Others fought under their own chiefs; the chiefs were decorated with imperial titles, and led them to the defence of the empire against other barbarians and even against their own kinsfolk. Such men were not, by intention, enemies or destroyers, but they were unruly and unquiet friends. They came to settle and often remained to ravage, and while they professed obedience to the emperor, they obeyed no orders which were not backed by force.

In Gaul, as elsewhere, the period of trouble commenced about 250. Two leagues of Germans, the Alamanni (All-men) and the Franks (Javelin-men), began at that time to break through the border garrisons. Half a century of misery ensued. The barbarians drove the Romans from their posts east of the Rhine, and carried their raids into eastern Gaul. The emperors were busy with worse evils in other provinces; the armies on the Rhine were mutinous, and their commanders, moved by disloyalty or despair, proclaimed themselves, one after another, independent emperors. For a brief space there was a Gaulish empire independent of Rome—a hint of the approaching dissolution of the empire. In 258 a provincial governor of Gaul, Postumus, assumed the imperal purple, and for ten years he ruled Gaul and Britain, having his own consuls and all the accompaniments of legal authority. He was an able man who

vigorously maintained peace within his dominions, but in 267 two of his chief officers rebelled, and his soldiers slew him in a mutiny. The reigns of his four successors were brief and miserable, and even the reunion of Gaul to the empire in 273 did not restore prosperity to the land. The barbarians still ravaged the east. The towns of Gaul, hitherto unfortified in peaceful security, built themselves walls as a shelter from the storm, and the nobles fortified their "villas"; but the miserable peasantry rose in revolt, and their plundering bands of "Bagaudæ" increased the horrors of the time (A.D. 285).

Some relief came with Diocletian (284-305). He divided the Roman world among four rulers acting as colleagues, and the western quarter, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, was intrusted first to a capable soldier, Maximian, and then (293) to the equally able Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine the Great. The system of Diocletian did not last long in its entirety, but it gave fresh vigour to the defence of the Rhenish frontier. From their capital at Augusta Trevirorum, a central position near, but not too near, to the endangered frontier, Maximian, Chlorus, and their successors maintained for a century the desperate defence (285-395). The Germans repeatedly broke in, but their most savage raids were sternly met. In 279, Alamanni swept across Alsace; Chlorus caught them at Langres and slew 60,000, perhaps their whole number. In 357 more Alamanni, Franks, and others, sacked forty towns in Eastern Gaul; Julian, great-nephew of Chlorus and afterwards emperor and apostate, came upon them and left none alive on Roman ground. Valentinian I. (364-375) even crossed the Rhine and attacked the raiders in their own homes. Gaul remained Roman till the end of the fourth century. It even enjoyed considerable prosperity for these hundred years. Commerce flourished, especially in the south; powerful trading-guilds promoted the transport of merchandise up and down the Rhone on its way to or from Italy, and Arelate in the Rhone delta grew great with the traffic. In the interior the great landlords were rich and influential; the peasantry, doubtless, were less happy, but Gaul as a whole saw good days. Ausonius of Burdigăla (310-390), professor, poet, and civil servant, described in his Idvlls the Garonne which flowed past his birthplace and the Moselle where he lived many years; the banks were covered with villas and vineyards, the waters with fishermen and sailors. The culture of the vine now made especial progress. For three centuries the Roman government discouraged vinegrowing in Gaul, lest it should compete with the vine-growing of Italy; in the fourth century vineyards abounded everywhere.

But the end was now near. In the first place, the Germans, especially the Franks, were now growing the strongest element in

Gaul. They had begun to settle peaceably in many parts of the north, and, like other barbarian settlers, they appear in the Roman army. Franks served under Julian in 357; by the end of the century they formed a large part of the troops in the country. Their chiefs rose to high positions; they became "counts" of the frontier districts or commanders-in-chief of the armies. Thus the Frank Arbogastes in 391 was "master-general" of the troops in Gaul, and the most powerful man of the Western world. A weak emperor who then ruled the West, Valentinian II., attempted to dismiss him. "My authority replied Arbogastes) does not depend on the frowns and smiles of a monarch "-and he flung the paper of dismissal in Valentinian's face. Three days later, Valentinian was found strangled, and a new emperor was set up by Arbogastes. Such men were not likely long to obey without compulsion. In the second place, the empire itself was breaking up. Diocletian's system of conjoint emperors ended in civil war; the colleagues fought among themselves, and the Roman world ceased to be one. Constantine the Great restored peace for a moment, but he took a step which hastened division. In 330 he created a new capital for the empire in his city of Constantinople on the Bosphorus. Possibly he foresaw that Western Europe must soon fall to the barbarians, and therefore wished to erect a capital for an eastern empire which should survive; whatever his motive, the result ensued. The empire commenced to break into west and east, Rome and Constantinople, and after the death of the great Theodosius (395) the fortunes of the two empires parted for ever. In the East, the empire found new life; once more it grew great and survived the chances of a thousand years; it fell at the last before the arms of Mahomet II. (A.D. 1453). In the West the empire perished. Within a century from Theolosius' death all real Roman rule had vanished from Western Europe.

§ 9. The events of A.D. 407 and the years which immediately followed, may be taken as deciding the fate of the Western world. The incapable Honorius, a son of Theodosius, was then emperor of the West 395-423). In 407 a mixed multitude of raiders, Franks. Vandals. Goths, and many more, burst over the Rhine, spreading desolation to the shores of the Ocean and the slopes of the Pyrenees. Gaul was one funeral pyre,

"Uno fumavit Gallia tota rogo,"

as a contemporary poet wrote. In the same year a soldier in Britain. Constantine by name, proclaimed himself emperor and invaded Gaul. Next year (408) Alaric the Visigoth ravaged all Italy; in 410 he sacked Rome. Other disasters followed, raids of barbarians no longer resisted, revolts of generals aspiring to the empire. Britain, which had been closely bound up with Gaul since the days of Postumus, was now lost to the empire, and another revolt is recorded, of little importance yet of some interest; the Armoricans, the "dwellers by the sea" in Brittany, claimed and maintained their independence. When the anarchy ended, a new order began in Gaul. Three barbarian kingdoms, Visigoth, Burgundian, and Frank, slowly formed themselves and superseded by degrees the rule of the Roman empire.

The first germs of the new order appeared with the Visigoths (West-goths). This people originally entered the empire in 375 as fugitives flying from the Huns, two hundred thousand fighting men with women and children. The Roman government did not treat the formidable suppliants with wisdom; in 410 they sacked Rome. In 412 they passed on into Gaul and Spain, in what numbers we do not know (some say 50,000 fighting men), but they were enough to found a kingdom. In 419 Honorius allotted to their chief Vallia lands in South-western Gaul, to be ruled by him under Roman suzerainty. The Visigoth dominion was steadily extended north and south; in 500 it stretched from the Loire and the Rhone to the southern point of Spain.

The coming of the Burgundians was more gradual and obscure. Their first settlements in Gaul were in 412; by degrees a Burgundian kingdom, with its capital at Lugndūnum, came to include most of South-eastern Gaul. Its rulers, like those of the Visigothic lands, acknowledged, at least in name, the supremacy of the

empire.

Last, but not least, came the Franks. These confederate "Javelin-men," not a tribe but a conglomerate of tribes, had been well known in Northern Gaul since 250, as raiders, or as settlers and as soldiers of the empire. Slowly, we know not exactly when, small Frankish principalities arose, and one, centred round Camerācum and Tornācum (Cambray and Tournay), began, about 450–480, to show signs of strength. In 500 it had become the realm of the Frank king Clovis.

§ 10. Before these three kingdoms Roman rule faded away. It did not fail at once; it was still a power in 451. In that year Gaul was invaded by Attila the Hun, the Scourge of God, the man who boasted that grass never grew where his horse had trodden. The last and most terrible of the barbarians had come; he was faced and foiled on the dreary plains of Châlons, the Campi Catalaunici, by a Roman leader, Aëtius, at the head of Roman troops. But it was the last Roman victory in the West, and it was not purely Roman; by the side of Aëtius fought the Visigothic host under its king Theodoric, renowned in legend, and Franks and Burgundians besides. Actius, who was rightly called "the last of all the

Romans," was murdered at Rome by the Emperor Valentinian III. (454). Two Gaulish nobles, Aegidius at Arles, Syagrius, his son, at Soissons, attempted after him to dispute the supremacy with the German chiefs; but the first was overpowered in 464, the second by Clovis in 486. In 476 the last emperor of Rome, the strangely named Romulus Augustulus, was deposed, and Zeno, emperor at Constantinople, became in theory emperor of West as well as East.

Thus, towards the end of the fifth century, Gaul was ruled by three German tribes, Visigoth, Burgundian, Frank. The last of the three was destined to be first, to drive the Visigoths beyond the Pyrenees, and reduce the Burgundians to subjects. This destiny was fulfilled when Clovis became king of the Franks (481), and with that era a new epoch opened (chapter ii.).

V. RESULTS.

§ 11. The coming of the Germans into Gaul was neither a conquest by violence nor the wholesale entry of new populations. The Germans entered the empire, in part at least, as fugitives or as friends, and they took their places as subjects or allies. Their princes recognised, at least in name, the supremacy of the emperor, and were glad to receive the titles of imperial officers. The dignity of the empire and the splendour of its civilization made a deep impression on them; their reverence for Rome, though sometimes dissembled, was not unreal; they were rough men, but not destroyers. Moreover, they appear not to have been very numerous, so far as we can judge. The Germans who entered Gaul to live there amounted in numbers, probably, to less than one-tenth of the existing Gaulish or Gallo-Roman population. Accordingly, Roman civilization outlived their advent. The two hundred and fifty years which have just been described (§§ 8, 9) were years of misery and confusion in Gaul, and they ended in great political changes; but much of the old social order survived. It may be convenient here to notice four cases of such survival, four features of Roman Gaul which lasted on into medieval France and largely influenced its history. Those features are the language, the cities, the land system, and the religion.

§ 12. (i.) Language.—Latin was the official language of the whole empire; it was indispensable, except in the Greek East, for political or commercial or social or literary success, and it naturally spread fast in many provinces. In Gaul it spread with special rapidity. The Gauls embraced the Roman language and civilization readily; schools where Latin was taught, professors who taught it, authors who employed it, became common, and by 250 it was the general





tongue of Gaul. Like most languages, it had two forms; one the literary or written Latin of the educated classes, copied from Cicero and Virgil; the other, the common speech of the people, varying in various parts of Gaul. The first died out with the Roman dominion; the second was adopted by the Frank, developed into the dialects of medieval France and, through them, is the parent of modern French. The native Gaulish tongue, on the other hand, vanished; even the Breton now spoken in Brittany was introduced by fugitive Britons flying across the Channel to escape the Saxon (about or after A.D. 500). The Roman occupation of Gaul thus gave France

her present language and all that a language implies.

(ii.) Cities.—The earlier emperors covered Narbonensis with Roman towns; the fortresses on the Rhine frontier were parents of others, and the Romanization of the rest of Gaul gave importance to the town-centres of the Gaulish tribes. Thus, when the Germans entered Gaul, the land contained many towns. Like the language, the towns have survived: almost every important town in medieval or modern France was already a town in the days of the Romans. Massilia, the Greek merchant city of fabulous antiquity, was, since Cæsar's time, only a shadow of its former self; but it remained throughout the empire a centre for culture, and a port for trade with the East. Narbo, the original Roman capital, prospered less: its harbour silted up, and it is to-day a mere village. Nemausus (Nîmes), its rival and successor, was great in the second and third centuries: its aqueduct and its amphitheatre are still among the wonders of France. Still greater was Arelate (Arles), the "marshtown" in the Rhone delta, first a colonia of Cæsar's veteraus, then enriched by the commerce of the great river, capital of Southern Gaul in the fourth and fifth centuries, and well deserving the title of Gaulish Rome (Gallula Roma). Its ruins, theatre and amphitheatre, its walls and that strange cemetery without them, still signify its Roman greatness, a greatness which lasted on into the Middle Age, but has long departed from it. The list of famous towns is long: Avennio, founded in the first century, later the papal Avignon; Arausio, old as Augustus and destined to give its name to the Princes of Orange; Aquae Sextiae, first a garrison town, then a colony of Augustus, later, as Aix, the capital of Provence. Outside of Narbonensis the towns are fewer, but the same rule holds: all the great towns of later ages date from the empire. Burdigala in the south, a tribal centre on the Garonne, was an important city in the third century, when its amphitheatre held 15,000 spectators: in the fifth century it was the seat of a university: it is now Bordeaux, Lugudunum, capital of the three Gauls, then of the Burgundians, was a colonia in the earliest times: through all its history, it has been, as Lugudunum, or as Lyon, a chief trading

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city of Western Europe. Augusta Trevirōrum, first a tribal centre, then a colonia, was for a century the capital of the West (293–395): to-day it is Trier. Mainz, Cologne, Strassburg, grew out of frontier fortresses on the Rhine. Paris itself, obscure capital of the Parisi till 355, was then chosen by Julian as his favoured residence: it has never since ceased to be important.

The survival of these and other towns was accompanied by two important internal changes. The civic burdens fell, by Roman usage, on the civic authorities, whoever they might be; in the troublens times of the barbarian invasions the civic burdens were heavy, and the local authorities tottered beneath them. At the same time towns adopted powerful patrons, defensores, and these defenders gradually grew to be overlords of the towns. The civic authorities, weakened as they were, could not resist them, and the medieval dependence of towns on great lords now first begins.

The towns did not survive alone. The boundaries of the districts of which the towns were the tribal or municipal centres also survived. They formed the boundaries of Christian bishopries and Frankish "pagi" in the succeeding centuries, and some of

them are yet boundaries of districts in modern France.

(iii.) In Roman Gaul, as probably in pre-Roman Gaul, the chief landowners were the great nobles. These nobles suffered less than either towns or peasants from the evils of the third and following centuries: they increased their domains (villas) and their splendour. The Germans left them much, if not all, of their lands, and the estates themselves survived into the Middle Ages. Even the names of the estates survived, and, indeed, survive to-day. They were mostly formed by the suffix -ācus: the estate of a Julius was called Juliācus, and the name adhered to the land even after it passed to other owners. Julii were common in Gaul (p. 11), and Juliāci were no less common: they have survived in place-names like Jülich, Juillac, Juilly.

Besides estates and estate names, the labour system also survived. In the third and fourth centuries (we know nothing earlier) the estates of the Gaulish landowners were usually cultivated in two parts. One part was the demesne, the land cultivated directly by the lord round his own "villa," and by the agency of his slaves. The other was let out to coloni, labourers half free, half serf, tied to the soil and tilling it for the good of the lord. How this system arose is unknown: it was aided by the immigrations of the Germans, of whom many became coloni (p. 12), and it lasted on into later France.

(iv.) Religion.—The Gaulish religion was Romanized by the Romans: it was superseded by Christianity. We do not know when or how Christianity first reached Gaul: we do not, indeed, know

even when or how it first reached Rome. But it is probable that Christians from the East, trading with Massilia or some town on the Rhone, introduced the new religion about the middle of the second century. Certainly the first Christian leaders in Gaul were Greeks, not Romans. Lugudunum was the first bishopric. There. on the hill of Fourvière (Forum vetus) which dominates the modern town of Lyons, the first bishop Pothinus and some of his disciples were martyred in 177. Irenæus, the next bishop, spread the faith more widely. By the middle of the third century, the churches of Arles, Toulouse, and Vienne were certainly in existence: there were probably others, and tradition ascribes to this period missionaries like Dionysius (St. Denis), Saturninus, Gatian, Stremonius, whose names are commemorated in the sees of Paris, Toulouse, Tours, and Clermont. The Decian persecution (249-51). and those of Valerian (260), and Diocletian (303) failed to check the flowing tide; when Constantine's edict finally gave freedom of worship to the Christians (A.D. 313), Gaul had become almost wholly Christian, and travellers from Gaul had probably long introduced Christianity into Britain. In 314 a council was held at Arles to deal with a heretic: it was attended by bishops from all parts of Gaul, and even from three British sees. Before the fourth century had ended, Hilary of Poitiers had shed the lustre of his elequence and learning on the Christian Church in Gaul, and at Ligugé near Toulouse and Marmoutier near Tours, Martin of Tours had laid the foundations of Western monasticism. The Germans came into a Christian country. Some of them, like the Visigoths, were nominally Christian before they came, others were converted later; but before 500 all were Christian (p. 23). This rapid spread of Christianity was hastened by the number of towns. In each city a congregation formed itself with ease, and in time each city became the seat of a bishop. In the south, where cities were many, there were many bishops, but everywhere they were abundant. They were powerful even in politics, became defensores of towns and advisers of German kings. They played no small part in the fifth and succeeding centuries.

The meaning of this continuity between Roman and Frankish Gaul may be best appreciated by those who look also at English history. Britain was invaded by the Saxons: the Roman language, the Roman town life, the Roman land stysem, the Christian religion vanished before their onset. The towns of modern France were towns in Roman days: very few of the towns of modern England existed before the coming of the English. In England the old civilization ended: in France it passed into and made part of the new order. We shall hear much in the next chapter of the Romanized Gaul, or, as he is usually styled, the Gallo-Roman.

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For the Druids see especially Fustel de Coulanges' Nouvelles Recherches. Many writers ascribe to them political power, for which there is no evidence. M. Bertrand (Revue Archéologique, 1896) compares them to the Tibetan Llamas. His conclusions seem to be based on insufficient grounds. The derivation of the name is still a matter of dispute.

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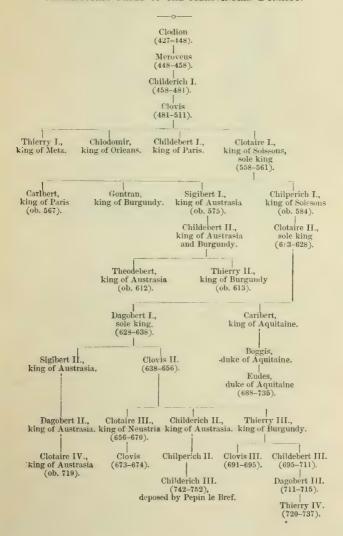
scattered German articles, there is a large French literature of great value: see Ch. Ruelle, Bibliographie générale des Gaules (up to 1879). See especially the five volumes of M. F. de Coulanges' Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France, edited partly after his death by M. Jullian (Paris, 1888-1891). M. Jullian has also published a small popular sketch, Gallia (Paris, 1892), and an account of Bordeaux (Archives Municipales de Bordeaux, Bordeaux, 1890). Lyon has been treated by MM. Allmar and Dissard, Inscriptions Antiques (Lyon, 1889-1893, 5 vols.), and the inscriptions of other districts by Robert and Cagnat, Lejay, Espérandieu, Sacaze, and others. Of English writers Mr. E. A. Freeman and Mr. C. Roach Smith have treated many Gallo-Roman sites.

The Colonate has been fully discussed by F. de Coulanges, Récherches (Paris, 1885), and others; the introduction of Christianity into Gaul by Hirschfeld in a special monograph, and by the Abbé Duchesne, Fustes episcopaux de la Gaule. For the relation between Latin and French, and for the Basque and Breton languages, see Gröber's Grundriss der romanischen Philologie I. (Strassburg, 1885). It appears to be fairly certain that the Breton language is descended from British, not from Gaulish. For the British immigration into Armorica, see J. Loth, L'émigration Bretonne (Rennes, 1883).



Dolmen de Crucuno Carnac.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY.





Chair or Throne of Dagobert.*

CHAPTER II.

THE MEROVINGIANS. FROM THE ACCESSION OF CLOVIS TO THE ACCESSION OF PEPIN LE BREF. A.D. 481-751.

- § 1. The accession of Clovis and his conversion. § 2. The invasion of Aquitaine. § 3. The death of Clovis. § 4. The division of the kingdom. § 5. The quarrels of the sons of Clovis. § 6. New portion of the territories of Clovis. § 7. Brunhildis and Sigibert of Austrasia. § 8. The death of Brunhildis. § 9. "The mayors of the palace." § 10. The reign of Dagobert. § 11. The "rois faincants." § 12. The battle of Testry. § 13. The wars of Pepin. § 14. The rise of Charles Martel. § 15. Charles Martel and the battle of Roncesvalles. § 16. The greatness of Charles Martel. § 17. The end of the Merovingians.
- § 1. In 481, when Clovis succeeded his father, Childerich, as king of the Salian Franks, he was not more than fifteen years of age. At the time of his accession, he did not possess a foot of territory

^{*} It was from this chair that Napoleon, in August, 1894, distributed the crosses of the Legion of Honour to the soldiers assembled at Boulogne to: the invasion of England. Napoleon caused the chair to be brought from Paris for the express purpose.

within the present boundaries of France, but was merely the chieftain of a petty tribe numbering no more than 5000 soldiers. In the fifth year of his reign, at the age of twenty, Clovis * marched against Syagrius, the Gallo-Roman ruler of the district around Soissons. The armies met near that city; Syagrius was defeated, and fled to the court of Alaric the Visigoth at Toulouse. Clovis, seizing the territory which the son of Ægidius had governed, swept away the last remaining vestige of Roman domination in Gaul. Syagrius was delivered up by Alaric into the hands of the conqueror, who secretly put him to death.

The Seine valley had now fallen into the hands of Clovis. During the next few years he extended his sway up to the Loire and the borders of Armorica, where the native population (p. 15) still held out. He attacked the Merovingian princes of the Belgic plains, and in the year 491 conquered the Thoringi, the chief tribe of the Ripuarian Franks. A year later (492) he married Clotilda, a Burgundian princess, who had been educated in the orthodox faith. This union was a politic and fortunate step, as it procured him the support of the Gallo-Roman Church, and powerfully furthered his design of bringing the whole country under his dominion. Clotilda laboured earnestly to effect the conversion of her husband; but Clovis, though he permitted their eldest child to be baptized, refused for some years to yield to her entreaties. At length a war broke out which, according to ecclesiastical writers, led to the conversion of the Frankish king.

In 496 the powerful tribes of the Alamanni crossed the Rhine and attacked the Ripuarian Franks, whose principal city was Cologne. The Ripuarians besought the aid of Clovis: the Salian chief marched to their support, and the combined army of the Franks gave battle to the Alamanni at a place called Tolbiac, near Strassburg. The issue was for some time uncertain; but, in the critical moment, Clovis raised his hands to heaven, and invoked the God of Clotilda, vowing that, if victory should declare for his banners, he would at once accept the Christian faith and present himself for baptism. Then, rushing into the thickest of the fight, he, by his example, rallied his wavering troops to renew the struggle, till the Alamanni, dispirited by the loss of their king, gave way on all sides, and fled the field. The main body of the confederacy became the vassals of the conquerors, and a large part of their terri'ory was annexed to the Frankish dominion. On his return from the campaign Clovis prepared to receive the rite

^{*} The proper name of Clovis was Chlodovech, or Chlodwig: Clovis is a modern French form of it, often used by modern writers and easily pronounced. The original name is the same as the German Ludwig (Lat. Ludovicus): Clovis corresponds to the French Louis.

of baptism. The ceremony took place, with all possible pomp and splendour, in the basilica of Rheims, on the feast of Christmas. 496. "Bow thy head, Sigambrian!" said the Archbishop Remigius, who officiated: "adore what thou hast hitherto burned-burn what thou hast hitherto adored!"* On the same day upwards of three thousand Franks, the flower of the nation, were baptized.

§ 2. Situated as the Western world then was, it is impossible to overrate the importance of this event. Christianity, as embraced by Clovis and his followers, became a principle of unity by which the various heterogeneous elements of society in Gaul were welded into one. The whole strength of the Church was now enlisted on the side of the Franks, and to both parties the alliance was

eminently serviceable.

One of the first results of the conversion of Clovis was the submission of the Armorican states, which, in 497, made a treaty of alliance with the Franks, and became, in fact, their tributaries. Clovis thus advanced his boundaries from the Seine to the Loire. Three years later Clovis declared war against the Burgundian king Gundobad, a sanguinary tyrant who had murdered his two elder brothers, one of them being the father of Queen Clotilda. The army of the Franks gained an easy and complete victory over the Burgundians near Dijon; but the following year Gundobad drove the Franks out of Burgundy, and in 501 peace was made.

Clovis now determined to invade Aquitaine, where Alaric II., the Arian king of the Visigoths, was persecuting the orthodox Christians. Haranguing his warriors at their annual gathering in the Champ de Mars-"It grieves me," said Clovis, "to see the misbelieving Visigoths in possession of the fairest provinces of Gaul. Let us march: with the aid of God we shall surely overcome them, and divide their lands among ourselves. In alliance with Gundobad, and Sigibert of Cologne, Clovis crossed the Loire in the summer of 507, and found the Visigoths, under their king, encamped towards the centre of Poitou. Propitious omens and miraculous interpositions are said to have waited on the path of the Frankish hero. Victory was promised him by a verse of the Psalms which the choir were chanting when his envoy entered the church of St. Martin at Tours. A white hind, of supernatural size and beauty, pointed out a fordable spot in the swollen river Vienne, † A brilliant meteor was seen to stream forth from the steeple of St. Hilary at Poitiers, and take its course in the direction of the camp of Clovis. The hostile armies met in the plain, of

† This spot is still known by the name of the "Gué de la Biche" (hind's ford), near the town of Lussac.

^{* &}quot;Mitis depone colla, Sicamber: adora quod incendisti, incende quod adorasti."-Gregor. Turon. ii. c. 31.

Vouglé, a few miles west of Poitiers.* Alaric was slain by Clovis with his own hand; his army was irretrievably broken and dispersed: Clovis took possession of the province of Aquitania Prima, from the Loire to the Garonne, and passed the winter at Bordeaux. In the following spring he pursued his conquests southwards, captured Toulouse, and laid siege to Carcassonne. Leaving his Burgundian allies to aid the Franks, Clovis returned to Tours, where he received a congratulatory embassy from Anastasius, Emperor of the East, who invested him with the titles and insignia of consul and patrician. This investiture gave additional sanction to his authority in Gaul, and aided the consolidation of his empire; for Clovis was now regarded as the legitimate successor to all the rights and jurisdiction of the Roman Cæsars. But the following year the powerful Theodoric the Ostrogoth, seeing the imminent danger of the extinction of the Gothic rule north of the Pyrences, despatched an army to the succour of the Visigoths, and the Franks were decisively repulsed before Arles. Clovis retraced his steps, and the Visigoths were thus enabled to preserve a small portion of their territory, called Septimania, of which the capital was Narbonne. Their northern provinces were reduced permanently under the yoke of Clovis.

§ 3. The latter years of Clovis were stained by savage crime. Up to this time the Franks were a confederation of tribes, each governed by its independent chief: Clovis, though raised by his talents to the supreme command of the nation, was in his own right no more than King of the Salians, and there was no guarantee that the rank of commander-in-chief would descend to his posterity. He resolved, therefore, to change the federative constitution into a monarchy, and to make the kingly power hereditary in his own family. This he accomplished by a series of deliberate murders. He first instigated the son of Sigibert of Cologne, the last independent Frankish State, to take the life of his aged father; the particide was immediately afterwards slain by his orders, and Clovis then easily annexed the kingdom.

Such were the means by which Clovis found himself, in the year 510, sole sovereign of the Franks. He did not long enjoy his new position. After presiding at Orleans over a synod of bishops desirous of repressing Arianism, this extraordinary man died at Paris on the 27th November, 511, at the age of forty-five, after a reign of thirty years. He was buried in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, founded by himself and Clotilda, which became afterwards the abbey church of Ste, Genéviève.

§ 4. The kingdom of the Franks extended, at the death of Clovis,

^{*} The field of battle is placed by some at Voulon, ten miles south of Poitiers.—H. Martin, i. 449.

from the German Ocean to the Adour and the Cevennes, and from the confines of Brittany to the Rhone and the Saone. The Rhine formed their boundary on the north-east; Burgundy and Brittany had been reduced to the condition of tributary states, furnishing contingents to the Frankish armies. France, however, was very far from being brought into a well-organized political unity. South of the Loire the Franks had few permanent settlements; their hold on the country was simply a military occupation; the civil government remained with the Gallo-Romans, and was almost entirely in the hands of the bishops. The wars of Clovis and his followers were rather successful forays than permanent conquests, and were made for plunder, ransoms, tributes, and slaves. Clovis had thus acquired, in the course of his wars, immense property of various kindslanded estates, palaces, farms, forests, flocks and herds, treasure and jewels—the aggregate of which composed what was called the "domaine royal." Upon his death these possessions were divided, according to the custom of the Germans, among his four sons; but this division had scarcely a political character. Each prince became possessed of territorial property which made him the most powerful man in a particular district, and he thus naturally acquired the sovereignty of that district. It is in this sense that we must understand what is commonly called the division of the Frankish monarchy among the sons of Clovis.

The four sons all fixed their residence on the north of the Loire, -a sufficient proof that the dominion of the Frank towards the south was still feeble, partial, and insecure. The eldest, Theodoric or Thierry, took for his share the eastern provinces, from the Meuse to the Rhine, in addition to which he possessed beyond the Loire the districts of Auvergne, Limousin, and Quercy. His capital was Metz. Chlodomir reigned in the Orleannais, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine. His residence was Orleans. Childebert became king of Paris and its neighbourhood, with the addition of the Armorican district, stretching from Rouen to Rennes, Nantes, and Vannes. Clotaire, the youngest of the brothers, established himself at Soissons, and governed the ancient country of the Salians, together with the maritime tract between the Somme and the embouchure of the Meuse. He had also some distant possessions on the Upper Garonne, and in the Cevennes. This arrangement presents a strange interlacing of dominions, by which each of the princes, in order to reach his remoter provinces, had to traverse the territories of his brother. Continual discord and war was the consequence.

§ 5. Queen Clotilda had long vowed vengeance against the murderers of her father; and at her earnest entreaty, Childebert and Chlodomir undertook in 523 an expedition against Sigismund and Gondemar, the joint kings of Burgundy. The Burgundians were

defeated, and Sigismund, falling into the hands of Chlodomir, was barbarously murdered, with his whole family. But in a second campaign, Chlodomir was allured by the enemy into an ambuscade, and fell dead on the spot, pierced by a hundred wounds. The Burgundian war continued, with some intervals, for ten years longer; but in 534 the kingdom was finally subdued, and annexed to the empire of the Franks. By a base artifice Childebert and Clotaire decoyed the three sons of their dead brother Chlodomir into their power, and Clotaire, having murdered the two elder princes with his own hand, was about to poniard the third, Clodowald, when one of the attendants bore away the child to a place of safety. Clodowald, on reaching manhood, renounced his inheritance, retired from the world, and died a priest, leaving his name to the celebrated palace of St. Cloud.

The immediate descendants of Clovis were not long lived. Thierry, after having added Thuringia* to his dominions, died in 534, leaving his son Theodebert to succeed him in the kingdom of Austrasia, as it now began to be called. Theodebert, who showed great vigour and resource, invaded Ita'v in 539, and wasted the valley of the Po; and during the years 541-545 he conquered Bavaria. Dying in 548, he was succeeded by the weak Theodebald. who, on his death in 553, left the Austrasian crown without an heir. The vacant kingdom was seized by Clotaire; and upon the death of Childebert in 558, this youngest of the sons of Clovis beheld the Frankish monarchy once more reunited. In 555 he had failed to subdue the Saxons, and his last years were embittered by a rebellion stirred up by one of his own sons, whom, having pardoned in 558, he took prisoner in 560, and condemned, together with his wife and daughters, to be burned alive. This horrible tragedy took place in 560, and the wretched Clotaire expired a year afterwards. a prey to the deepest remorse.

§ 6. Upon the death of Clotaire, a fresh partition of the empire was made among his four surviving sons. The period which then ensued is perhaps the darkest and dreariest in the annals of France, a mere record of the furious passions, bitter animosities, and destructive civil wars of the Merovingian family. Under the new arrangement, Caribert became King of Paris; Gunthram, King of Orleans and Burgundy; Chilperich, of Soissons; and Sigibert, of Metz. The country beyond the Loire was divided in the same inconvenient fashion as before. The early death of Caribert without heirs occasioned a further distribution in 567. The distinction between Austrasia and Neustria was now definitely established: Sigibert became King of Austrasia, or the country of the Eastern Franks; Chilperich was recognised as King of Neustria, the land

^{*} Part of Central Germany, answering nearly to Saxony.

of the Western Franks. The limits of the two kingdoms are somewhat uncertain; but the river Meuse and the forest of the Ardennes may be taken generally as the line of demarcation. Austrasia lay between the Meuse and the Rhine; Neustria extended from the Meuse to the Ocean. Gunthram ruled over the third division of Gaul, which now acquired the name of Burgundy; and a portion of Aquitaine was annexed as an appendage to each of the three crowns. A singular arrangement was made with respect to the city of Paris: it was declared to be neutral ground among the three princes, each engaging that he would never enter it without the consent of the other two.

In the character of the population and the tendencies of the government Austrasia and Neustria differed widely. Roman civilization never took root so deeply near the Rhine as in the interior of Gaul, owing to the continual invasions of the barbaric hordes. Thus a German population and German habits predominated in Austrasia. In Neustria, on the other hand, the Franks were less numerous, more scattered, farther removed from their original settlements and their German fellow-countrymen. They were but a colony of barbarians, transported into the midst of a nation and a civilization altogether Roman. Hence arose a strongly marked distinction between the two states, deeper than that of geographical position. In Neustria, the monarchical authority was rapidly developed, and acquired a firmness and consistency which in Austrasia were impossible. The situation of Austrasia favoured the growth of aristocratic institutions. The German chieftains possessed large landed property, which gave them immense influence, and at length made them independent of the sovereign. Hence it was in Austrasia that the mayors of the palace first acquired their power; the habits and prepossessions of the Germans made it easier for them to perpetuate the dignity in their own family, and in the end to usurp supreme authority. From all this there resulted a spirit of intense rivalry between the kindred nations; and the history of France for the next century is simply that of their struggles for predominance. During its earlier period the contest is carried on under cover of the personal animosities of two turbulent queens. But the real dispute is between Roman and Teutonic Gaul, and it is the latter which eventually triumphed.

§ 7. Sigibert of Austrasia married, in 566, Brunhildis, the accomplished daughter of Athanagild, king of the Visigoths. Chilperich of Neustria, who had already a concubine named Fredegundis, a woman of remarkable beauty and talent, became a suitor for the hand of Galswintha, sister to Brunhildis. The marriage took place, but such was the influence of Fredegundis, that she persuaded Chilperich to acknowledge her publicly as his mistress, and assign

her a residence in the palace. To this indignity Galswintha refused to submit, and demanded a separation. Chilperich contrived to soothe her by protestations of amendment; but within a few weeks the unhappy queen was found strangled in her bed, and the king immediately after her death married Fredegundis. The indignation was general; and Brunhildis conceived against the murderess of her sister an implacable desire for vengeance.

Chilperich, abandoned by his leudes (chief retainers), was compelled to appear before the "mallum," the supreme court of the Franks, and condemned to lose his crown. But for the interposition of his brother Gunthram, his life would have been forfeited. Brunhildis was prevailed on to accept an expiatory compensation (wehregeld) for her sister's life, and at this price Chilperich resumed his throne. Peace was short lived. In 573 Chilperich invaded and laid waste the dominions of Sigibert in Touraine and Poitou. Sigibert in turn assembled the Austrasians, entered Neustria sword in hand, and laid waste the whole line of country in his march. The mediation of Gunthram of Burgundy and of St. Germain, Bishop of Paris, with Queen Brunhildis, at length reconciled the enemies: but a year had scarcely passed before war was renewed. and Sigibert and Brunhildis resolved never to lay down their arms until Chilperich should be hurled from his throne. The Neustrians were defeated near Angoulême, and Sigibert marched upon Paris; Chilperich gave up all for lost, abandoned his capital, and took refuge at Tournay with his wife and children. His leudes went over in a body to his rival, requesting his acceptance of the vacant throne. Sigibert consented, was elevated on the buckler, and proclaimed in due form King of Neustria. Fredegundis now resolved upon a desperate attempt to retrieve her fortunes by the assassination of Sigibert. Two of her pages undertook the deed: penetrating without difficulty to the presence of Sigibert in the midst of the festivities of his triumph, they struck him to the heart with poisoned daggers (575).

The tide now turned against the Austrasians, who hurried back in consternation towards the Rhine. The Neustrian nobles reconciled themselves to Chilperich, and replaced him on the throne. The widowed Brunhildis remained a prisoner in the hands of her relentless rival. Her young son Childebert was carried off by a faithful attendant, and reaching Metz in safety, was proclaimed King of Austrasia. Brunhildis after a time thither also succeeded in escaping, and rallying round her a powerful party of the nobles; after a prolonged struggle, a popular insurrection, adroitly fomented by Brunhildis, turned the scale in her favour; she recovered the guardianship of the young king, and at once assumed the direction of affairs.

An alliance was made between Childebert and his uncle Gunthram of Burgandy, who, however, was only able to protect his own kingdom from the attacks of Childerich.

§ 8. In Neustria, Fredegundis pursued her career of cruelty, treachery, and bloodshed. She caused Clovis, a son of Chilperich by his first marriage, to be executed on a charge of sorcery, and consigned his young wife to torture and the stake. Soon afterwards Chilperich himself closed his agitated reign by a violent death, being assassinated at Chelles, near Paris, in 584.

Chilperich was succeeded by his infant son, Clotaire II., to whom his uncle Gunthram was appointed protector. The death of Gunthram in 593 again threw the chief power into the hands of Fredegundis. She maintained a successful contest with Childebert of Austrasia, and restored the kingdom of Neustria to the whole of its ancient extent. In 596 Childebert died suddenly, and in the following year Fredegundis herself died.

The government of Austrasia remained in the hands of Brunhildis during the minority of her grandsons Theodebert II. and Theoderich II., sons of Childebert II., and her administration seems to have been upon the whole wise and beneficent. But in 599 the nobility, whom she constantly sought to humble, rose against her; she was driven from Metz in imminent danger of her life, and took refuge at the court of Burgundy. Here she seems to have given herself up to restless intrigues, and fomented an unnatural warfare between the brothers Theodebert and Theoderich, which broke out in 610. Theodebert was vanquished, and was cruelly put to death by his brother, together with his infant son, at the instigation of Brunhildis. With savage exultation the queen now re-established herself in the capital of Austrasia; her enemies were crushed; and her darling project, the re-union of all the Frankish kingdoms under one sceptre, seemed on the point of accomplishment. But a strange reverse of fortune was at hand. Theoderich died suddenly in 613; the Austrasian nobles once more coalesced against Brunhildis, who advocated the cause of Sigibert II., son of Theoderich. Their leader in this movement was Pepin of Landen, a powerful chieftain in the neighbourhood of Liége, and the progenitor of the kings of the Carlovingian race. The insurgents, who were joined by a strong party from Neustria and Burgundy, marched against Brunhildis. Deserted on the eve of battle by her army, this unfortunate princess made a precipitate flight, but was overtaken at the town of Orbe, near Neuchatel, and brought captive into the presence of Clotaire, the son of Fredegundis. Clotaire overwhelmed her with a torrent of reproaches, and caused her to be fastened to the tail of a wild horse, so that the wretched queen's body was dragged, torn, and trampled into fragments. Sigibert and his brother were also killed.

The greatness of the Merovingian house ended with the death of Brunhildis. Her abilities were unquestioned, and she stands high as an administrator. But she was impatient of opposition, and unscrupulous in the choice of methods for removing her enemies from her path. Some of the most eminent men of her time—such as St. Gregory the Great and Gregory of Tours—have testified strongly in her praise, both personally and as a sovereign; and there is no doubt that she was a religious woman. Brunhildis was, for her age, a liberal and discerning patron of the arts; and public works and buildings of great importance, undertaken or restored by her orders, remained for centuries to attest her munificence and patriotic zeal.

§ 9. The death of Brunhildis concludes the first great struggle between Austrasia and Neustria,—the real victory remaining with the Austrasian aristocracy, who made their success the means of extending their power and establishing their independence. Over each of the three kingdoms composing the empire of Clotaire II., a "mayor of the palace" was now appointed, who was in fact the nominee and instrument of the nobility.* In a great council at Paris in 615, it was enacted that all benefices, or fiefs, should be hereditary and irrevocable; ecclesiastical elections were to be made freely by the clergy and people; and all bishops and nobles were authorised to appoint judges and tribunals for their respective territories, thus exempting themselves and their dependants from the direct jurisdiction of the crown. This edict, known as the "constitution perpetuelle," is an incontestable proof of the triumph of the aristocracy; and so powerless was Clotaire, that he was compelled to acquiesce in this great diminution of the royal prerogative, in order to maintain himself upon the throne. He is described as a prince of considerable merit; but his good qualities did not enable him to preserve for more than a few years the integrity of his dominions. After making repeated concessions, Clotaire was compelled to erect Austrasia into a separate kingdom in favour of his son Dagobert. The young prince was proclaimed at Metz in 622, and Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, and the mayor of the palace, Pepin of Landen, were named chief ministers. In other words, they divided the supreme power between them.

§ 10. Dagobert succeeded his father in 628, and his reign may be regarded as the culminating point of the Merovingian dynasty. His authority was recognised from the Weser to the Pyrenees, and from the ocean to the borders of Bohemia; and the Franks now acquired a decided preponderance among the nations of the West. The new king fixed his court at Paris instead of Metz; and retaining near his person the chiefs of the turbulent Austrasian nobility,

^{*} On the "mayors of the palace" see Notes and Illustrations.

especially Arnulf and Pepin, held them as hostages for the peaceable conduct of their order. Dagobert gained the good-will of the people by personally dispensing justice and redressing grievances in the provinces; and in these circuits he did not spare the rapacity of the bishops and great proprietors. The Emperor Heraclius solicited his alliance; the Lombards of Italy submitted their differences to his arbitration; even the proud Bretons dared not brave the power of Dagobert; their king repaired in person to his court, and acknowledged for himself and his subjects the obligation of homage to the sovereigns of the Franks.

The private life of Dagobert was marked by gross licentiousness. He is said to have had at the same time three queens-consort, besides numerous mistresses. These excesses, added to the lavish expenditure of his court, in the course of a few years exhausted his revenues; and in order to raise money he began to confiscate the estates of nobles who offended him, imposed exorbitant taxes, revoked fiefs which had been granted in perpetuity, and exacted heavy contributions from rich churches and abbeys. Such violent oppression could not be practised, even by Dagobert, with impunity. In an expedition against the Slavs in Bohemia, the Austrasian troops abandoned him, and thus caused a total rout of the Frankish army. Dagobert was now forced by the impracticable nobles to recognise the independence of Austrasia; and in 633 he elevated his son Sigibert to the throne of that kingdom.

Dagobert's principal ministers were the "referendary" Audoen, better known as St. Ouen, Bishop of Rouen, and Eligius, or St. Eloi, Bishop of Noyon, originally a goldsmith or filigree-worker, and celebrated for the exquisite decorative works which he executed for several churches, especially for the abbey of St. Denis. The king's confidence in these two excellent men is one of the most commendable traits of his character. Dagobert expired in January, 638. With him departed the glory of the first race of Frankish sovereigns; not one of the Merovingians who followed was worthy of the name of king.

§ 11. The title of "Rois fainéants"—"do-nothing kings"—expresses very aptly the character of the last descendants of the house of Clovis. At the moment when circumstances demanded from the occupants of the Frankish throne a more than ordinary share of talent and force of character, they lapsed into a state of imbecility and insignificance, both bodily and mental. Intemperance and debauchery entailed on them premature decrepitude; few attained the mature age of manhood; they rarely appeared in public, except at the annual pageant of the Champ de Mars; and the mayors of the palace studiously encouraged them in habits of vice and sloth, in order to monopolize the government. It thus

became an easy step, when the proper time arrived, to assume the name, as they had long exercised the reality, of royal power.

Sigibert III. and Clovis II., who now inherited the dominions of Dagobert, were mere children of nine and six years old. The former nominally reigned in Austrasia, the latter in Neustria and Burgundy; the administration resting with the mayor of the palace, Pepin of Landen, and Uga, a confidential friend of Dagobert. Pepin died in 640, and his son Grimoald was immediately named his successor. Upon the death of Sigibert in 654. Grimoald, who had governed with ability and success, imagined, not unnaturally, that the moment had arrived when the effete Merovingians might be thrust aside in favour of his own family. He had miscalculated; matters were not ripe for so great a change, and the attempt ended in the ruin of Grimoald. The infant son of Sigibert was tonsured, and conveyed to a monastery in Ireland; and Grimoald, producing a forged will of the late king, proclaimed his own son Childebert King of Austrasia. The nobles, indignant at an assumption of authority not sanctioned by themselves, rose tumultuously, seized Grimoald and his son, and sent them prisoners to Clovis, King of Neustria, by whom they were forthwith put to death (656).

Clovis soon followed his brother to an early tomb; and as he left three sons, a fresh opportunity was given to the unabated rivalry between the two great divisions of the empire. The Austrasians raised the second of the young princes, Childerich, to their throne. In Neustria and Burgundy the post of mayor of the palace, under Clotaire III., was occupied by Ebroin, a noble whose vindictiveness and ambitions enabled him to establish a "tyranny." His government was arbitrary and cruel; acknowledged rights were invaded; ancient laws suspended or abrogated at his pleasure. In 670 Clotaire III. died, and Ebroin gave the succession to Theoderich. Clotaire's youngest brother. A general coalition against the tyrant soon followed, and the leadership of the revolt was undertaken by a personage not inferior to Ebroin himself—Leodegar, Bishop of Autun. The conspiracy was successful; Ebroin fell into the power of his enemies, and was confined in the monastery of Luxeuil, where he was forced to receive the tonsure. The young king, Theoderich III., was in like manner shorn of his locks, and then incarcerated at St. Denis.

Childerich II., upon whom the monarchy now devolved, was superior in some respects to his degenerate race. He banished Leodegar, who had offended him by too great plainness of speech, to the cloister of Luxeuil; here the bishop found a companion in misfortune in the fallen Ebroin; the two kindred spirits were speedily reconciled, and combined in plotting schemes of vengeance. The murder of Childerich, in 673, was followed by anarchy.

FRANCE. D

Theoderich was taken from St. Denis and made King of Neustria, while Dagobert, who had been sent to Ireland by Grimoald, was

brought back to be King of Austrasia.

Ebroin and Leodegar now recovered their liberty and again became mortal enemies. Ebroin resumed the government in the name of Theoderich; Leodegar was taken captive in his episcopal city of Autun; and, having been deprived of sight and kept long in confinement, was at last arraigned before a council, condemned as an accomplice in the murder of Childerich, and beheaded. He has since been canonized as St. Leger.

§ 12. Ebroin now carried his hostility against the higher nobles to a still more violent extreme, and by persecution and spoliation alienated all the most powerful families of Neustria. The victims of his tyranny formed a new combination against the oppressor, which, founded on the strongest instincts of our nature, and favoured by the circumstances of both kingdoms, could not fail of success.

Pepin, called Pepin of Heristal, now held the supreme power in Austrasia, under the title of duke. He took the field against the Neustrians in 680, but in the first encounter fortune favoured the arms of Ebroin; the Austrasians were routed, and Dagobert was shortly afterwards slain. Ebroin followed up his victory by invading Austrasia, and compelled the Franks, from the Meuse to the Rhine, to acknowledge Theoderich. His life was, however, suddenly cut short, in the full tide of success, by the hand of an assassin. This remarkable man had ruled with absolute power for twenty-three years, postponing for that period the inevitable triumph of German aristocracy over the dynasty of Clovis. The Austrasians, now under the sole command of the vigorous Pepin d'Heristal, a second time invaded Neustria, and after some years of desultory warfare a decisive battle was fought at Testry in the Vermandois, in the year 687. Here the Neustrian army, commanded by Theoderich III, and the mayor of the palace Berther, suffered an irreparable defeat. The battle of Testry is one of the turning-points in French history. It gave the death-blow to Merovingian royalty: it brought to a termination the struggle between the two great members of the Frank empire; it assured the preponderance of Teutonic over Roman Gaul.

Pepin d'Heristal was now master of France. The helpless Theoderich awaited at Paris the arrival of the conqueror, and surrendered himself to his pleasure. Pepin confirmed to him, with much show of respect, the empty name of king, together with one of the royal residences. The whole reality of sovereignty he retained in his own hands, under the title of Duke or Prince of the Franks.

§ 13. Pepin transferred the seat of government into Austrasia,

residing either at Heristal on the Meuse or at Cologne. He carefully re-established the ancient national institutions, especially the solemnity of the "Mallum," which was held annually on the Calends of March. The pageant king repaired to this assembly in a car drawn by oxen, clad in regal robes, with his long hair and beard floating in the wind. He took his seat upon a throne of gold, and here gave audience to foreign ambassadors, repeating to them. as if of his own will, the answers put into his mouth. He received the compliments of the nobles, spoke a few words in favour of the Church, and enjoined the army to hold itself in readiness for service on the day and at the place which should be indicated. This done, the king was reconveyed in the same state to his villa of Maumagues (between Compiègne and Novon), to be there guarded with all honour, while Pepin administered the active government, "at home with justice and peace, abroad by prudence and the strength of his invincible arms."

Two years after the victory of Testry, Pepin subdued the Frisians, who had revolted from the Franks and asserted their independence. In a long series of campaigns which followed—against the Saxons, the Alamanni, the Suabians, the Thuringians, the Bavarians—the Franks, under the leadership of Pepin, seem to have been uniformly successful, so that they completely recovered their ancient supremacy in Germany. These events became important in another point of view: they opened a wide door for the propagation of Christianity among the Teutonic nations. In the track of Pepin's conquests there followed a zealous band of missionaries, chiefly of Anglo-Saxon race, by whose exertions multitudes of their pagan countrymen were won over to the faith. St. Willibrord, a native of Northumberland, who was at the head of one of these expeditions, was consecrated Archbishop of the Frisians by Pope Sergius in 696.

The wars of Pepin occupied his whole reign: it was not till the year 713 that he found himself for the first time at peace. The succession of phantom kings during this period was more than usually rapid, and scarcely deserves to be chronicled. Theoderich, Clovis, Childebert, and Dagobert, all died in the space of twenty-three years, and all in early manhood. Still Pepin avoided the dangerous experiment of a direct usurpation of the throne. He appointed his eldest son Duke of Champagne, and the younger, Grimoald, mayor of the palace in Neustria; and in 714, finding his end approaching, he nominated the latter his successor, but under the fiction of providing for the administration in the king's name. Grimoald was suddenly assassinated at Liége, whither he had come to attend his father's death-bed. Pepin aroused himself to avenge the outrage by the execution of the murderers, and directed that the honours

destined for Grimoald should be inherited by his infant son. This was an unwise arrangement. The office of mayor of the palace had never yet been do ned hereditary; and moreover Pepin had a third son. Charles, the full vigour of manhood, and possessed of great talents, who might far more advantageously have been named to succeed his father. But Charles was illegitimate, and between his mother and Plectrudis, the wife of Pepin, there reigned a bitter feud. The influence of Plectrudis prevailed, and the infant Theodebald was declared heir to his grandfather, under her guardianship, to the entire exclusion of Charles. Having made these last dispositions, Pepin expired on the 16th of December, 714. He had governed France prudently and prosperously for more than twenty-seven years.

§ 14. Pleetrudis, a woman of considerable energy, endeavoured to maintain herself at the head of affairs, governing in the name of Chilperich III., who had in 716 succeeded Dagobert, and her infant grandson. But in 715, the disinherited son of Pepin, so illustrious afterwards as Charles Martel, escaped from his prison at Cologne, roused the martial spirit of the Austrasian nobles, and induced them to accept him as their leader. As soon as he could collect an army Charles marched in force against the Neustrians, who had elected a rival mayor, Raginfred, and inflicted on them two disastrous defeats, one in 716 at Comblève, the other in 717 at Vinci, near Cambrai, which laid Neustria completely at his mercy. The vanquished party formed an alliance with Eudo, or Odo, Duke of Toulouse, and, as the price of his aid, recognised him King of Aquitaine. With his assistance they then again took the field. They were, however, beaten in 719 by Charles and his Austrasians, near Soissons; and thenceforward the young hero seems to have established his authority without opposition over the three kingdoms of Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy. Southern France remained chiefly under the dominion of Eudo of Aquitaine.

§ 15. One of the great exploits for which the name of Charles Martel is renowned, is his memorable defeat of the Saracens of Spain, who, in 719, had penetrated the passes of the Eastern Pyrenees, and descended on the territories of Eudo of Aquitaine. The Aquitanians defeated them in their camp at Toulouse in 721, and killed their leader El Samah. It was the first serious reverse sustained by the Moslem arms since their first appearance in Europe. But the danger from the Arabs was only postponed: four years afterwards, setting out from Narbonne, they captured the cities of Carcassonne and Nismes, and reduced the whole of Septimania to submission. Gaining the valley of the Rhone, they laid waste Burgundy, sacked the rich city of Autun, and then,

retracing their steps, regained Septimania.

In 731 Abderahman, the viceroy of the Arabian monarch in Spain, commenced an expedition on a gigantic scale, with the avowed object of subduing Gaul at once to the sceptre of the Caliphs and the faith of Islam. No danger so portentous had threatened Western Christendom since the days of Attila. Choosing a different point of invasion from that of his predecessors, Abderahman poured his troops through the rugged gorge of Roncesvalles, and debouched upon the valleys of Gascony. Between the Pyrenees and the neighbourhood of Bordeaux he met with little or no opposition; but in a pitched battle at the confluence of the Garonne and Dordogne, in 732, the Aquitanian army was routed, and all but totally destroyed. The capture and sack of Bordeaux followed: and Eudo, reduced to extremity, hurried to the banks of the Loire, craved an interview with the Duke of the Franks, and conjured him to undertake the cause, not of Aquitaine alone, but of France and of Christian Europe. Charles received the fugitive with friendly welcome; but exacted of him, as the price of his assistance, an oath of allegiance, and an acknowledgment of the subjection of Aquitaine to the Frankish monarchy.

The army of the Saracens advanced from Bordeaux by the road leading to Poitiers, pillaging the churches, devastating the country, and committing every sort of violence on their march. Between Poitiers and Chattellerault they found themselves in presence of the combined Frankish and Aquitanian forces, drawn up by Charles Martel in a favourable position at the junction of the rivers Clain and Vienne. For six days the rival hosts remained watching each other. At length, on the 17th of October, 732, Abderahman deployed his immense army in order of battle on the plain, and advanced to the attack. The first onslaught of the Saracens was tremendous: but the stalwart forms of the Frank warriors, on their powerful German horses, sustained the shock without flinching, and the assailants, recoiling repeatedly as from a wall of iron, encumbered the field with thousands of their dead. Suddenly shouts of dismay arose from the rear of the Arabian lines; the Aquitanians, led by Eudo, had turned the enemy's flank, assailed them in the rear, and were pillaging their camp. Numbers of the Saracen horsemen now abandoned their ranks, and flew to the rear, in hopes of saving their rich spoils; their whole line wavered and lost courage; Charles, with rapid intuition, seized on the moment, ordered a general advance, bore down all opposition, and his soldiers cut down the flying enemy, until darkness put an end to the slaughter. When daylight appeared, although the white tents of the Arabs remained in the same position, their army was no longer to be seen. Under cover of the night the survivors of that fatal rout had silently decamped, and were in rapid flight towards the south. The cause

of Christianity in Europe won a decisive triumph, and Eudo recovered Bordeaux and Toulouse. Charles Martel-he won this title by having so vigorously hammered the misbelievers-followed up his success by several expeditions to the south; but though repeatedly victorious, was unable to expel the Saracens altogether from the soil of France. Septimania remained in the hands of the Arabs, and was not finally wrested from them till 759, by Pepin le Bref.

§ 16. Charles Martel, after the example of his father, refrained from assuming the title of king; yet upon the death of Theoderich 1V. in 737, he felt his power so secure that he appointed no successor to the throne. The royal dignity remained in abevance; and France continued to be governed by Charles, who, under the title of Duke of the Franks, had made himself famous and feared throughout the world. Towards the close of his life a striking proof was given of the extent of influence which he had acquired during his long administration. Pope Gregory III. urgently entreated him to defend the Catholic Church against the Lombards, who, masters of all Northern Italy, had lately seized the exarchate of Ravenna, and threatened Rome itself. The envoys of the Pope presented to Charles the keys of St. Peter's tomb, and promised him investiture as Consul and Patrician of Rome. In other words, they engaged, on behalf of the Pope, to place France and its ruler at the head of the Western Empire. But Charles, to whom the Lombard king had formerly sent some aid against the Saracens, refused the tempting prospect, and, two years later, in October, 741, died, at Cérisy-sur-Oise, in the fifty-second year of his age. He divided his realm between his sons Carloman and Pepin, assigning to the former Austrasia, with the territories beyond the Rhine; while the latter received as his inheritance Neustria, Burgundy, and Provence. This arrangement was peaceably carried into effect.

§ 17. Charles Martel had left the Merovingian throne unoccupied: his sons sought out the last descendant of the house of Clovis, and proclaimed him king by the name of Childerich III. Their next endeavour was to effect a reformation in the Church, which during the whole of their father's government had remained in a wretched state of disorganization. In this undertaking they were vigorously seconded by the illustrious Anglo-Saxon Winfrid, or St. Boniface, who about this time was consecrated Archbishop of Mayence. In 747 Carloman announced his resolution to renounce the cares of state, and spend the rest of his days in ascetic seclusion. Resigning the government of Austrasia and the guardianship of his children into the hands of Pepin le Bref, he proceeded to Rome, received the clerical habit, and took the vows in the Benedictine monastery of

Monte Cassino.

In 751, having fully matured his plans, Pepin sent ambassadors to Rome to propound the following question to the sovereign pontiff: whether the throne of the Merovingians could be considered as rightfully belonging to them in their present state of useless insignificance; whether it did not belong more legitimately to him who exercised all the power and sustained all the responsibility of government. Pope Zacharias, who desired aid against the Lombards, decided without hesitation that he who wielded the authority and fulfilled the duties of the kingly office ought also to enjoy its titles, honours, and prerogatives. Fortified by this high spiritual sanction, Pepin convoked an assembly of bishops and nobles in October or November, 751, at Soissons, and caused himself to be proclaimed king of the Franks, with all accustomed solemnities. St. Boniface anointed the new sovereign with the holy oil—a rite which was considered to invest Pepin and his descendants with a quasi-ecclesiastical and sacred character. Childerich was now formally deposed, tonsured, and immured in a convent at St. Omer, where he died in peace and scarcely noticed three years afterwards.

Such was the inglorious extinction of the first race of Frankish sovereigns, who had reigned for a period of 270 years from the accession of Clovis. A new dynasty succeeded, founded upon different principles, and fraught with new elements of social, religious, and political development. This line of princes, taking their designation from their renowned founder, Charles Martel, is known as that of the Carlovingians.*

* From Carlingen, sons of Charles; the name is more correctly written

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. ON THE MAYORS OF THE PALACE.

Carolingians.

These officers existed from a very early date among the Franks. The Major Domus was originally, as the name implies, the king's principal domestic, the master or comptroller of the household; he superintended the interior concerns of the palace, and exercised a certain authority over the leudes or antrustions, the confidential companions and vassals of the king. It was his duty to maintain order within the precincts of the court, to decide disputes among the nobles, and to direct the general economy of the royal establishment. The appointment was of course vested in the king, and held during his pleasure. Gradu-

jealousy which arose between the crown and the aristocracy, the mayor of the palace became the leader of the aristocratical faction, and usurped political power; and by successive encroachments the office was at length wrested from the king, and became elective in the hands of the nobles. It is necessary therefore, as Montesquieu observes, to make a wide distinction between the earlier and the later mayors of the palace, between the mayors of the king and the mayors of the kingdom. Pepin of Landen, Pepin of Heristal, Ebroin, Charles Martel, had scarcely anything in common, beyond the title, with the mayors of Clovis and his immediate successors. In 575, upon the death of Sigibert and accession of Childebert, a child ally, however, and in consequence of the of five years old, the Austrasian leudes

assembled at Metz, and chose a mayor to ancient constitution of Aragon. According protect the young king's person, superintend his education, and administer the government in his name. This became a precedent which was eagerly quoted and initiated on other occasions; the leudes boldly claimed the nomination of the mayors as their right; and although this was resisted on the part of the crown, especially by Brunhildis in Austrasia, they ended by establishing their usurpation. In 613, after the overthrow and death of Brunhildis, Warnachaire, Mayor of Burgundy, who had been one of the chief conspirators against the queen, extorted a pledge from Clotaire II. that he should retain the dignity for life, an important step towards independence and virtual sovereignty. A like stipulation was exacted by Radon for the mayoralty of Austrasia, and by Gondebald for that of Neustria. (Fredegarius, cap. 42.) A rival power was thus constituted in the state, the inevitable tendency of which was to supplant and overturn the Merovingian dynasty. Clotaire struggled to shake off the yoke, but in vain; Warnachaire enjoved his office till his death, and the king then inquired of the leudes assembled at Troyes which of their number they desired to name as his successor. In Austrasia matters were carried still further. Clotaire was compelled to make his son Dagobert nominally king in that part of the empire, with Pepin of Landen as Mayor of the Palace. That nobleman, like Warnachaire, had taken a conspicuous part in the revolution which ruined Brunhildis. Possessed of immense domains and wealth, Pepin attempted to perpetuate the office of mayor, in which the whole government now centered, in his own family. The scheme failed for the moment, but succeeded in the end; Pepin's descendants retained the supreme power in its fullest extent, and eventually removed the Rois fainéants and took possession of their throne.

Sismondi conceives that the mayor of the palace was not originally an officer of the royal household, but a civil magistrate, a sort of tribune of the people, answering very much to the famous Justicia in the

to him, the German appellation was morddom, which signifies a judge of murder, or doomsman. This derivation, however, is entirely rejected by Guizot, Michelet, and H. Martin.

B. MEROVINGIAN HISTORY.

Hallam (Middle Ages, i. p. 117) has distributed the history of these kings into the six following divisions, which the student will find useful :-

I. The reign of Clovis.

II. Partition among his four sons, and their reigns, till the death of Clotaire I., the survivor, in 561. Aggrandizement of the monarchy.

III. A second partition among the four sons of Clotaire I. The four kingdoms of (1) Paris, (2) Orleans, (3) Soissons, (4) Metz. Reduced to three by the death of Caribert of Paris. Formation of the kingdom of Neustria, including those of Paris and Soissons, and of Austrasia or that of Metz, the Meuse and the forest of Ardennes being the boundaries between them. The third kingdom to the south was now called Burgundy. Power of the two queens, Fredegundis of Neustria, and Brunhildis of Austrasia. Brunhildis put to death by Clotaire II., King of Neustria, who unites the three Frank kingdoms, 613.

IV. Reigns of Clotaire II. and his son Dagobert I., 613-638. Dagobert was one of the most powerful, but also the last of the Merovingian kings worthy of the name. The Rois fainéants follow.

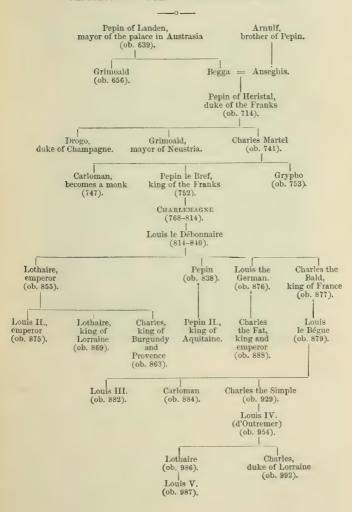
V. From the accession of Clovis II., son of Dagobert, to Pepin's victory over the Neustrians at Testry, 638-687. The kings become the puppets of the mayors of the palace. Great power of Pepin d'Heristal in Austrasia. His defeat of the Neustrians assures the preponderance of Teutonic over Roman Gaul.

VI. From the battle of Testry to the coronation of Pepin the Short, 638-751. During this period Pepin d'Heristal, his son Charles Martel, and his grandson Pepin the Short, are the real sovereigns, though kings of the royal house are still placed upon the throne.



Sceptre of Dagobert.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE CARLOVINGIANS.





Presentation of a Bible to Charles the Bald.

CHAPTER III.

THE CARLOVINGIANS. FROM THE ACCESSION OF PEPIN LE BREF TO THE TREATY OF VERDUN. A.D. 752-843.

§ 1. Character of the new dynasty. § 2. Pepin succours Pope Stephen III.: the "Donation of Pepin." § 3. Pepin's wars in Septimania and Aquitaine; death of Pepin le Bref. § 4. Charlemagne, king of the Franks. § 5. Conquest of the Lombards. § 6. Wars against the Saxons. § 7. Invasion of Spain. § 8. Conquest of the Bavarians and the Huns. § 9. Charlemagne crowned emperor at Rome. § 10. International government of Charlemagne; school of the palace; Alcuin. § 11. Death and character of Charlemagne. § 12. Accession

of Louis I., le Débonnaire. § 13. Revolt and death of Bernhard, king of Italy; marriage of the emperor to Judith of Bavaria; his penance at Attigny. § 14. Rebellion of the three princes; surrender of the emperor. § 15. Second coalition against Louis; the Field of Falsehood; deposition of Louis; his second restoration. § 16. Distribution of the empire; death of Louis le Débonnaire. § 17. Struggle between the sons of Louis; battle of Fontenay. § 18. General pacification; treaty of Verdun.

§ 1. The elevation of Pepin to the throne was the result of a compact between himself and the Holy See, based on considerations of mutual interest. Pepin needed the sanction of the pope to legitimatize his crown; the pontiff needed the assistance of the Frankish arms, by which he was raised eventually to the position of a temporal and territorial sovereign. And this alliance between the Carlovingians and the papacy became a principle of regeneration and progress, not only for France, but for all Western Europe. The Austrasian mayors of the palace and the Roman pontiffs, acting in concert at a propitious moment, brought about a revolution of vast importance to the cause of order, civilization, and social advancement. A strong monarchical government was now established, possessing the means of making itself universally respected; while the Papacy became at the same time a fixed predominant authority for the regulation of the affairs of the Church.

Two points are especially to be observed with regard to the character of the Carlovingian dynasty. First, that it was a Teutonic power. Gallo-Roman France had sunk into decay; the fresh life-blood which was to resuscitate and restore it came from the banks of the Rhine. The Carlovingians were the heads of a victorious Trans-Rhenane aristocracy; it was only in this character that they were enabled to reconstruct the ruined monarchy, and effect an approach to territorial unity under a fixed central authority. "The Franks under Pepin and his successors," says Sismondi, "seemed to have conquered Gaul a second time; it is a fresh invasion of the language, the military genius, and the manners of Germany, though represented by historians as simply the victory of the Austrasians over the Neustrians in a civil war." * Hence, under the second race of kings, France was effectually protected from further hostile irruptions from the side of Germany, to which she had been constantly exposed ever since the barbarians crossed the Rhine. The eastern frontier was henceforth secure; the flood of invasion was rolled back, and compelled to seek an outlet in a different direction.

A second point to be noticed is the ecclesiastical character of this

^{*} Sismondi, Hist. des Fr., vol. ii. p. 170.

revolution. The elevation of Pepin was in great measure the work of the elergy; and the monarch showed his gratitude by placing himself at the head of the national church, and acting as its representative and champion. Pepin regarded himself as the "anointed of the Lord," after the pattern of the ancient kings of Israel; and hence the support and advancement of the church became in his view the foremost of his kingly duties. The bishops of France were now regularly summoned twice every year to attend the great council of the nation; and the records of these meetings show that the principal matters discussed were such as would naturally fall under the cognizance and control of churchmen. Even the wars of Pepin had a religious aspect. The express object of his German expeditions was to reduce the barbarians into submission to the see of St. Peter. When he invaded Lombardy, he announced that he had taken up arms in the cause of God, St. Peter, and the Church. The labours of the missionaries among the pagans of Germany were under his direct patronage. He heaped privileges and endowments upon the clergy, and their influence soon became paramount in the internal administration of the kingdom.

§ 2. Pepin was visited, two years after his accession, by Pope Stephen III., who came to claim the fulfilment of his promise to succour and defend the Roman See against its enemies. Aistulf, king of the Lombards, was thundering at the gates of Rome; and the sole remaining hope for Italy lay in the nation of the Franks and its redoubted sovereign. Pepin pledged himself to cross the Alps with his army in the ensuing year; he only asked in return that the Pope would renew his coronation with his own hands. The ceremony accordingly took place at St. Denis, Stephen investing the king at the same time with the high-sounding title, and undefined authority, of Patrician of Rome. In the following year the army of the Franks scaled the Alps by the Mont Cenis, attacked and defeated the Lombards, besieged them in Pavia their capital, and compelled them to sue for peace. Pepin insisted on their giving up to the pope the Exarchate of Ravenna and its dependency the March of Ancona, and engaging never again to commit an act of hostility against the Apostolic See. But no sooner had the Franks withdrawn than the faithless Aistulf violated the treaty, refused to resign the exarchate, and laid waste the country up to the gates of Rome. The terrified pontiff once more appealed, in tones of impassioned agony, to his protector; and Pepin, descending a second time into Italy in 755, finally dispossessed the Lombards of the whole territory in dispute, which thus remained at the disposal of the conqueror. The Byzantine emperor demanded its restoration, as belonging to the Greek empire; but Pepin rejected the claim, and, sending one of his ministers to receive the keys of

the principal towns * of the exarchate, caused him to offer them at the altar of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Rome; thus signifying that he surrendered his conquest to the holy apostles, and to the Roman pontiffs, their lawful successors.

Such was the famous "Donation of Pepin," which became the foundation of the temporal sovereignty of the popes. It has been disputed whether Pepin transferred to the Holy See the absolute territorial dominion in these provinces, or only the enjoyment of the revenues derived from them. In either case the popes obtained an important boon; they were released from all dependence on the Eastern Empire; they acquired a free voice in the concerns of Europe; and they were placed in secure possession of the government of Rome, the ancient metropolis and mistress of the world.

§ 3. Warlike enterprise in different directions filled up the entire reign of Pepin. For seven years he combated the Saracens in Septimania; and after driving them in succession from all the great towns of the province, compelled them in 759 to surrender their capital, Narbonne. This brought the war to a close; Septimania was evacuated by the Saracens, and this portion of the ancient kingdom of the Visigoths was finally annexed to the French crown.

The reduction of Aquitaine, which followed, was a more arduous undertaking. Keen enmity had always prevailed between the Aquitanians and the Franks; and the reigning Duke Waifer, a descendant of the Merovingians, cherished a peculiar rancour against Pepin, whom he regarded as the oppressor and destroyer of his race. The war commenced in 760, and lasted eight years. The defence of Waifer was obstinate, but at length he was forced to abandon all the northern part of his dominions, and retired with a handful of devoted followers into the mountainous country south of the Dordogne. In 767 his capital, Toulouse, was taken, and, the following year, he was murdered by his own followers.

Waifer was the last of his line; and Aquitaine, which had more or less maintained its independence since its first occupation by the Visigoths in the reign of Honorius, was now incorporated into the Carlovingian empire. The population, however, retained in a great degree its ancient character; something of the genius and traditional impress of Rome lingered for centuries among the Aquitanians; and they never lost their antipathy to the Franks, whom they despised as a race of barbarians.

The career of Pepin le Bref closed with the conquest of Aquitaine. On his return from the south, he was seized with a dangerous fever at Saintes; after some time he was removed with difficulty to St. Denis; and there, assembling his principal counsellors, he divided

^{*} These towns were Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Forli, Urbino, and Sinigaglia, with their dependencies.

his possessions, according to the unfortunate usage of the Franks, between his sons Charles and Carloman. On the 24th of September, 768, Pepin breathed his last in the fifty-fourth year of his age, having governed France eleven years as mayor of the palace, and nearly sixteen years as king. The fame of this great sovereign has suffered from his historical position; it is eclipsed both by the military glory of his father, and by the imperial grandeur of his son. Yet in constructive political genius Pepin was superior to the one, and probably little inferior to the other. His personal qualities would have insured him distinction in any age; and his reign is of peculiar importance in the history of France. It was his mind that conceived, and his hand that inaugurated, the system which his successor was to expand into maturity: a system which produced as its results most of the great characteristic features of medieval and feudal Europe.

§ 4. The partition made by Pepin was not destined, fortunately for the empire, to be of long duration. The elder brother, Charles, whom French historians know as Charlemagne, had received as his portion Austrasia and the states beyond the Rhine; Carloman had Alsace, Burgundy, and Provence; Neustria and the newly conquered province of Aquitaine were divided nearly equally between them. The sovereigns were scarcely seated on their thrones, when an occasion presented itself which at once discovered the ascendency of the more powerful over the feebler capacity. The Aquitanians broke out into revolt; Charlemagne and his brother marched towards the south, but before they reached the seat of war serious misunderstandings arose, and Carloman, stung with resentment, quitted the army and returned to his dominions. The King of Austrasia pursued his march, and in one vigorous campaign reduced the insurgents to submission. Not long afterwards, in 771, Carloman died somewhat suddenly at his palace near Laon. His widow, doubtless apprehensive of violence on the part of Charlemagne, left the country with her infant sons, and sought an asylum at the court of the King of Lombardy. Charlemagne forthwith repaired to Corbeny-sur-Aisne, and there, in accordance with the right claimed by the Germans of electing their own sovereign, he was raised by the suffrage of the nobles and prelates to the throne of his deceased brother; thus happily uniting under his sole sceptre the whole of the immense empire of the Franks.

§ 5. Charlemagne had no sooner taken possession of the monarchy than he found himself involved in hostilities with the Lombards of northern Italy. He had contracted a matrimonial alliance with Desiderata, a Lombard Princess; but had repudiated her within a year after the marriage, and married Hildegarde, a Suabian lady. Desiderius, her father, appealed to the pope, Hadrian I., to recognise

the two young sons of Carloman as their father's lawful successors: and, upon the pontiff's refusal, the Lombard army invaded the papal territory, seized several cities, and threatened Rome itself. In the autumn of 773 Hadrian sent messengers in urgent haste to the king of the Franks, to apprise him of his danger and implore immediate succour. Charlemagne assembled his forces at Geneva. and crossed the Alps in two grand divisions—the first by the Valais and Mont Joux, the second by Savoy and the Mont Cenis. Checked for a moment by the enemy in their descent from the mountains, the Franks overpowered all resistance when once they had reached the plain. Desiderius fled to Pavia; his son Adelchis, with whom were the widow and children of Carloman, threw himself into Verona. Both cities were invested by the Franks, and both, after some months, surrendered at discretion. The Lombard king, with his wife and daughter, the widowed queen of Carloman and the orphan princes, all fell into the hands of the conqueror. Desiderius was sent captive to France, and confined first at Lière, afterwards in the abbey of Corbey. The fate of the young princes is more doubtful, but it seems probable that they were likewise compelled to bury themselves for life in the obscurity of the cloister.

The unfortunate Desiderius was the last in the succession of Lombard monarchs, and their kingdom now became subject to Charlemagne. He did not, however, incorporate it with his transalpine empire, but preserved its distinct political existence, and the nationality of its people. He assumed the iron crown of Italy, and thenceforth entitled himself king of the Franks and the Lombards.

It was during the siege of Pavia, towards Easter, 774, that Charlemagne took the opportunity of paying his first visit to the pontifical court and the shrine of the apostles. "He went to Rome," says Eginhard, "to pray there;" but there were political as well as devotional reasons for the pilgrimage. Hadrian received him with distinguished honour in the portico of the basilica of St. Peter; and during this stay at Rome the foundations were doubtless laid of the vast monarchical system which Charlemagne was destined to create in Western Europe, and in the establishment of which he was so successfully aided by his alliance with successive occupants of the apostolic chair. He confirmed to the pope the splendid donation of his father Pepin; and even enlarged it, according to some accounts. by the addition of North Tuscany, Parma, Modena, Venice, and Corsica. Charlemagne's purpose seems to have been to make the Roman pontiff his confidential lieutenant in administering his Italian dominions while he retained in his own hands the paramount authority. Although sincerely anxious to exalt the Church and the Holy See, he was not one to forego in the smallest degree that supreme dominion to which his own ambition, talents, and success had raised him. The result was, that the temporal power of the popes became, under Charlemagne, greater in appearance than in reality. Ostensibly, the pope was the successor of the exarchs of Ravenna, the head of the Roman commonwealth, and the ruler of the fairest portion of Italy; but in point of fact he was no more than one of the chief feudatories of the Frankish empire; his relations to Charlemagne were rather those of a vassal to his suzerain than

of an independent prince to his equal.

§ 6. Four years after his accession Charlemagne commenced his memorable war against the Saxons—a people who, as long as they remained independent, were always more or less formidable along the German frontier of the empire. Divided into three confederacies of Westphalians, Eastphalians, and Engrians, the Saxons occupied at this time the greater part of Northern Germany, from Bohemia to the Baltic and the Northern Ocean. Both Franks and Saxons were originally of the same stock; but in proportion as the former had abandoned the ancient traditions of their race, by embracing Christianity and adopting Roman civilization, they had incurred the mortal hatred of the latter, who clung obstinately to idolatry and the rude institutions of barbarism. It was in 772 that Charlemagne resolved on undertaking their complete subjugation; and this remarkable struggle, one of the most prominent features of his reign, was protracted, with short intermissions, for no less than

thirty-three years.

In the first campaign the Franks captured Eresburg, the strongest fortress of the Saxons, and destroyed their national idol Irmensul, a column or monument supposed to commemorate the fatal defeat of the Roman legions under Varus by the Teutonic chieftain Arminius or Hermann. The Saxons made a feigned submission; but no sooner was Charlemagne occupied at a distance than they revolted afresh, surprised the castle of Eresburg, and drove the Frankish garrison across the border. A second campaign ensued in 775, with the same results as before. Two years later the Saxons once more took the field, under the command of a redoubtable chief named Witikind, and ravaged the whole country bordering on the Rhine, from Cologne to Coblentz. Witikind became the hero of the Saxon resistance; no reverse quelled his ardour or shook his resolution; after each defeat he retreated into the forests and wilds of Scandinavia, from which he reappeared, after a few months, at the head of fresh masses of combatants burning to renew the conflict. The Saxons were routed with fearful slaughter on the Lippe in 779; after which Charlemagne traversed their entire territory to its westerm extremity, receiving the submission of the inhabitants, and causing them to be baptized by thousands by the army of priests who accompanied his march.

For three years the Saxons remained tranquil; but at the voice of the indomitable Witikind a general insurrection burst forth, with tenfold fury, in 782. Charlemagne hurried to the scene of action with an overwhelming force, but his troops had been defeated before his arrival; and Witikind had escaped for shelter into Denmark. Incensed beyond all bounds, the monarch wreaked his vengeance by an atrocious massacre of 4500 captives, handed over to him by the Saxon tribes at Verden, on the banks of the Aller.

The Saxons were now driven to desperation; the whole nation flew to arms; and for three years the land was deluged with the blood of this internecine struggle. Wearied out at length by the inflexibility of the emperor, the Saxons agreed to submit, and Charlemagne, in the spring of 785, made conciliatory proposals to the heroic Witikind. He assured him of the royal elemency, and even promised him rewards and honours, if he would lay down his arms, forsake his idols, and embrace Christianity. The vanquished warrior signified his acceptance of these overtures; he crossed the Rhine with a safe-conduct; and in June, 785, was baptized at Attigny-sur-Aisne, in the presence of Charlemagne and his whole court. His example was followed by numbers of his companions in arms; and the Saxons, submitting sullenly to necessity, remained tranquil for the next seven years.

§ 7. The energetic character of Charlemagne, and successive emergencies which arose in other quarters, left him no repose even in the intervals of this stubborn conflict. The Saracen chiefs of Barcelona and Genoa appealed to him, in 777, for aid against Abderahman the Ommeyad, in return for which they promised to become tributary to the Frank empire. Charlemagne, thinking the conquest of Saxony was completed, and anxious to extend his frontier beyond the I'vrenees, agreed. Two armies were assembled in 778, one of which, commanded by the king in person, crossed the Pyrenees by St. Jean Pied-de-Port and Roncesvalles, and, gaining the valley of the Baztan, appeared before Pampeluna. That city capitulated immediately; and Charles, continuing his march, joined the other division of his army before Saragossa. Though he received the homage of the two rebel chiefs, Saragossa did not fall, and Charlemagne began his return march. The passes of Navarre were at this time strongly occupied by the Basques, who had lost none of their ancient enmity against the Franks and the Carlovingians. The main body of the Franks descended safely into the valley of the Nive; the rear-guard, encumbered with baggage and treasure, was less fortunate. As they wound slowly round the flanks of the Altobiscar mountain, which overhangs the pass of Roncesvalles, they were suddenly assailed by the Basques. Here fell the Paladin Roland, briefly described by Eginhard as "prefect of the marches

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of Brittany," but of whom we find no further mention in the pages of authentic history. His popular fame rests on the traditional

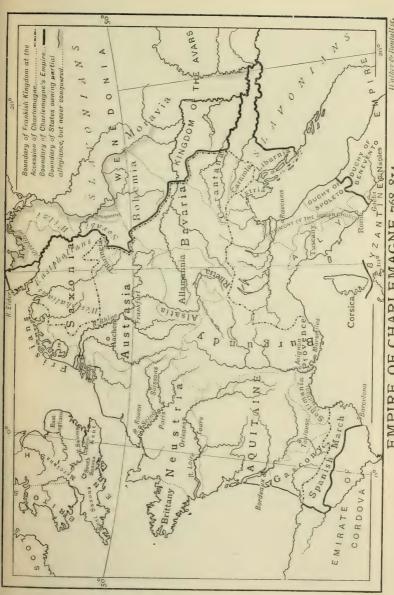
legends preserved especially in the Chanson de Roland.

Charlemagne never returned to Spain after the catastrophe of Roncesvalles. Both Basques and Saracens continued during many years to harass his southern frontier; and it was in order to consolidate his dominions in this quarter that he constituted, in 781, the kingdom of Aquitaine in favour of his infant son Louis, who afterwards succeeded him as Louis le Débonnaire. The famous Count William "au Court-nez," who was named chief minister to the young prince, conducted several successful expeditions beyond the Pyrenees; and by the close of the century the authority of the Franks was firmly established through nearly the whole of Catalonia and Aragon. The subject territory became a dependency of the crown of Aquitaine, under the title of the marches of Spain. It comprised the march of Gothia and the march of Gascony, of which the capitals were respectively Barcelona and Pampeluna.

Both provinces extended to the Ebro.

§ 8. With the various independent races which bordered on his empire Charlemagne had numerous conflicts. A strong confederacy formed by the Bavarians, under their Duke Tassilo, was overthrown in 788; Tassilo was tonsured, and confined for life in the monastery of Jumièges; and the hereditary ducal line of Bavaria being thus extinguished, the sovereignty of that country devolved on Charle. magne. Another extensive province was thus annexed to his empire. This conquest was almost immediately followed by the subjugation of the Tartar kingdom of the Avars. The Avars in 788 invaded Bayaria and the march of Fruili, and Charlemagne resolved upon their conquest. In 791 he invaded their country with an overwhelming force in three great divisions. In the first campaign the Franks carried by assault the outermost of a series of immense circular entrenchments called "rings," which protected the royal residence of the Avars; and after capturing a multitude of prisoners and a rich booty, made themselves masters of western Pannonia. In 796 Pepin King of Italy, at the head of a vast combined force of Franks, Lombards, Bavarians, and other Germans, stormed in succession all the remaining fortifications of the Huns, penetrated to the palace of their Chagan, pillaged and burnt it, and compelled the whole nation, thinned by terrible slaughter, to submit at discretion. In their last stronghold the Avars had accumulated a vast treasure, acquired by their repeated plunder both of the Eastern and Western empires: the whole was now appropriated by the Franks. The Avar chiefs, or "Tuduns," now consented to submit and receive Christianity; they were baptized at Aix-la-Chapelle.

§ 9. The sphere of Charlemagne's dominion, when it had reached



EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE 768-814

its widest development, comprehended at least half the European continent, and all the richer and more important territories of the ancient Roman empire. His sceptre was obeyed from the shores of the Baltie to the Ebro-from the Atlantic to the Lower Danube, the Theiss, and the mountains of Moravia—from the German Ocean to the Adriatic and the Garigliano in Central Italy. His authority was respected, his ascendency feared, his friendship highly prized, by those remoter states which maintained their independence-by the Saracens of Spain, the Saxons of Britain, the Lombard dukes of Benevento, the Italians of Magna Græcia, the Byzantine empire of the East, and even by the caliphs of Bagdad. No such concentration of power had been witnessed since the days of Theodosius the Great; and now Charlemagne aspired to revive the majestic autocracy of the Casars. His father Pepin had acquired his throne in virtue of a solemn act of consecration by St. Peter's successor. The Holy See was not less deeply indebted to Charlemagne than it had been to Pepin; and the relations of Leo III. with the Byzantine government rendered him anxious to establish a great Western empire. At Paderborn Leo had found a refuge from his enemies in Rome, and Frankish aid had enabled him to return to his capital. In November of the year A.D. 800 Charlemagne proceeded with a magnificent retinue to Rome; and on the feast of Christmas attended the service of the Church in St. Peter's. As he knelt before the high altar, the pope advanced towards him and placed an imperial crown upon his head; the whole cathedral resounded at the same instant with the acclamations of the multitude. " Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by God, great and pacific Emperor of the Romans!" After this the pope performed the ancient ceremony of adoration or homage, and anointed the emperor with the holy oil, together with his son Pepin King of Italy.

Eginhard affirms that this transaction was wholly unexpected by Charlemagne, and so contrary to his inclination, that had he been aware of the pope's intention he would have carefully absented himself from the church. It is not credible, however, that the pope would have ventured on such a proceeding without the full sanction, expressed or implied, of the monarch to whom he was

bound by such weighty obligations.

Although the elevation of Charlemagne to the imperial throne added nothing to his territorial dominion, it must be regarded as an event of vast significance and importance. It was the climax, the consummation, of the conquest of Rome by the barbarians. The empire of the West now passed visibly and formally into the hands of the Franks. They were in possession of all the great centres of the bygone Roman rule—Rome, Ravenna, Milan, Lyons, Trèves;

and the assumption by the head of their dynasty of the imperial purple and the title of Augustus completed and ratified their triumph. Moreover, the coronation of a Teutonic prince at Rome was an act of reconciliation and union between the victorious and the vanquished race. Rome and her conquerors were now incorporated into one great Christian monarchy; and although the new empire differed widely and essentially from that whose name it inherited, it acquired from that very name a vast accession of authority, and offered to Europe a guarantee of stability—political, social, and religious, such as had not been enjoyed for many centuries.*

With the coronation of Charlemagne a new age begins, the central idea of which is that of the "Holy Roman Empire." Church and state are united, the reign of barbaric force is closed,

and the new empire starts under happy auspices.

§ 10. The fourteen years of Charlemagne's reign as emperor were not marked by any great warlike undertaking or external conquest. He was mainly occupied with the internal organization of the empire, a task of almost superhuman difficulty, considering the number and dissimilarity of the races subject to his rule. Charlemagne's system of civil government will perpetuate his fame more surely than his most brilliant victories.

The government of Charlemagne was an absolute monarchy, disguised under aristocratical, and even to some extent popular, forms and institutions. The initiative of all laws resided with the emperor, but his propositions were submitted to the great council of the nation, where they underwent full discussion, and were afterwards promulgated in the joint names of the sovereign and the people, under the title of Capitularies. These national assemblies † met twice every year, in spring and autumn; and were composed of the great officers of the crown, the chief nobles, the bishops and the abbots, the counts or provincial governors, together with their subordinate functionaries. Sixty-five of the capitularies of Charlemagne remain to us. They are of a most miscellaneous character, "embracing every conceivable topic of legislation, from matters of the highest moral, ecclesiastical, and political importance down to minute details of domestic economy. They constitute, not a regular code of laws, but an unconnected mass of records, exhibiting all the public acts of the emperor's administration in its manifold branches and departments.

Large portions of his realms were given over to his sons under

^{*} See Notes and Illustrations.

[†] An interesting account of these councils has come down to us in a treatise, De Ordine Palatii, written by Adelbard, Abbot of Corbey, one of Charlemagne's principal advisers, and preserved by Hinemar. It is largely quoted by Guizot, Essais, p. 276.

sovereign.

whom worked a hierarchy of dukes and counts, who, with the assistance of their deputies (vicarii, centenarii, scabini), dispensed instice in their several districts; but beside these, Charlemagne in 802 established a system of travelling commissioners, or royal legates, called missi dominici, whose duty it was to revise the proceedings of the local tribunals, and exercise a general jurisdiction in the last resort. These officers were in direct communication with the emperor; they kept him accurately informed of the condition and wants of the people, and formed one of the most efficient organs of the central government. Two missi dominici, usually a bishop and a lay nobleman, were bound to make the circuit of their provinces four times in every year, and to report the result to the

But perhaps the noblest monuments of Charlemagne's genius are the revival of letters and extensive diffusion of knowledge which marked his reign, and which resulted mainly from his own interest in art and literature. Charlemagne was an indefatigable student; and the impulse of his personal example, patronage, and superintendence, produced admirable effects. The "school of the palace" was designed to be the model of similar institutions throughout the empire. By a circular letter to the bishops in 789 the emperor required them to establish elementary schools in their cathedral cities, for the gratuitous instruction of the children of freemen and of the labouring classes; while schools of a superior grade were to be opened at the same time in the larger monasteries, for the study of the higher branches of learning. Accordingly the next few years witnessed the foundation of numerous seminaries in different parts of France and Germany, which afterwards produced important and lasting fruits. The most eminent were those of Tours, Metz, Fontenelle in Normandy, Ferrières near Montargis, Fulda rear Wurtzburg, and Aniane in Languedoc, A sufficient supply of teachers for these schools was not to be obtained in France, and Charlemagne therefore spared no exertion to attract to his court learned men from every part of Europe.

Of these, Alcuin was the most distinguished. He was a native of York, and a deacon of the cathedral there. He was presented to Charlemagne at Parma in 781, on his return from a mission to Rome; and was persuaded by the emperor, in the following year, to take up his permanent residence in France. He was placed immediately at the head of the imperial academy, and for fourteen years led a life of unremitting labour as a public instructor. In addition to his services in the schools Alcuin applied himself to the important work of revising and restoring the manuscripts of antiquity, both sacred and profane. He produced a corrected edition of all the inspired books of the Old and New Testaments, copies of which

were multiplied by the monks under his directions, so that all the principal churches and abbeys were furnished with accurate transcripts of the sacred text. Alcuin was also much consulted upon points of controversial theology, and was one of the chief authorities at the famous council of Frankfort in 794, where the Western Church pronounced its judgment on the much-vexed question of image-worship. His extant letters to Charlemagne show the vast variety of subjects discussed during their intercourse, and give evidence of extraordinary activity and versatility of mind. Alcuin at length obtained permission from the emperor to retire to his abbey of St. Martin at Tours: he there spent the closing years of his life in peaceful yet profound study, and died at Tours, at the age

of seventy, in May, 804.

§ 11. In his declining years the great emperor withdrew himself as much as possible from the active labours and anxieties of government, in order to devote his time to literary study and devotional exercises. By his first testamentary arrangements, made in 806, the empire was divided among his three sons. Charles, the eldest. was to reign over Neustria and Austrasia, Saxony, and the other provinces of Germany; Pepin was confirmed in the kingdom of Italy; Louis received Aquitaine, Burgundy, Provence, and the Spanish marches. But within the next few years the hand of death was busy in the imperial family: the Princess Rotruda, the Princes Pepin and Charles, were carried off in rapid succession, to the deep grief of their aged father; and it became necessary to settle the inheritance afresh. In 813 Charlemagne convoked a full assembly of prelates and nobles at Aix-la-Chapelle, and designated his surviving son, Louis of Aquitaine, as his associate in the empire, and the sole heir of his splendid throne. This was the last political act of the reign of Charlemagne. On his return, some months afterwards, from a hunting expedition in the Ardennes, the emperor was attacked by acute pleurisy, which brought him to his end on the 28th of January, 814, in the seventy-second year of his age and forty-seventh of his reign. He was occupied, we are told, within a few days of his death, in correcting, with his own hand, the Latin version of the Gospels, which he collated with the Syriac translation and the original Greek. His last words were, "Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." His remains were interred in the cathedral which he had himself founded at Aix-la-Chapelle—his usual residence and the capital of his empire.

In person Charlemagne was above the middle height, finely and powerfully formed, and of a majestic presence. He was remarkable for his easy and graceful elocution, which enabled him to discourse with clearness and precision, and with peculiar exuberance of diction, upon all subjects. He spoke the Latin tongue with fluency

and elegance, and perfectly understood the Greek. He was a considerable proficient in the sciences of logic, rhetoric, astronomy, and music; and was well read in theology, especially in the writings of Augustine. He took an active part in the great religious controversies of his time, those on the heresy of the Adoptians and on the question of image-worship; and the 'Caroline Books' (an elaborate exposition of the doctrine and discipline of the Western Church upon the latter subject) were, if not composed by the emperor, at least drawn up under his immediate supervision.

Charlemagne left behind him a reputation for wisdom, power, and righteousness. New and high ideals had been given by him to Europe, which rightly regarded his reign as the period when the

brutal rule of barbarous kings came to an end.

§ 12. Louis I., surnamed by his contemporaries the Pious, but by modern historians le Débonnaire, or the Good-natured, ascended the throne of the Franks in the thirty-sixth year of his age. He was a prince of an excellent natural disposition, had received a good education, and had administered the kingdom of Aquitaine with considerable credit to himself and advantage to his people. His piety was deep and sincere, but it was piety which fitted him rather for the cloister than for his position as a sovereign and for the active duties of life; he was of a reserved, melancholy, superstitious temper; and his better qualities were obscured and neutralised by an incurable weakness of character. His first acts, however, were praiseworthy. He reformed with an unsparing hand the licentious manners of the court, which, through the indulgence of his father, had grown into a public scandal. The princesses his sisters, whose conduct had been notoriously discreditable, were the first examples of his severity: they were removed from the palace, and immured in separate convents. Several persons of high rank were at the same time disgraced and banished: among them Adalhard Abbot of Corbey, and his brother the Count Wala, who was compelled to enter a monastery. The emperor next proceeded to a searching reform of abuses in the Church; he insisted on the residence of the bishops in their dioceses; and caused the condition of the monasteries to be fully investigated by Benedict Abbot of Aniane, who re-established the ancient discipline in all its rigour. But these vigorous measures were soon succeeded by others which betrayed a feeble nature, ill calculated to command the submission and maintain the integrity of the gigantic empire created by the great Charles. Charlemagne had established the right of the Western emperors to confirm the election of the popes, thus giving them virtually a veto on the nomination. Stephen IV., on succeeding Leo III. in 816, took possession of the apostolic chair without making any application

for the imperial sanction; and Louis, by allowing the omission to pass without remonstrance, tacitly abandoned his prerogative. The pope, on the other hand, showed himself jealously and tenaciously mindful of the privileges of his see. In 816 he proceeded to France; and, with all the circumstances of a grand and solemn ceremonial, placed the crown upon the head of Louis at Rheims. proclaiming to the world by this act that the imperial dignity was only to be derived through the personal ministry of the Roman pontiff, and could not be transmitted by hereditary descent.

In the following year Louis was inclined to take a step which, instead of confirming his power as he intended, proved the source of all the troubles and humiliations of his reign. A general desire having been manifested for a settlement of the succession in case of his death, the emperor convoked a diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, and appointed his eldest son Lothaire his associate in the empire, with the reversion to the sovereignty of France and Italy; Pepin, the second son, was named at the same time heir to the throne of Aquitaine; and Louis, the youngest, to that of Germany. This was, in several points of view, a rash, ill-considered, and impolitic arrangement. The young princes, instead of combining to support their father's authority, were excited to disaffection, jealousy, and discord; they became the chiefs of rival factions; and their contentions, fomented by the nobility for their own purposes, resulted in the destruction of the great work so ably commenced by Charlemagne, the dismemberment of his empire, and the introduction of

a new phase of society throughout Europe.

§ 13. The first example of revolt was given by Bernard King of Italy, son and successor of Pepin, elder brother of the emperor. Bernard had been confirmed in his throne, notwithstanding his illegitimate birth, by Charlemagne himself; and he was now incensed to find himself indirectly threatened with deposition, by the assignment of the crown of Italy to Lothaire. Assembling in arms the feudal lords of Lombardy with their forces, the King of Italy took the field in 818, and advanced towards the passes of the Alps. Louis marched against him; and the inconstant Italians, on the first news of the approach of the imperial army, were seized with panic and abandoned their unfortunate leader, whose enterprise thus fell suddenly to the ground. At the suggestion of the Empress Hermengarde, who promised her mediation in his favour, Bernard now threw himself upon his uncle's mercy, and came voluntarily to implore his pardon at Châlons-sur-Saône. He was nevertheless arraigned, together with his principal partisans, before the assembly of the Franks, and sentence of death was pronounced against them all. Louis commuted the penalty, in the case of his nephew, into perpetual imprisonment, with the loss of sight—the

latter punishment being added, it is said, through the treacherous animosity of the empress. Three days after the execution of the sentence Bernard died.

The tragical fate of Bernard plunged Louis into deep remorse; and upon the death of Hermengarde, in 819, he recurred seriously to a design which he seems to have entertained several times before, of abdicating his throne, abandoning the world, and taking refuge, like his uncle Carloman, in monastic seclusion. His courtiers and ministers, alarmed at the possible consequences of such a step, laboured to give a new direction to his thoughts, and urged him to contract a second marriage. The easy-tempered monarch allowed himself to be persuaded, and selected Judith, the daughter of Welph or Guelph Count of Altdorf. This marriage took place in 820; and the new empress, who is described by writers of the time as distinguished not only by great personal attractions, but by her mental cultivation and various accomplishments, rapidly acquired an unbounded ascendency over her feeble-minded husband. The wounded spirit of the emperor, however, gave him no rest; and in the excess of his grief he was driven to seek relief by a public act of humiliation and atonement for his errors. Kneeling before the assembled bishops at Attigny, he accused himself, with bitter compunction, of the murder of his nephew, and submitted to canonical penance for the crime, as well as for his severities to Adalhard and Wala, whom he had recalled to his court, and the three princes his brothers. The penance of Attigny was a blunder. Henceforth his subjects ceased to regard him as worthy of respect or obedience.

§ 14. Two years after her marriage (June 13, 822), the Empress Judith gave birth to a son, who received the name of Charles, and is known in subsequent history as Charles the Bald. This infant became at once an object of suspicion to the three elder princes, and their misgivings were fully justified by the event. Judith naturally exerted all her influence to procure for her son a royal appanage, which could only be obtained by an open violation of the act of settlement of \$17. Louis, unable to resist her persuasions, created, in favour of Charles, a kingdom consisting of Alamannia, transjurane Burgundy, Rhætia, and Alsace. These provinces formed part of the inheritance of Lothaire, who was won over by the blandishments of Judith to acquiesce in his own spoliation. Quickly repenting, however, of his weakness, Lothaire conspired with his brothers Pepin and Louis in opposition to their father's government; and a struggle commenced between the court and the princes which ended only with the life of Louis. The chief adviser of the emperor at this time was Bernard Duke of Septimania, the son of his former viceroy William of Toulouse. Bernard was a

man of ambitious, intriguing disposition; he stood high in the confidence of the empress, and owing to his oppressive administration, he had become an object of general hatred. The rebellion against Louis blazed forth in the spring of 830. The army had been summoned for an expedition into Brittany: instead of assembling at the time appointed under the imperial standard, the troops deserted in masses and joined the faction of the princes. The insurrection spread with extraordinary rapidity, and the emperor soon found himself reduced to helpless isolation. He surrendered to his sons at Compiègne, and accepted all their demands. Bernard was instantly banished into Septimania; his relations and adherents were deprived of their offices, and punished with more or less severity: the empress was compelled to take the veil in the convent of Ste Radegonde at Poitiers: the boy-king Charles was stripped of his appanage and committed to strict confinement. As for the emperor, it was for some time seriously debated whether he should be deposed and imprisoned for life in a monastery; but the princes could not as yet reconcile themselves to such outrageous measures against their parent; Louis was suffered to retain the imperial title, and nominally to direct the government, but the real authority passed into the hands of the young Emperor Lothaire.

§ 15. The administration of such an empire, under such difficulties, was, however, a task beyond the powers of Lothaire; and his triumph was of short duration. In the course of the next year (831) dissensions arose among the three brothers; and Pepin and Louis, detaching themselves from the cause of Lothaire, combined with their father's friends to procure his restoration to authority. A sudden reaction followed in favour of Louis: and at the diet held at Nimeguen the German provinces expressed so strongly their feelings of loyalty to the rightful sovereign that the partisans of Lothaire at once gave way, and Louis was reinstated on his throne. In order to calm the popular agitation, the emperor pardoned his rebellious son, and they appeared together on cordial terms in public. In other respects affairs now took the turn that might have been expected. The empress was released from her cloister, and reappeared at court, under a dispensation from her vows granted by the pope; her own affirmation was admitted as a satisfactory guarantee of her innocence; and Duke Bernard, suddenly making his appearance before the national council at Thionville, offered the wager of battle to any one who should dare repeat the calumnies which had assailed his character. No one responded to the challenge, and Bernard was adjudged to be guiltless of the crime imputed to him. Lothaire forfeited the imperial title, and retained the crown of Italy only, to which he had succeeded on the death of his cousin; the three brothers were

dismissed to their respective dominions. Louis resigned himself once more to the absolute government of his wife. Bernard was replaced as confidential minister by the monk Gundbald, who had been the principal instrument of the emperor's restoration.

The disgraced favourite now plotted eagerly for revenge; he allied himself with Pepin of Aquitaine, and a fresh revolt was arranged between them, with the concurrence of Louis the German, in 832. This project, however, entirely failed of success; Louis found himself unsupported, made his submission to the emperor, and obtained an easy pardon. Pepin was not treated with the same indulgence; he was arrested and sent prisoner to Trèves, together with his wife and children; his kingdom of Aquitaine was declared forfeited, and was bestowed upon the youthful Charles. Count Bernard was deprived of his government of Septimania, and of all his other honours. But both the clemency and the severity of the feeble Louis were alike unfortunate and ineffectual. The national discontent with his government gained ground continually; and in 833 the princes once more coalesced against their father, and took the field with the avowed purpose of compelling him to abdicate the throne. The pope of the day, Gregory IV., was induced to give his sanction to the rebellion; he crossed the Alps and appeared publicly in the camp of Lothaire, demanding from the emperor the fulfilment of the constitution of 817, which had been guaranteed by the Holy See. Louis advanced with his forces, and the two armies approached each other, on the 24th June, in the plain called Rothfeld, between Colmar and Bâle. An extraordinary scene now followed. All expected an immediate engagement; but the pope, resolving to make a last effort to prevent bloodshed, sought an interview with the emperor, and laboured earnestly to bring about an accommodation. The negotiation was still pending, when in the course of a single night all the principal barons of Louis's party silently quitted his camp with their troops, and deserted to the opposite lines. The defection became general; in the space of two or three days the Empress Judith, with her son Charles, a few bishops and counts, with a mere handful of vassals, were all that adhered to the cause of the unfortunate monarch. From this shameful transaction the spot received, and retained for ages, the title of Lügenfeld, or the Field of Falsehood.

Louis had now no alternative but to submit to necessity, as he had done three years before. Himself, his wife, and his child, proceeded as suppliants to the rebel encampment, and received from the three princes a cold assurance of personal protection. It was soon evident that this was the utmost extent of favour they had to expect. The empress was immediately despatched, under a strong guard, across the Alps, and imprisoned in the fortress of Tortona. Lothaire proclaimed his father deposed from the throne, and himself sole emperor,

after which he committed the unhappy Louis to close custody in the convent of St. Médard at Soissons, and confined the boy Charles in the abbey of Prüm in the Ardennes. It was now resolved to take measures by which the dethroned monarch should be for ever precluded from resuming the reins of government, or engaging in political affairs. The bishops, at the instigation of Lothaire, summoned Louis to appear before a solemn assembly in the cathedral of Soissons (Nov. 11, 833), and there, after rehearing once more the exaggerated catalogue of his crimes and errors, they condemned him to the punishment of perpetual penance. Louis acknowledged, with many tears and the most abject self-abasement, the justice of the sentence: divested himself of his military belt; and received from the hands of the prelates a cloak of sackcloth; after which he was reconducted to his cell. Lothaire, however, fearing a popular movement in his favour, removed him soon afterwards, for further security, to Aix-la-Chapelle.

Thus was Louis le Débonnaire a second time dispossessed of the empire, and that by the agency of the very episcopate which during his whole reign he had laboured to exalt to the highest pitch of power and honour. But the unnatural proceedings of Lothaire defeated their own purpose; the strange spectacle of the emperor's degradation excited among the people feelings of intense indignation; and within four months from the occurrence (March, 834) Lothaire found himself compelled not only to set his father at liberty. but to save himself by a hasty flight into Burgundy. Pepin and Louis of Germany combined their forces, and, amid general demonstrations of joy, proclaimed the emperor's second restoration to his throne. The empress, set free from her distant prison, returned without delay to France, where she at once recovered all her honours and all her influence. Lothaire attempted at first to maintain himself in arms against his father, but, meeting with little support, was soon reduced to submission; and the emperor, whom no experience could inspire with wisdom and firmness, granted him a full pardon, and left him in possession of his kingdom of Italy, on condition that he would not repass its boundary without the imperial permission.

§ 16. The fatigue and agitation of fifteen years of strife now began to tell seriously upon the emperor's health; and Judith, perceiving that his life was not likely to be of long duration, urged him to make a new and final division of the empire for the benefit of the favourite Charles. Louis yielded as usual; and at Crémieux, near Lyons, in 835, a partition was declared by which the French and German territories were nearly equally distributed between Pepin, Louis, and Charles, the portion of Lothaire being restricted to the kingdom of Italy. Two years later a large addition was made to the appanage of Charles, at the expense of Pepin and Louis; and upon the premature

death of Pepin (Dec., 838) this arbitrary and unjust act was in its turn rescinded; Judith was reconciled to Lothaire, and they joined in imposing on the emperor a final arrangement satisfactory to both. By this treaty, concluded at Worms in 839, the whole empire, with the single exception of Bayaria, was divided equally between Lothaire and Charles. Upon the news of this flagrant invasion of his rights, Louis the German once more raised the standard of revolt, and attacked the Rhenish provinces. The emperor, though much broken in health, led his troops against him, and compelled him to retire within his own borders. But the effort exhausted the failing strength of Louis le Débonnaire; at the close of the campaign he took up his abode, melancholy and heartbroken, on an islet of the Rhine, opposite Ingelheim; and there, after lingering some weeks, he expired on the 20th of June, 840, in the sixty-third year of his age.

§ 17. The unity of the Carlovingian empire disappeared with Louis le Débonnaire. For many years the elements of three distinct nationalities had been gradually developing themselves in Western Europe; and the struggle which now ensued between the sons of the late emperor terminated in the complete establishment of a new and more natural division of the lands of Western Europe. It was to no purpose that Lothaire, immediately on receiving the news of his father's death, hurried from Italy towards the north, assumed the title of sole emperor, summoned the nobles to do him homage, and attempted to direct the administration. He was resolutely opposed by his brothers Louis and Charles; and as each of the three princes was supported by the population of the provinces under his sway, it was soon manifest that an appeal to arms was inevitable. The inhabitants of France, of whatever origin, rallied round the standard of Charles; the Germans obeyed the orders of their sovereign Louis; the Italians and Austrasians were unanimous for the rights of the Emperor Lothaire.

Louis and Charles, reconciled by a common danger, combined their forces against Lothaire, who on his part formed an alliance with his nephew Pepin, son of the late King of Aquitaine. Much time was spent in fruitless negotiation; at length the hostile armies approached each other on the great plain of Auxerre; and at Fontenay, on the 25th of June, 841, a decisive battle took place, which ended in the total defeat of Lothaire. Forty thousand of the vanquished army are said to have perished on the field, and the loss of the victors was probably not much inferior. The brunt of the action was sustained by the Franks: and the flower of the nation, the descendants of the Teutonic conquerors of Gaul, were exterminated in this disastrous strife. Victory having declared for Charles, Bernard of Septimania acknowledged him at once as his sovereign, and took the oath of homage for his duchy.

Lothaire fled to Aix-la-Chapelle, and made great efforts to prolong the contest, but without success. The coalition against him was much strengthened by a solemn meeting of his two brothers at the head of their armies, which took place at Strasburg in February, 842, when they formally renewed their engagements, and swore to maintain a close and inviolable alliance. It is on this occasion that we meet with the first mention of the Romance language -a corruption of the Latin, with an admixture of Celtic-which had now grown into general use in France, and from which the French of modern days was gradually formed. The form of the oath pronounced in this tongue by Louis the German, in order to be understood by the mass of his brother's Neustrian and Aquitanian troops, has been preserved to us. Charles, on the other hand, harangued the soldiers of Louis in the Tudesque dialect, the vernacular of all the German nations, which they had preserved in the countries beyond the Rhine, where Roman colonization had never made much progress.

§ 18. Finding that the league against him had received powerful reinforcements, and that from the distracted state of the empire he was in danger of losing several of the provinces which still adhered to him, Lothaire, in June, 842, made proposals to his brothers for a general pacification. Preliminaries were at once agreed to at a meeting near Macon; and after an exact survey of the whole extent of the empire by one hundred and twenty commissioners, the great question in dispute was finally adjusted by a treaty signed at Verdun in

August, 843.

To Lothaire, with the title of emperor, was allotted his original kingdom of Italy, and, in addition, the territories comprised between the Rhine, the Meuse, the Saône, and the Rhone, including the city of Lyons. The northern part of Lothaire's dominions received from him the title of Lotharingia, which became in later times Lorraine.

The portion assigned to Louis consisted of the whole of Germany, to which were annexed the cities of Mayence, Worms, and Spires, on the left bank of the Rhine.

The whole country west of the Meuse, the Saône, and the Rhone was declared subject to the sceptre of Charles the Bald; and it is therefore from this treaty of Verdun that historians date the

erection of the kingdom of France, properly so called.

Thus was completed, by the hands of the grandsons of Charle-magne, the dismemberment and dissolution of that magnificent empire which had been the work of his life. Three monarchies arose upon its ruins, henceforth to remain distinct in race, in language, in character, in interests; and in point of fact the treaty of Verdun only proclaimed a separation which the lapse of time and the progress of nations had already accomplished.

The Empress Judith survived to witness the settlement which established her son upon the throne of France. She closed a life of restless intrigue in September, 844, and was buried in a monastery at Tours.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

CHARLEMAGNE EMPEROR.

The motive of Charlemagne in accepting the title of emperor has not been generally understood. Even Hallam remarks that Charlemagne's probable design in so doing "was not only to extend his power in Italy, but to invest it with a sort of sacredness and prescriptive dignity in the eyes of his barbarian subjects. These had been accustomed to hear of emperors as something superior to kings, they were themselves fond of pompous titles, and the chancery of the new Augustus soon borrowed the splendid ceremonial of the Byzantine Court" (Middle Ages, i. p. 123). But the real motive has been more correctly appreciated by Sir Henry Maine in his work on Ancient Law. He points out that the conception of "territorial sovereignty" was at that time unknown, and that, when the descendants of Clovis aspired to be something more than kings of the Franks, the only precedent which suggested itself was the title of emperors of Rome. The passage deserves the careful attention of the student. "The world had lain for so many centuries under the shadow of Imperial Rome as to have forgotten that distribution of the vast spaces comprised in the empire which had once parcelled them out into a number of independent commonwealths, claiming immunity from extrinsic interference, and pretending to equality of national rights. After the subsidence of the barbarian irruptions, the notion of sovereignty that prevailed seems to have been twofold. On the one hand it assumed the form of what may be called 'tribe sovereignty.' The Franks, the Burgundians, the Vandals, the Lombards, and Visigoths, were masters, of course, of the territories which they occupied, and to which some of them have given a geographical appellation, but they based no claim of right upon the fact of territorial possession, and indeed attached no importance to it whatever. They appear to have retained the traditions which they

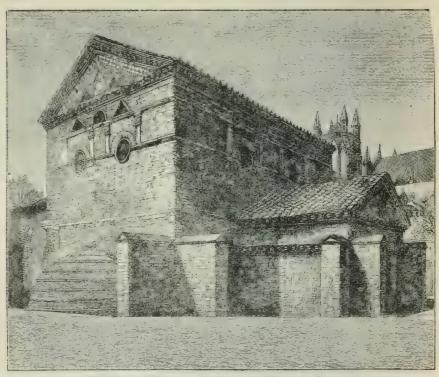
steppe, and to have still been in their own view a patriarchal society, a nomad horde, merely encamped for the time upon the soil which afforded them sustenance. Part of Transalpine Gaul, with part of Germany, had now become the country de facto occupied by the Franks-it was France; but the Merovingian line of chieftains, the descendants of Clovis, were not kings of France, they were kings of the Franks. The alternative to this peculiar notion of sovereignty appears to have been-and this is the important pointthe idea of universal dominion. moment a monarch departed from the special relation of chief to clansmen, and became solicitous, for purposes of his own, to invest himself with a novel form of sovereignty, the only precedent which suggested itself for his adoption was the domination of the emperors of Rome. To parody a common quotation, he became 'aut Cæsar aut nullus.' Either he pretended to the full prerogative of the Byzantine emperor, or he had no political status whatever. In our own age, when a new dynasty is desirous of obliterating the prescriptive title of a deposed line of sovereigns, it takes its designation from the people instead of the territory. Thus we have emperors and kings of the French and a king of the Belgians. At the period of which we have been speaking, under similar circumstances, a different alternative presented itself. The chieftain who would no longer call himself king of the tribe must claim to be emperor of the world. Thus, when the hereditary mayors of the palace had ceased to compromise with the monarchs they had long since virtually dethroned, they soon became unwilling to call themselves kings of the Franks, a title which belonged to the displaced Merovings; but they could not style themselves kings of France, for such a designation, though apparently not unknown, was not a title of dignity. Accordingly they came forward as aspirants to universal empire. . . . These singularities brought with them from the forest and the of view were not altered on the partition of

the inheritance of Charlemagne among his sality of sovereignty continued to be three grandsons. Charles the Bald, Lewis, and Lothaire were still theoretically, if it be proper to use the word, emperors of Rome. Just as the Casars of the Eastern and Western Empires had each been de jure emperor of the whole world, with de facto control over half of it, so the three with the possession of a limited portion of unqualified. The same speculative univer- (Ancient Law, pp. 103-107.)

associated with the Imperial throne after the second division on the death of Charles the Fat, and, indeed, was never thoroughly dissociated from it so long as the empire of Germany lasted. Territorial sovereignty -the view which connects sovereignty Carlovingians appear to have considered the earth's surface—was distinctly an offtheir power as limited, but their title as shoot, though a tardy one, of feudalism,"



La Main de Justice of Charlemagne.



Temple of St. Jean at Poitiers. Built as a baptistery in the fourth century.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LATER CARLOVINGIANS. FROM THE TREATY OF VERDUN TO THE ACCESSION OF HUGH CAPET. A.D. 843-987.

- § 1. Charles the Bald, King of France; rebellions. § 2. Incursions of the Normans. § 3. Charles the Bald crowned emperor; his death. § 4. Progress of feudalism. § 5. John Scotus Erigena; Hinemar of Reims. § 6. Louis le Bégue; Louis III. and Carloman. § 7. The Emperor Charles the Fat. § 8. Siege of Paris by the Normans. § 9. Eudes, Count of Paris, King of France. § 10. Charles the Simple; Rollo, Duke of Normandy. § 11. Deposition of Charles the Simple; Robert and Rodolph, kings of France; death of Charles the Simple. § 12. Louis d'Outremer; Hugh the Great, Duke of France. § 13. Lothaire, King of France. § 14. Louis V., le Fainéant; accession of Hugh Capet.
- § 1. The cessation of strife between the royal brothers did not restore peace to the divided empire. Monarchical authority had received a fatal shock during the disorders of the late reign; great nobles, freed from the restraint of an iron will and a commanding genius, grew more and more refractory, and now sought openly to

shake off all central control and set themselves up, each in his own domain, as so many petty independent sovereigns. This tendency, which resulted in the feudal system, forms the chief feature of the period upon which we are now entering. Charles the Bald, a prince by no means devoid of intelligence, ability, or courage, struggled against it ineffectually throughout his reign.

Three extensive provinces had already assumed the attitude of separate states, and defied his authority; Aquitaine, which was ruled by Pepin II.; Septimania or Languedoc, under the energetic Duke Bernhard; and Brittany, which obeyed the orders of its native chief, Nomenoë. Charles had to make war successively, and often simultaneously, with all these stubborn opponents. The contest in Aquitaine was long and severe; but although this country, as well as Languedoc, was at length ostensibly annexed to the dominions of Charles the Bald and his son, the real authority was divided between three great feudal potentates—the Duke of Guienne or Gascony, and the Counts of Poitiers and Toulouse.

§ 2. During the whole of this period of strife and anarchy France suffered fearfully from the incessant invasions and depredations of the fierce Scandinavian freebooters, called Northmen, and in later times Normans. This coming danger had been distinctly foreseen by the sagacity of Charlemagne: but during his vigorous rule the coasts of the empire remained secure from foreign aggression. His degenerate descendants left the seaboard without defence; and in 841 the Norman vikings entered the mouth of the Seine with a flotilla of 120 galleys, and, sailing up to Rouen, pillaged and burnt that city. Every year their piratical raids were repeated, until in 845, under a famous chieftain named Regnor Lodbrog, they penetrated into the very heart of the kingdom, and appeared before the walls of Paris. Such was the helplessness of Charles, that the capital was abandoned without resistance to the invaders, who rifled the rich abbeys of Ste. Genéviève and St. Germain des Prés, and then, seized with panic, left the city. Though Charles purchased their retirement from Neustria at the price of 7000 pounds of silver, their ravages extended through Aquitaine and the central districts. In 857 the city of Paris fell a second time into the hands of the freebooters, and so many thousands of the inhabitants were massacred that "the islets of the Seine," says a contemporary chronicler, "were whitened with the bones of their victims."

It was not till 862 that the Normans were for the first time successfully opposed in France, by Robert the Strong, Count of Anjou, whom Charles the Bald had created duke or governor of the provinces between the Seine and the Loire. For five years he not only held his own, but routed them in several serious engagements. But in 867 Robert was slain while attacking a band of Northmen under Hasting.

This Robert the Strong, Count of Anjou, descended from Childebrand, the brother of Charles Martel, was the great-grandfather of Hugh Capet, and ancestor of the kings of France of the third dynasty. His death was a heavy blow to the declining monarchy of the Carlovingians.

In 864 Charles endeavoured, by the edict of Pistres, to organise cavalry and raise fortifications for the defence of Paris and other parts of his realm against the Vikings. But it was not so much these precautions as the fact that the Northmen were occupied in the invasion of England which gave the kingdom the repose which

it enjoyed from 867 to 878.

§ 3. The course of events, by which Charles the Bald survived not only his two brothers, but also several of their successors, procured him in his latter years a vast extension of territory. The death of the Emperor Lothaire took place in 855; his dominions were divided among his three sons, of whom the eldest, Louis, became Emperor and King of Italy,-the second. Lothaire, King of Lorraine.-while for Charles, the youngest, a new kingdom was erected consisting of Burgundy and Provence. All three princes died within a few years of each other, leaving no direct heirs; Charles of Provence in 863, the King of Lorraine in 869, the Emperor Louis II. in 875. The dominions of Lothaire ought to have passed to the eldest of his brothers, the Emperor Louis; but Charles the Bald instantly invaded Lorraine, and was crowned at Metz in September, 869. The emperor, engrossed by a war with the Saracens in the south of Italy, contented himself with remonstrances; but Louis the German, by taking the field the following spring, compelled his brother to propose negotiations. resulted in the partition of Mersen, August 9, 870, by which the dominions of their nephew were divided nearly equally between them. The eastern part of Lorraine, between the Meuse and the Rhine, with transjurane Burgundy, fell to the share of Louis the German, with the towns of Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, Trèves, Strasburg, Nimuegen, Utrecht, and Maestricht. Charles obtained the western districts, between the Meuse and Scheldt,-cisjurane Burgundy,-Lyons, including Vienne, Besancon, Toul, Verdun, Cambrai, Malines, Liége, and Tongres.

Fresh complications arose upon the death of the Emperor Louis, which occurred in August, 875. Both his uncles, between whom there now reigned a spirit of bitter and fierce rivalry, at once laid claim to the imperial crown and the Italian realms. Charles the Bald, with more energy than he had ever displayed in the defence of his just rights, immediately crossed the Alps to vindicate his claims, and was accepted by some of the Lombards then assembled in their diet at Pavia. He reached Rome, gained over the pope,

John VIII., to his interests, and was crowned emperor in St. Peter's on the feast of Christmas, 875. Meanwhile Louis the German invaded the French territory; and the new emperor hurried northwards in hot haste. Louis, retreating on his approach, soon recrossed the Rhine; but the negotiations which were opened were suddenly suspended by the tidings of the death of Louis the German at Frankfort on the 28th of August, 876, leaving three sons to share his dominions. Charles attempted to seize Lorraine, but, shortly after his defeat by the young Louis at Andernach, he died in a miserable hut upon the pass of the Mont Cenis. He died October 6, 877, at the age of fifty-four, having reigned upwards of thirty-seven years.

§ 4. The principles of feudalism made rapid progress during this distracted reign. Royalty was powerless to enforce its authority or protect the public interests, and the nobles were thus compelled in self-defence to assume sovereign power. The face of the country was soon covered with fortresses and walled towns, for the preservation of life and property from the ravages of the Norman bandits. It was a movement which tended directly to weaken the monarchy, As such, Charles the Bald repeatedly forbade the erection of castles and the fortification of towns without the royal permission; but his edicts were disregarded, and in the end he was compelled to acquiesce in a tendency which he had no means of arresting. Freemen and small proprietors, finding that the central government was utterly unable to protect them, applied for succour to some powerful neighbouring baron, to whom they commended themselves by the promise of a yearly payment in money, or by undertaking personal military service as his vassals. This practice, formally sanctioned by a royal ordinance of 841, was rendered obligatory by a subsequent capitulary. The direct allegiance which had hitherto been paid to the sovereign was thus transferred to the provincial counts; both lords and vassals became strangers to the throne and its interests, and the territorial and administrative unity of the empire, so laboriously built up by Charlemagne, was ere long dissolved. Gradually the allodial lands were converted into feudal tenures, the freeholder gladly submitting to this sacrifice in return for the guarantee of protection and security. And, to complete the revolution, every possessor of a fief usurped within his own boundaries all the functions and prerogatives of sovereignty; he declared war and made peace, dispensed justice, imposed taxes, coined money, enacted laws, conferred honours and rewards.

A capitulary passed at the council of Kiersy-sur-Oise, in 877, granted to the nobles in express terms the hereditary transmission of their benefices. This privilege, long tacitly conceded, was now solemnly confirmed; and the act referred to may therefore be taken

to mark the formal establishment of the feudal constitution. It runs in the following terms: "If any one of our fideles has a son or other relative capable of serving the state, he shall be at liberty to transmit to him his benefices, honours, and employments, as he may think proper. Upon the death of a count, if his son should be with us,* our son shall name certain of the nearest relatives of the deceased, in concert with the local functionaries and the bishop of the diocese, to conduct the administration of the said county until we shall receive information of the vacancy, and shall be able to invest the son with the dignitics enjoyed by his late parent. If the count's son be of tender age, the same officers and the bishop shall form a council to assist the child in the government of the county. until, upon due announcement made to us, we shall confer upon the heir his paternal honours. The like regulations shall also be observed with regard to their vassals by the bishops and abbots, the counts, and all other our faithful subjects." The effect of this edict was that the counts and other officers, instead of being, as hitherto, the delegates and licutenants of the sovereign, became independent governors of their several territories. Their authority henceforth descended by hereditary succession in their families; and by the close of the century the whole country was parcelled out among these great houses, the heads of which, while nominally recognising the King of France, obeyed in reality no other law than that of their private will and interests. It followed, as a further consequence, that the occupant of the throne became virtually the dependent nominee of the great feudatories.

§ 5. The intellectual as well as the political and social condition of France degenerated under the later Carlovingians. The revival of letters under Charlemagne was premature, and therefore shortlived, but the decline under his successors was gradual; and during the reign of Charles the Bald several eminently learned and celebrated men adorned the various departments of literature and science. The chief of them were John Scotus, surnamed Erigena (or the Irishman), and Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims. The former was for many years at the head of the Palatial School, where he taught a system of philosophy founded upon Aristotle and Plato. and encouraged discussions upon the most abstruse metaphysical questions, such as predestination and free will. For the age in which he lived Erigena was a man of astonishing acquirements. His writings show him to have been an excellent scholar, extensively and accurately acquainted with the best authors of antiquity. At the court of Charles the Bald he was constantly consulted by the king on all the great questions of the day,

^{*} That is, serving with the French army in Italy. This capitulary was passed on the eve of the king's departure on his last Italian expedition.

ecclesiastical and civil. He is supposed to have died in France about the year 880.

Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims, was perhaps the most conspicuous and influential personage in France, both in Church and State, during the latter half of the ninth century. Born in 806, of the noble family of the Counts of Toulouse, he was early in life favoured and advanced by Louis le Débonnaire and Charles the Bald, and held the archiepiscopal see of Reims for thirty-seven years—from 845 to 882. The talents of Hincmar were of the highest order; and he possessed a lofty, independent tone of mind. Throughout life he was a strenuous defender of the rights of the Gallican Church. and the legitimate jurisdiction of its bishops, against the encroachments of the see of Rome. His prolonged contest with Nicholas I., one of the ablest and most ambitious of the popes, is especially memorable. Hincmar is also celebrated for his controversy with Gottschalk, a monk of the diocese of Soissons, who maintained the doctrine of absolute predestination and reprobation. Gottschalk was condemned by a council at Kiersy in 849, and seems to have been treated by the archbishop with extreme severity. This excited violent irritation and opposition among the clergy, some of whom began to write in support of Gottschalk's tenets; and Hinemar continued involved in bitter polemical disputes for the rest of his days. Several of his works are extant, among which are epistles addressed to Charles the Bald, Louis le Bégue, and Charles the Fat. treating of political science in general, and full of excellent advice for the government of the kingdom. Hincmar died in exile from his cathedral city, which had fallen into the hands of the Normans, in the year 882.

§ 6. Louis le Bégue, or the Stammerer, the only surviving son of Charles the Bald, was a prince of sickly constitution and feeble character. He died, after a brief reign of a year and a half, in April, 879, leaving two sons, Louis III. and Carloman, who were raised to the throne conjointly—the elder, Louis, reigning in the north of France, while Carloman governed Aquitaine and Burgundy. The only event of importance in their reign was the revolt of Duke Boson, the brother-in-law of Charles the Bald, who in 878 usurped the independent sovereignty of the south-eastern provinces, and established himself, with the general consent of the population, as King of Burgundy and Provence. This new kingdom, of which the capital was Arles, maintained its separate existence for upwards of a century and a half: it was ceded in 1033 to the Emperor Conrad II., and was thenceforth annexed to the German empire. The great vassals, however, continued to share among them the real power: the principal of them was the dauphin of Vienne.

Louis III., after having signally defeated the Northmen at

Sancourt, near Abbeville, and concluded a treaty with their leader. Hasting, died suddenly in August, 882. He had scarcely completed his twentieth year. His brother survived him somewhat more than two years: his death was occasioned by a wound which he received in hunting the wild-boar, in December, 884.

§ 7. Neither Louis III. nor Carloman left any issue male; and the crown now devolved, according to the strict law of succession, upon an infant prince of five years old, named Charles, a posthumous son of Louis le Bégue by his second wife Adelaide; but the imminent dangers which threatened the state were such as to require a sovereign of mature age, capable of exerting himself in its defence; and the nobles, deviating from the line of hereditary right, adjudged the throne to the Emperor Charles the Fat, youngest son of Louis the German. Charles possessed already the kingdoms of Italy and Germany, so that, on adding France to his dominions, he united under his sceptre nearly the whole of the immense empire founded by Charlemagne. Charles, however, was utterly unworthy of the lofty position to which fortune had raised him. He was devoid both of military and political talent; his corpulence rendered him inactive: he was cruel, treacherous, cowardly. A formidable league was raised against him in the year following his accession, by a Norman chieftain named Godefrid, who had obtained the lordship of Frisia, and Hugh (Hugues) of Lorraine, the illegitimate son of King Lothaire, and pretender to his father's throne. In 882, by the treaty of Elslov, Charles bought off the Dancs; in 884 he inherited Neustria. The Danes reappeared again, and under pretext of a conference to arrange their differences, Charles enticed Godefrid into his power, and caused him to be assassinated in cold blood. Hugh was seized at the same moment, deprived of his eyesight, and sent prisoner to the convent of St. Gall, where he expired shortly afterwards. Upon the news of this outrage, the Vikings entered the north of France, and arrived for the third time before Paris, with an overwhelming force commanded by the famous Rollo, in November, 885.

§ 8. The siege which ensued is one of the most memorable events of the ninth century. The capital was nobly defended by three great feudal lords, among whom Eudes, Count of Paris, eldest son of Count Robert the Strong, was the most distinguished. They had fortified themselves with a chosen garrison on the island of the Seine, where for the space of eighteen months they successfully defied the utmost efforts of the besieging army of 30,000 men. The citizens were encouraged to hold out by repeated assurances that the emperor was on his march at the head of a vast army to their succour; but Charles was far away in Germany, where he continued to linger, apparently indifferent to the fate of Paris, though messenger

after messenger was despatched to warn him of the extremity of the danger. Meanwhile the siege was pressed with extraordinary vigour: the assailants exhausted all the resources of the art of war. but could never succeed in carrying the two bridges, each defended by a lofty tower, which united the island with the right bank of the Seine. After a delay of three months, the indolent Charles arrived with the grand army of the empire, and crowned the heights of Montmartre. He refused to risk an attack on the Danes, and entered into a disgraceful compromise with the half-defeated enemy, by which he agreed to pay 700 pounds of silver for the ransom of Paris, the Northmen being permitted to retire unmolested into Burgundy. This indignity was deeply resented by the whole nation. The Parisians repudiated the treaty with scorn, and fiercely attacked the Northmen when they demanded a passage across the Seine. They were obliged to drag their galleys by land for a distance of more than two miles from the city before they could embark in safety.

The emperor retired from Paris to Soissons, despised by his subjects, and worn out by disease. It was with difficulty that he reached the frontier of Germany, where he found himself the object of general contempt and aversion. His intellect became impaired; and, finding he could not oppose his nephew Arnulf, he abdicated, and died at Neidingen three months later, on January 12, 888.

§ 9. The death of Charles the Fat was the signal for the final dismemberment of the Carlovingian empire. It broke up at once into its natural divisions of France, Germany, and Italy; but these were again subdivided into no less than seven independent states. each of which elected as its sovereign the most powerful of its local aristocracy. The crown of France was offered, in grateful recognition of his gallant defence of Paris, to the Count Eudes, who had already been invested by the late emperor with the Duchy of France. He was proclaimed and crowned amid general demonstrations of joy; but he soon discovered that his throne was beset with perils; and his reign of ten years was a continual struggle either with foreign invasion or with internal faction. The election of Eudes was not recognised in Aquitaine; he encountered obstinate resistance from the Counts of Poitiers and Auvergne; and he was never able to establish more than a nominal authority over the provinces south of the Loire. The example of Aquitaine was followed in Brittany. There Alan Count of Vannes, having won an important victory over the Northmen in 890, declared himself independent, assumed the royal title, and reigned gloriously for seventeen years. Meanwhile a powerful party clung to the dethroned dynasty of the Carlovingians, in the person of the youthful Charles, the sole surviving son of Louis le Bégue. Taking advantage of the absence of Eudes

on a distant expedition, they conveyed the young prince secretly to Reims, where he was crowned King of France, January 28, 893, having just attained the age of fourteen. At the approach of Eudes and his forces. Charles and his partisans escaped to the court of Arnulf, King of Germany, who, as successor to Charles the Fat, was looked upon as the head of the family of Charlemagne and the natural protector of its rights. After a desultory civil strife, the Carlovingian party sent envoys to treat with Eudes for terms of peace. Eudes behaved towards his young opponent with moderation: he ceded to him in full sovereignty the territory between the Seine and the Meuse, and guaranteed to him the succession to the crown of the whole kingdom. This arrangement had scarcely been ratified when Eudes fell dangerously ill at La Fère-sur-Oise, where he expired on the 3rd of January, 898, at the age of forty. With his last breath he urged the barons who surrounded him to transfer their allegiance to Charles. His brother Robert succeeded him as Duke of France.

§ 10. Charles III., surnamed the Simple, ascended the throne peaceably, and reigned for many years in undisturbed tranquillity. His understanding was weak; he was credulous and easily deceived: and his careless temper rendered him a mere puppet in the hands of the turbulent nobles.

The Northmen, after the example of their barbarous predecessors in the fifth century, had for some years past shown an inclination to settle permanently on the soil which they had so often laid waste by their ravages. They had formed several colonies in the basin of the Lower Seine, especially at Rouen; they also occupied Bayeux, Evreux, Chartres, and other desirable positions in that fruitful district. Their leader at this time was the celebrated Rollo, who had commanded at the siege of Paris; a warrior of gigantic stature, active, enterprising, indefatigable, and well fitted to become the founder of a powerful kingdom. In proportion as the feudal system developed itself in France, the country, covered with fortified towns and baronial castles, ceased to be an unresisting prey to the marauder, but was capable of offering successful resistance to his raids. In August, 911, the Northmen were routed with prodigious slaughter before Chartres by Richard of Burgundy and Robert Duke of France. Exasperated by this disaster, Rollo vowed to take terrible vengeance; and began to organize his forces for a war of extermination throughout France. It was now that Duke Robert tendered to Charles the Simple the wise advice of securing the future peace of his kingdom by making timely concessions to the Northmen. Accordingly the king despatched the Archbishop of Rouen as his envoy to Rollo, proffering to him the hereditary lordship of the territory situate between the Epte and Brittany,

together with the hand of the Princess Gisèle in marriage, on condition that he would embrace Christianity and consent to live in peace with France. The Scandinavian chief received the royal proposition with a good grace, but represented that the district offered was so exhausted and uncultivated, that it was impossible to derive from it the means of peaceable subsistence. Upon this Charles granted in addition the province of Brittany, over which in fact he had no power, as it was then an independent state under a native prince; but Rollo was either ignorant of this, or deemed it of no consequence; and, after some further deliberation and delay, the arrangement was finally accepted. A meeting now took place between the contracting parties, at the village of St. Clair-sur-Epte, near Gisors, towards the close of the year 911. Here Rollo took the oath of fealty to his new suzerain in the accustomed form; but on being told that in order to complete the ceremony it was necessary that he should kneel and kiss the monarch's foot, he started back and disdainfully refused to comply. The point of etiquette being insisted on, Rollo at length deputed one of his attendants to perform the duty in his stead. The rude soldier, either intentionally or from awkwardness, lifted the king's foot with 20 little circumspection that Charles fell backwards from his seat. Rollo now fulfilled his engagements by seeking Christian baptism at the hands of the Archbishop of Rouen, and received the name of Robert from the Duke of France, who answered for him at the font. He was shortly afterwards united to the French princess. His territory, henceforth known as Normandy, was divided among his warlike companions, most of whom followed the example of their duke by embracing Christianity. Robert proved himself a wise, intelligent, and able ruler, and under his government Normandy rose rapidly to a high state of prosperity. The ruined churches were rebuilt, the towns walled and fortified, the land carefully cultivated, justice impartially administered. barbarian Northmen adopted with marvellous facility the language and manners of the nation among whom they had settled; and Normandy became in the course of a few years celebrated throughout France for its advancement in the arts of industry, commerce, and civilization

§ 11. Meanwhile the incapacity of Charles became more and more apparent; he abandoned himself blindly to the guidance of his minister Haganon, a man of low birth, but of considerable energy and talent, who assumed the whole authority of government, and irritated the nobles by his haughty manners and unscrupulous conduct. For ten years Haganon stoutly maintained the royal prerogative against the pretensions of the great vassals; but in the year 920, under the leadership of Robert Duke of France,

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whose family was now the most powerful in the kingdom, they rose in revolt against Charles and his favourite, renounced their allegiance to the sovereign, and collected their forces to dethrone him. Charles was besieged by Robert of France at Laon, capital of the province to which the royal dominion was now limited; the city soon fell into the hands of the insurgents; and the king fled, attended by the faithful Haganon, into Lorraine, which he had lately acquired by the death of Louis, son and successor of the Emperor Arnulf. Duke Robert, strengthened by two important alliances which he had contracted with Herbert Count of Vermandois and Rodolph Duke of Burgundy, was now proclaimed king, and crowned at Reims on the 29th of June, 922. Civil war followed; Haganon defended his master's cause with undiminished courage; and having obtained the assistance of a body of Northmen, attacked the army of the usurper at Soissons, in June, 923. The battle was bloody; Robert of France was slain in the first onset; but his forces were successfully rallied by his son Hugh le Blanc and the Count of Vermandois, and after a desperate contest the victory remained with the nobles. Charles escaped once more into Lorraine; and it was now arranged between the three confederate princes that the crown should be conferred, not on the son of the deceased Robert, but on his son-in-law, Rodolph of Burgundy, who was accordingly crowned at Soissons in July. Herbert of Vermandois, a man of faithless character, offended that the choice had not fallen on himself, sent to assure Charles of his return to loyalty, and to offer him assistance and protection. Having thus obtained possession of the king's person, he imprisoned him in his stronghold at Château Thierry. Charles's queen, Eadgifu, a sister of Athelstan of England, then effected her escape to England, and carried with her the heir of the Carlovingians, a child of three years old, who henceforth received the name of Louis d'Outremer. After various changes of fortune, the captive king died in the castle of Peronne, in October, 929.

§ 12. The death of Charles the Simple enabled Rodolph to employ his whole energies against Herbert of Vermandois. So successful were his efforts, that, after taking the cities of Laon, Amiens, and St. Quentin, he drove his opponent to seek the protection of Henry the Fowler, King of Germany, who brought about a treaty of peace between the disputants in 935. Rodolph, who had governed with vigour and resolution, died shortly afterwards in the prime of life, in January, 936, leaving no issue.

Hugh le Blanc, or the Great, Duke of France and Count of Paris, unquestionably the most powerful personage in the kingdom, might now, as on a former occasion, have placed the crown without difficulty upon his own head. He preferred, however, to waive his claim for the present, and to exercise all the authority of government under the name of another. Accordingly he concerted measures with Herbert of Vermandois and William Longsword, Duke of Normandy, for recalling from England the exiled son of Charles the Simple, Louis d'Outremer, who was welcomed with sincere joy by the nation, and immediately took possession of the throne of his ancestors. Hugh the Great demanded and obtained the duchy of Burgundy as a reward for the part he had taken in this restoration.

The young king had been carefully educated at the court of his uncle Athelstan, and, being of a spirited temper, was by no means disposed to resign himself implicitly to the dictation of the Duke of France. No sooner did his real character appear than Hugh grew lukewarm in his cause, and from coolness passed to open hostility. Hugh formed an alliance with the most powerful sovereign of the time, Otto the Great, King of Germany; and the rebellious feudatories, among whom was the Duke of Normandy, threw off their allegiance to Louis, and declared themselves vassals of the German crown. France was once more torn by civil strife. Otto, invading the country, advanced to Attigny, where he caused himself to be proclaimed king (940); the confederate lords took Reims, but were repulsed before Laon, which was gallantly defended by Louis; and after some further hostilities Pope Stephen VIII. interposed his mediation in the king's favour, and charged the French princes, under pain of excommunication, to return to their duty as loyal subjects. Peace, thus restored in 942, was of short duration. Louis struggled manfully to stem the tide of anarchy; but it was too strong to be arrested. Thwarted at every turn by Hugh and his barons, he was left by successive defeats with little more than the empty shadow of royal authority. The monarchy had fallen to the lowest ebb, and was evidently dwindling to extinction; the royal domain comprised little more than the rock of Laon and the district immediately surrounding it.

Louis died in 954, from the effects of a fall from his horse while chasing a wolf in the forest between Laon and Reims. By his queen Gerberga, a sister of Otto of Germany, he left two sons, Lothaire and Charles.

§ 13. The crown was now for the third time at the disposal of Hugh the Great; and for the third time he declined to assume it. Lothaire, a youth of fourteen, was proclaimed king, and crowned at Reims. Two years afterwards (956) Hugh died, and was buried at St. Denis, an abbey which belonged to him. This remarkable man, who must be regarded as the true founder of the Capetian dynasty, left five children by his third wife Edgiva, sister to the Emperor Otto. His eldest son Hugh, surnamed Capet, succeeded

him as Count of Paris and Duke of France, and afterwards became king. One of his daughters was married to Richard Duke of

Normandy.

At the death of the Emperor Otto in 973, Lothaire now made an attempt, with the assistance of Hugh Capet and other feudatories, to possess himself of the province of Lorraine. His project was defeated by the adroitness of the young Emperor Otto II., who invested Prince Charles, younger brother of Lothaire, with the duchy of Lower Lorraine, or Brabant, on condition that he should hold it as a fief of the empire, and oppose to the utmost the aggressive movements of his brother. In 978 Otto invaded France at the head of 60,000 soldiers, and, without encountering any serious resistance, encamped before Paris. Three days later, the imperial army retired without attacking the city. Lothaire and his barons followed in close pursuit. At the passage of the Aisne, near Soissons, Otto had the mortification to see his rear-guard cut to pieces by the French cavalry, and all his baggage and stores captured by the victors.

Hostilities were now suspended, and a reconciliation was arranged in 980; Lothaire renouncing his pretensions to Lorraine, contrary to the advice of Hugh Capet, and to the great discontent of the French nation. He died at Reims, at the age of forty-four,

March 2, 986.

§ 14. The son of Lothaire, Louis V., surnamed Le Fainéant, was crowned at Compiègne without opposition. But to appease the public indignation, which was violently excited against the queenmother, the king's first act was to remove her from his court, and deprive her of all share of power. This step involved him at once in a struggle with her supporters; and during the intrigues which followed, fomented secretly by Hugh Capet for his own purposes, the condition of the kingdom became daily more deplorable. Louis, however, had not long to struggle with his many difficulties and dangers; he was carried off suddenly and mysteriously, after a reign of little more than a year, in May, 987. His death was generally attributed to poison, administered by his wife, Blanche of Aquitaine. Such was the melancholy end of the last of the direct descendants of Charlemagne who sat on the throne of France. Louis V. died without issue; and the crown now belonged, according to the rightful order of succession, to his uncle Charles, Duke of Lower Lorraine. This prince, however, found but few to support the pretensions; and at a grand assembly of the nobles held at Senlis, the Archbishop of Reims strongly urged the election of the Count of Paris, Hugh Capet. His recommendation was accepted with general applause. Hugh was declared king; and by his coronation at Reims, on the 1st of July, 987, a new dynasty was inaugurated, which answered

to the altered constitution and necessities of France, revolutionized as it was by feudalism—a dynasty destined to preside over the changeful fortunes of the nation for a period of no less than eight centuries, and to be overthrown at last by a far mightier revolution than that which gave it birth.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. AUTHORITIES.

The chief authority for the reign of Charlemagne is his biography by Eginhard, who was the emperor's confidential private secretary. This work, entitled Vita et Conversatio gloriosissimi Imperatoris Karoli Regis Magni, is divided into two parts, the first relating to the wars and foreign policy of the emperor, the second to his internal administration and the details of his domestic life. Another work by Eginhard, Annales Regum Francorum (A.D. 741-829), is valuable as a contemporary chronicle. His "Epistolæ" furnish many curious and interesting particulars of the social habits and manners of the time.

Eginhard was an Austrasian, and was taken very early in life into the service of Charlemagne, who had him educated under his own eye in the school of the palace. He is said to have married the Princess Emma, one of the daughters of the emperor. Eginhard became in later life Abbot of Seligenstadt, and died there in 339.

The chronicle of the Monk of St. Gall, entitled Faites et Gestes de Charlemagne, was written in 884 by desire of the Emperor Charles the Fat, and is full of aneedotes, the historical value of which is doubtful. Other works in this period are H. Martin, Histoire de France, vol ii.; Fustel de Coulanges, Histoire des institutions Politiques de la France; Guizot, Histoire de la Civilisation en France. In Violett, Histoire des instructions politiques, a full bibliography will be found.

B. ON THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE.

The strangely rapid dismemberment and dissolution of the mighty empire founded by Charlemagne is a problem for which various solutions have been offered. Some have attributed it to the unwieldy and unnatural extent of the empire; others to the frequent and unwise territorial divisions among the children and grandchildren of Charlemagne; others to the incapacity of Louis le Débonnaire, Charles the Bald, Charles the Fat, and Charles the Simple; others, lastly, to the inconveniences of the feudal system, which, by distributing political power among a multitude of petty independent sovereigns, rendered all central government impracticable. There is no doubt a certain measure of truth in all these explanations; and indeed all the above-mentioned causes may very well have been in operation at the same period. But the essential principle which lay at the root of this great revolution is most probably that indicated by Augustin Thierry in his Lettres sur l'Histoire de France, letts. 11 and 12, namely, the antagonism of race between the various heterogeneous nationalities composing the Frank empire. The iron grasp of the great emperor maintained political unity among different populations which in reality were alien and hostile to each other; but from the moment when the contest commenced between Louis le Débonnaire and his sons, the antipathy of race became clearly manifest, and the wars which ensued were in fact a struggle between two great opposing national interests. "From the beginning of the civil war," writes Thierry, "a great divergence of political opinion became apparent between the Franks residing in the midst of the Gaulish population and those who remained in the ancient German territory. The former, who, notwithstanding their descent, were united in interest with the people conquered by their ancestors, took part in general against the emperor, i.e. against the empire, which in the eyes of the natives was a government of conquest. The latter sided, on the contrary, with all the Teutonic populations, even with those who in ancient times were enemies to the Franks. Thus all the German tribes,

combined apparently for the rights of an individual prince, d f-nded their national cause by supporting against the Gallo-Franks a power which was the result of German conquest. According to contemporary testimony, the Emperor Louis I. mistrusted the Gallo-Franks, and placed confidence only in the Germans. When in the year 830 it was proposed that a general assembly, in order to effect a reconciliation between Louis and his sons, should be held in some town of Roman France, the emperor rejected this advice and convoked the meeting at Nimeguen, to which place his German subjects repaired in immense numbers to support him." M. Thierry proceeds to point out how the attempt of the Emperor Lothaire to maintain intact the imperial authority in its former extent was resented as an attack on the national independence both of the Germans and the Gallo-Romans, and was followed by the terrible battle of Fontanetum, which finally consummated the rupture of the Carlovingian empire. From that day forward the nations once united under the sceptre of Charlemagne separated from each other, and formed new states according to their natural distinctions of origin, language, and character. Thierry enumerates nine kingdoms which thus sprang into existence: Italy, Transjurane Burgundy, Cisjurane Burgundy, Aquitaine, and the Spanish Marches.

But even after this revolution France continued to be governed by a succession of foreign rulers, the descendants of the considers that a constant struggle was kept up, during the period between the death of Charles the Fat and the accession of Hugh Capet, for the purpose of expelling the Teutonic dynasty, and replacing it by a line of native-born princes. At the head of this national movement was the family of Robert the Strong, Count of Anjou; his eldest son, Odo or Eudes, was elevated to the throne in 888 by the force of popular opinion, in opposition to the legitimate heir of the Carlovingians, and was, accurately speaking, the first king of France, in contradistinction to the kings of the Franks. The reign of Eudes marks the beginning of a second series of civil Revolution of 17-9.

wars, which terminated, after the lapse of a century, in the definitive expulsion of the posterity of Charles the Great. That race, completely identified as it was, by the ties of tradition and family affection, with the countries of the Teutonic tongue, could only be regarded by the French as an obstacle to that separation upon which their independent existence had just been founded. Much is doubtless to be attributed, during the progress of the contest, to the personal ambition of the family of the Counts of Paris; but that ambition was evidently and powerfully supported by national opinion. The accession of the third race was, strictly speaking, the termination of the reign of the Franks, and the substitution of national royalty for a dynasty founded upon conquest.

This theory of the antagonism of races, though substantially sound and true, is nevertheless open to certain objections, which have been clearly pointed out by Guizot and Hallam. For example, it does not appear that, during the wars of Louis le Débonnaire and those of his sons, the nations were always combined or separated according to their several races. Many other causes seemed to have influenced their movements, such as geographical position, personal ambition, local interests, etc. Nor, again, will the diversity of Germany, Lorraine, France, Brittany, races sufficiently account for the formation of the numerous smaller states-duchies, counties, viscounties, etc.-which arose on all sides during the latter years of the Carlovingian rule; for these divisions were quite independent of any principles of nationality. Guizot considers that the Austrasian Charlemagne; and Thierry radical cause of the dismemberment is to be found in the moral and social condition of the people of that age, which resisted all centralised and united government on an extended scale. (Guizot, History of Civilization, vol. ii. lecture 24. See also Hallam, Middle Ages, vol. i. note xii.)

The notion of the inveterate and perpetual antagonism of the two great races, Franks and Gauls, has been adopted by a long series of French writers, among whom (besides Aug. Thierry) may be mentioned Montlosier, Thoury, Châteaubriand, Villemain, and Raynouard. It has even been considered as affording the true philosophical explanation of the terrible Revolution of 15-39.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE CAPETIAN DYNASTY.

1. From the Accession of Hugh Capet to the Accession of the House of Valois. Robert the Strong, count of Anjou, ob. 867. Eudes, count of Paris. Robert, duke of France. king, 888-898. ob. 923. Hugh le Grand or le Blanc, Emma = Rodolph, king of France. duke of France and count of Paris, ob. 956. HUGH CAPET, king, 987-996. Robert, king, 996-1031. Hugh, crowned in his father's Henry I., Robert, duke of Burgundy, lifetime (ob. 1026). king 1031-1060. Philip I., king, 1060-1108. Louis VI. (le Gros), king, 1108-1137. Louis VII. (le Jeune), king, 1137-1180. Philip II. (Augustus), king, 1180-1223. Louis VIII., king, 1223-1226. Louis IX. (St. Louis). Charles, count of Anjou and Provence, king, 1226-1270. founder of the Royal House of Naples. Philip III. (le Hardi), king, 1270-1285. Robert, count of Clermont, founder of the House of Bourbon. Philip IV. (le Bel), Charles, count of Valois, king, 1285-1314. founder of the House of Valois. Louis X. (le Hutin), Philip V. (le Long), Charles IV. (le Bel), Isabella king, 1314-1316. king, 1316-1322. m. Edward II. of king, 1322-1328. England. Jeanne, m. Philip, Edward III. king of Navarre, of England. ob. 1349, Charles, king of Navarre. II. HOUSE OF VALOIS. Philip VI.-Charles VIII. 1328-1498. III. HOUSE OF VALOIS-ORLEANS. Louis XII.-Henry III. 1498-1589. IV. HOUSE OF BOURBON. Henry IV .- Charles X. 1589-1793; and 1814-1830. V. House of Orleans. Louis Philippe. 1830-1848.



Castle of Falaise in Normandy, the ancient seat of the Dukes of Normandy; the birthplace of William the Conqueror.

BOOK II.

THE RISE AND GROWTH OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HUGH CAPET TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES IV.
A.D. 987-1328.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HUGH CAPET TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS VI.
A.D. 987-1137.

§ 1. Hugh Capet and Charles of Lorraine. § 2. Reign of Hugh Capet; his death. § 3. Robert the Pious; his queens Bertha and Constance. § 4. Commencement of the eleventh century; architectural movement. § 5. Persecution of heretics at Orleans. § 6. Rebellion of Robert's sons; his death. § 7. Accession of Henry I.: Robert "le Diable." § 8. Dreadful famine throughout France; the "Truce of God." § 9. Robert of Normandy. § 10. William Duke of Normandy.

§ 11. Henry's marriage with Anne of Muscovy; his death. § 12. Accession of Philip I.; conquest of England by William of Normandy; the Normans in Southern Italy. § 13. Hostilities with William of England. § 14. Philip and Pope Gregory VII.; Bertrade de Montfort; the king excommunicated. § 15. Peter the Hermit; the Council of Clermont; proclamation of the first Crusade. § 16. Leaders of the Crusade; failure of the expedition under Walter the Penniless; the grand army reaches Constantinople. § 17. Capture of Jerusalem. § 18. Death of Philip I. § 19. Accession of Louis VI.; Affranchissement des Communes. § 20. Different constitution of the boroughs in the south and north of France. § 21. Wars of Louis with Henry I. of England; marriage of Prince Louis; death of Louis VI.; his character. § 22. Rise of the schoolmen; Roscelin; St. Anselm, Abelard; St. Bernard.

§ 1. Hugh Capet, 987-996.—Hugh Capet was the representative of the new nationality of France, as opposed to the old Teutonic element and the foreign dominion of the Carlovingians. The great feudatories had determined to place the crown upon the head of one of their own order. They naturally, therefore, gave the preference to the possessor of the most extensive, important, and central fief of the kingdom; especially as three members of his family had already been raised successively to the royal dignity, and in each instance had proved themselves worthy of the public confidence and gratitude. Thus the throne, to use the words of Montesquieu, was by the accession of the Capetians "annexed to a great fief." The king was simply the head of a confederate aristocracy—the premier baron of France.

Charles of Lorraine, however, the excluded heir of the Carlovingians, was not without partisans; nor was he destitute of courage and resolution to prosecute his claims. At the head of the forces of his duchy he marched from Cambrai in May, 988, and gained possession of Laon, from which Hugh in vain endeavoured to dislodge him. In the course of the following year the important cities of Soissons and Reims likewise opened their gates to the pretender. Matters began to look alarming; and the king, fearing the effect of a single serious reverse in open warfare, now had recourse to treachery for the removal of his rival. His instrument for this purpose was Adalberon, Bishop of Laon. This unscrupulous prelate. feigning to be suddenly convinced of the justice of their claims, insinuated himself into the confidence of Charles and his chief adherents, and betrayed them into the hands of Hugh by introducing a party of French troops into Reims while the prince and his officers were engaged in the solemn ceremonies of Holy Week (991). Charles and his young wife, Agnes of Vermandois, were sent prisoners to the castle of Orleans, where the unfortunate prince

died after a few months' confinement, in 992. He left three sons; the eldest succeeded his father as Duke of Lower Lorraine, and died without issue in 1006; two others, born in captivity at Orleans, after some years effected their escape and took refuge in Germany, where their posterity became landgraves of Thuringia. The family became extinct by the death of its last direct descendant in 1248.*

§ 2. Hugh now made every effort to strengthen himself by conciliating those of the great nobles who still either disregarded or openly resisted his authority. The southern provinces, jealously maintaining their ancient antagonism to the north, refused to recognise his title. A few years later we find the king at feud with Adelbert, Count of Perigord, a bold and powerful chieftain, who, having overrun Touraine, entitled himself Count of Tours and Poitiers. "Who made thee count?" demanded the herald sent by the king to require his submission. "Who made thee king?" retorted the haughty noble, who regarded the Duke of France as no more than his equal, according to one of the first principles of feudal society. Hugh Capet was also careful to strengthen his throne by showing favour and devotion to the Church. By relinquishing those rich hereditary possessions of his family, the great abbeys of St. Denis, St. Germain des Prés, St. Riquier, and St. Valery, he gained credit and popularity, and received from the clergy the title of "Defender of the Church." He likewise restored to the monasteries throughout his dominions the privilege of free election, which had been discontinued since the reign of Charles the Bald.

Hugh gave a further proof of prudence by associating his son Robert with him in the government, so as to avoid the dangers both of a divided inheritance and of a disputed succession. Robert was duly crowned at Orleans during the lifetime of his father, and the hereditary title of the family of Capet was thus formally recognised. This politic measure became a precedent which was carefully followed by all the earlier sovereigns of the new dynasty.

It is related of Hugh Capet that he refused, from motives either of humility or superstition, to wear the royal crown, except upon the single occasion of his coronation. He contented himself with the ecclesiastical cope, denoting his quality as lay abbot of St. Martin of Tours.† On his deathbed he gave his son Robert strict injunctions to cherish and protect the Church, and to refrain above

^{*} A daughter of Charles, named Hermengarde, was married to Albert, Count of Namur; and from her descended Isabella of Hainault, who in 1180 became the wife of Philip Augustus. Some writers of the period beheld in this event the restitution of the French throne to the race of Charlemagne.

[†] Some authors have derived his surname from this circumstance—Capet quasi cappatus. Others suppose it to refer to the large size of his head.

all things from alienating any of the endowments belonging to abbeys or convents, lest he should incur the wrath of their great founder, the glorious St. Benedict. The king expired peacefully at Paris, which had now become once more the capital of France, on the 24th of October, 996, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

§ 3. Robert, 996-1031.—Robert, surnamed the Pious, or Debonair, the only son of Hugh Capet and Adelaide of Aquitaine, was in his twenty-fourth year when he became sole king by the death of his father. Educated by the famous Gerbert, Archbishop of Reims, and afterwards Pope Sylvester II., probably the most learned man of his time, he was well versed in several branches of secular and religious knowledge, excelling particularly in music. He was a kind, good-natured man, simple in character, peaceful in his tastes and pursuits. He passed his time in acts of devotion and charity, in the composition of hymns for the Church service, in superintending the choir of the abbey of St. Denis, and in promoting the building of churches and cathedrals. Such a man was not likely to exercise any great political influence, or to increase the solidity and power of the Capetian throne.

Notwithstanding his gentle disposition, Robert had a disturbed and stormy reign. He had married, in 995, the Princess Bertha, daughter of Conrad the Pacific, King of Arles and Burgundy, and widow of Eudes, Count of Blois and Tours. According to the rigorous laws then in force, this marriage was doubly uncanonical, as they were cousins in the fourth degree. Pope Gregory V. convoked a council at Rome in 998, and issued a decree commanding the royal pair to separate immediately on pain of excommunication. The king showed on this occasion more firmness than might have been expected from his superstitious character, and remained for several years deaf to the thunders of the Church; but the prolonged miseries of an interdict, which was enforced with extreme severity throughout the kingdom, at last broke his spirit, and he parted from Bertha, whom he never ceased bitterly to regret to the end of his days. About the year 1006 he contracted a second alliance, marrying Constance, daughter of the Count of Toulouse and Quercy. The new queen was beautiful, but imperious and overbearing in temper. She ruled her husband with a rod of iron; and various anecdotes remain to attest the meek patience with which Robert endured her tyranny, and his kind ingenuity in shielding others from its effects. The chroniclers complain that the favour of the queen now attracted to the French court a crowd of strangers from Aquitaine—a frivolous, luxurious, dissipated race, whose extravagant style of dress, combined with loose morals, had a pernicious effect among the Franks, tending greatly to corrupt the ancient simplicity

and sobriety of their character.* Making allowance, however, for the narrowness of monkish prejudice, and the general rudeness of manners in the north, we may infer from this statement that the superior civilization and elegance of southern society had now began to make its way into the remoter provinces. A taste for art and literature had always lingered among the Gallo-Roman population of Languedoc and the shores of the Mediterranean; and this had received of late years a great impulse from their intercourse with the Saracens of Spain, at that time the most refined and enlightened people of Europe.

§ 4. The eleventh century opened with a season of extraordinary excitement throughout the Christian world. It was universally believed, from a mistaken interpretation of a passage in the Apocalypse,† that the end of all things was close at hand. The business and the pleasures of life were suddenly suspended; commerce and agriculture were neglected for the one consideration of impending judgment and eternity. The churches were too small to contain the thronging crowds of terrified suppliants for mercy. Property of all kinds-lands, money, houses, castles-was hastily bequeathed to the cathedrals and monasteries, in the hope that these sacrifices might avail to purchase favour and safety in the life to come. The dreaded period drew near, came, and passed away; and still the earth remained unmoved on its foundations. Gradually, as time wore on, men's minds resumed a calmer tone; but the profound impression had been made, of which the clergy skilfully took advantage to re-establish their own ascendency, and to enrich the Church by the zealous munificence of the faithful. Within the next few years the churches were restored, enlarged, embellished, throughout France and Italy. It was the beginning of that wonderful architectural movement of the Middle Ages which has covered Europe with its glorious monuments of Christian art and Christian self-devotion. The abbey of St. Martin at Tours, the splendid church of St. Aignan at Orleans, the cathedrals of Perigueux, Angoulême, and Cahors, are among the many remarkable foundations dating from the reign of Robert the Pious; to which were added, later in the century, the magnificent abbeys of Cluny, Vezelai, and St. Sernin at Toulouse.

§ 5. This religious ardour was still at its height when news arrived that the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem had been totally destroyed by Hakim, the Fatimite caliph of Egypt, with circumstances of blasphemy and insult. This outrage raised a

^{*} Chronique de Raoul Glaber, iii. ch. 9. † Rev. xx. 1-7.

[†] Most of the charters of endowment granted at this time commence with the formula—"Appropinquante mundi termino, et imminente ejus ruina." etc. etc.

storm of indignation throughout Europe; and in France especially it was avenged by a merciless persecution of the Jews, who were supposed to have secretly incited the infidels to perpetrate the crime.

The spirit of persecution, which had already appeared in the suppression of a rising of the peasants of Normandy in 997, now showed itself soon afterwards in a new phase, on the discovery of certain heretics at Orleans, who were accused of reviving the worst errors of the Manichæans. Their tenets are nearly identical with those ascribed to the *Paulicians*, otherwise called *Bulgarians*, a sect which sprung up in the East during the seventh century, and was severely persecuted by several Greek emperors. This heresy varied but little from that of the Gnostics, Docetæ, and Cerinthians, of the primitive age, and had much in common with that of the Albigenses of later times.

These heretics of Orleans were the first who suffered death in France on account of religion since the days of the heathen persecutions. The example caused universal terror, but the evil, though checked for the moment, was not extirpated; it reappeared at different intervals and under several forms, but always with the same type of a bold denial of mysterious doctrine, and an appeal to sense and reason in opposition to faith.

§ 6. King Robert did not end his days in peace. His sons leagued together in rebellion, summoned their followers to arms, and seized upon several of the royal castles and domains. The king, like his unfortunate predecessor Louis le Débonnaire, was compelled to march against his rebellious children, who, after a lengthened and bloody campaign in Burgundy, were defeated and reduced to submission. But the gentle spirit of Robert sunk under this unnatural conflict: tranquillity had scarcely been restored when he fell ill at the castle of Melun, and breathed his last on the 20th of July, 1031, at the age of sixty, after a reign of thirty-five years.

His loss was long and sincerely lamented, especially by the poor, to whom his compassionate charity had been unbounded. His name and memory are still familiar from the many beautiful hymns of his composition which have been adopted into the services of the Church, among others that commencing "O Constantia martyrum," which is said to have been written at the desire of his wife, who was anxious that the musical talents of her husband should be exercised in her honour. Seeing her name in the first line, the queen was satisfied that her request had been complied with, and inquired no further.

§ 7. Henry I., 1031-1060.—No sooner was Robert entombed at St. Denis than the turbulent Constance intrigued with the great vassals to oppose the peaceable succession of Prince Henry, and to

obtain the crown for her youngest and favourite son Robert. Her chief supporter was the ambitious and powerful Eudes, Count of Blois, Chartres, and Champagne, by whose exertions the league soon assumed so threatening an aspect that Henry, finding himself almost defenceless, hastened into Normandy with a few faithful attendants, and invoked the protection and succour of Duke Robert, the son and successor of Richard sans Peur, who had died in 1028. Robert, whom the historians have surnamed the Magnificent, at once took up arms to maintain the royal cause. He attacked the revolted barons, and defeated the redoubtable Count Eudes in three pitched battles. The reckless daring of the Duke of Normandy in this campaign procured for him the designation of Robert "le Diable." The rebellious nobles soon found that they were overmatched, and Fulk Nerra of Anjou intervened and brought about a reconciliation. Henry behaved with magnanimous forbearance; he confirmed his brother Robert in the duchy of Burgundy, which was transmitted to his posterity through upwards of three centuries; and having granted certain advantages to his mother, was peaceably acknowledged throughout the kingdom. Queen Constance survived but a short time the humiliation of her defeat, and expired at Melun in July, 1032.

Henry, after the precedent of many former sovereigns, was compelled to pay dear for the assistance by which he had secured his throne. Robert of Normandy obtained from him the cession of Gisors, Chaumont, Pontoise, and the whole district called the Vexin, comprised between the Oise and the Epte. This acquisition brought the Norman frontier within twenty-five miles of the capital of France.

§ 8. A fearful famine, by which France was visited about this time, occasioned throughout the country miseries almost unparalleled in history. For three years in succession the harvests had failed through incessant rains and adverse seasons. Food was obtainable only at exorbitant prices; and the poorer classes, after enduring unheard-of sufferings, were driven at last to the most revolting expedients to appease their hunger. An innkeeper near Macon was burnt alive for having massacred no less than forty-eight unhappy wayfarers, whose bodies had afterwards been devoured. Human flesh was publicly exposed for sale in the market of Tournay. Such was the mortality produced by the famine, that numbers of corpses were left unburied in the streets and on the highways: this attracted multitudes of wolves from the forests, who attacked indiscriminately the living and the dead, so that entire districts became depopulated. "At length," says the chronicler, "by the mercy of God the waters were assuaged, and the sky began to brighten; the breath of the winds became propitious, and the calamities of the earth drew towards their close." The harvest of 1034 was one of prodigious abundance, surpassing the entire produce of three

ordinary years.

This terrible infliction did not pass away without remarkable results. Amid the general consternation and despondency, the voice of the Church made itself heard in behalf of suffering humanity; synods were held in all parts of the country, and decrees were passed for the repression of violence and tyranny, the protection of life and property, and the maintenance of mutual forbearance and charity. The "Peace of God," as it was called, was solemnly proclaimed throughout the land, and hailed with the utmost enthusiasm by all classes. The severest penalties were denounced against all who should infringe it; even the privilege of sanctuary, so inviolable in all ordinary cases of crime, was expressly denied to the offender. But when the excitement which produced these measures had subsided, it was found impossible to enforce them in practice. With the return of plenty and prosperity, the lessons of adversity were forgotten; and oppression, rapine, outrage, bloodshed, once more became prevalent. The councils which had established the "Peace of God" in 1035, on reassembling five years later, were compelled to modify their resolutions; and instead of abolishing war altogether, confined themselves to the more practical task of endeavouring to mitigate its evils. The result was the institution of the "Truce of God" (1041), which provided that all hostilities, public and private, should be suspended from the Wednesday evening in each week until the following Monday morning, that period being marked out for sanctification in memory of the passion and resurrection of the Redeemer. The entire seasons of Advent and Lent, together with all the great festivals, were included in this merciful prohibition. Offenders against the "Truce of God" incurred the penalty of death, which might be commuted, however, by pecuniary fine: they were liable also to excommunication and banishment.

The legislation of the feudal age in this particular was undoubtedly of important service to the cause of humanity, civilization, and religion. Though never probably observed with strictness, the Truce was never abolished; it greatly lessened the miscries of private war; furthered the progress of agriculture and commerce, which were placed under its special protection; and did much towards the restoration of confidence and order.

§ 9. The history of France during the reign of Henry I. is to be sought rather in the movements of the great vassals of the crown than in those of their nominal sovereign. The king was indolent and inactive: his life uneventful and devoid of interest. Many of his feudatories, on the other hand, were men of remarkable energy

and adventurous spirit, and among them Robert of Normandy, surnamed the Devil, stands pre-eminent.

Robert of Normandy was strongly suspected of having procured his elevation by the crime of fratricide. He had entertained his elder brother, Duke Richard III., with several of his barons, at a great banquet at Falaise: on their return to Rouen all the guests were suddenly taken ill, and died in a few hours, with evident symptoms of poison. Robert immediately took possession of the duchy, imprisoning in a convent his brother's orphan child, the rightful heir. The new duke displayed great capacity, and distinguished himself by his warlike courage and enterprise, so that the Normans were easily reconciled to his dominion. He had been the chief instrument, as we have seen, of placing Henry on the throne. Three years later he made a successful expedition against Alan Duke of Brittany, whom he compelled to pay him homage, acknowledging that he held the duchy as a dependent fief of Normandy. Not long afterwards Robert put in execution a design which he had cherished for some time past of making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and doing penance for his sins at the tomb of the Redeemer. The mother of the fanatic caliph Hakem had recently been converted to Christianity; and the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, having been carefully rebuilt under her direction, was visited by a never-ceasing stream of pilgrims from the West. The Duke of Normandy assembled his nobles and announced his approaching departure for the East. They anxiously begged that he would not leave them without a head during his absence, upon which Robert presented to them his only son William, a child of seven years old, whom, notwithstanding his illegitimate birth, he designated as his heir and successor to the dukedom. The barons willingly accepted him, and ratified the choice by the oath of allegiance. This child, the son of the beautiful Arlette, daughter of a tanner at Falaise, was destined not only to inherit his paternal possessions in Normandy, but also to win the crown of England, and descend to posterity under the proud title of William the Conqueror.

Robert set out on his pilgrimage, the greater part of which he is said to have performed on foot; he reached the Holy City, where he duly discharged his vow, with every outward token of profound contrition; but on his return he fell dangerously ill while traversing Asia Minor, and with difficulty reached Nicæa in Bithynia, where he died, not without suspicion of having been poisoned, in July, 1035.

§ 10. Since the days of Hugh Capet Normandy had supported the kings of France. Now, upon the death of Robert the Devil, Henry stirred up the Norman barons against the young duke. Being, however, occupied in subduing the House of Blois, his attention

was diverted from Normandy, and when attacked by Guy of Burgundy the young duke William borrowed 3000 men from the French king and overthrew Guy at Val-es-dunes. Alarmed at the growth of the Norman power, Henry then formed a league and invaded Normandy, and from 1048 to 1058 the war was continued. But William's genius and valour triumphed; he utterly routed the king's army at Mortemer, and in 1058 brought the war to an end by a victory at Varaville on the Dive, after which reverse Henry was glad to arrange terms of peace, and interfered no further in the affairs of Normandy during the short remainder of his reign.

§ 11. In 1051 Henry's second wife Matilda died, leaving no children, and he resolved that his third choice should be such as to exempt him from all possibility of marrying within forbidden degrees. Accordingly he demanded the hand of Anne, daughter of Yaroslav, Grand Duke of Muscovy—a country then recently converted to Christianity, and almost unknown to the rest of Europe. By this Russian princess, to whom he was united in 1051, Henry had two sons, the eldest of whom received the name of Philip, in memory of the supposed descent of his mother from the family of the ancient kings of Macedon.

The death of Henry I. took place in August, 1060, in the twentyninth year of his reign. His reign saw the rise of Hildebrand, afterwards Pope Gregory VII., whose reforms revolutionised Christian Europe, and the growth of the Norman power in the

south as well as in the north of Europe.

§ 12. Philip I., 1060–1108.—Philip I. was a boy of scarcely eight years old when he succeeded to the throne. His father had made provision for his minority by naming as his guardian Baldwin V. Count of Flanders, who had married the Princess Adela, sister to Henry. This prince discharged his office with strict fidelity, but unhappily his regency lasted only seven years, and at his death in 1067 the young king was left entirely to his own guidance, before he had attained the age of fifteen. He had received a good education, and was not deficient in understanding; but he proved an indolent, dissolute king, showing no appreciation of the true policy of France, or any sense of the responsibilities of his position.

It was during the minority of Philip that that memorable expedition took place which resulted in the establishment of a Norman dynasty upon the throne of England. William of Normandy, having resolved on his great enterprise, thought it right, before setting out, to pay a visit to his youthful suzerain at St. Germainen-Laye. In this interview he requested Philip to assist him, according to feudal usage, in prosecuting what he considered his just claims upon the English crown; and promised that, should his attempt prove successful, he would pay homage for the conquered

kingdom, holding it, like his duchy of Normandy, as a fief of France. Philip, by the advice of his barons, refused this application, fearing, on the one hand, that in the event of success the Normans would become more independent and intractable than ever, and, on the other, that in case of failure France would draw upon itself the indignation and violent hostility of the English nation. William was by no means discouraged; with unfaltering confidence in his own genius and resources, he set sail from St. Valery in September, 1066; won the decisive battle of Hastings on the 14th of October following; and was crowned King of England at Westminster on Christmas Day.

A few years previously the Normans had conquered Apulia and Sicily, and laid the foundation of a flourishing monarchy in Southern Italy. Early in the century a band of Norman pilgrims, returning from the Holy Land, had rendered such important service to the Duke of Naples in a contest with one of his vassals, that in return the Duke granted to them the town of Aversa, with a small territory surrounding it. The tidings soon reached France; and the new settlers were joined by numerous reinforcements of their countrymen, thirsting for adventure, gain, and self-advancement. Among others, the ten sons of Tancred de Hauteville, a baron in the neighbourhood of Coutances, arrived at Aversa; they served with distinction under the Patrician Maniaces against the Saracens in Sicily; but having been defrauded of their stipulated share of the spoil, they turned their arms against the Greeks, totally defeated them in a pitched battle in 1040, and became masters of the whole of Apulia, which they proceeded to divide amongst them, William, surnamed Bras de Fer, the eldest of the brothers, taking the title of Count of Apulia. This great success procured for the adventurers many and powerful enemies. Pope Leo IX., Henry III. of Germany, and the Greeks of the Eastern Empire, coalesced against them; but at the battle of Civitella (1053) the Normans were once more victorious. The pope was taken prisoner, and was at length compelled to issue a bull granting to Humfrey de Hauteville and his successors the investiture of all that they already possessed, and all that they might hereafter conquer, in Apulia and Calabria, to be held as a fief for ever of the Holy See. The new dukedom passed soon afterwards to Robert Guiscard, the most renowned of the brothers De Hauteville; and the conquest of Sicily having been completed by Count Roger, the youngest of the family, the Norman possessions in Italy embraced, in the course of a few years, the whole of the modern kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

§ 13. In 1073 William of England conquered Maine, and it was not till 1076 that Philip drove back the Normans and made peace. He then gave secret encouragement to William's eldest son, Robert Courthose, who, disappointed of the government of Normandy, rose in arms against his father, and from 1077 to 1080 till his defeat at the battle of Gerbervi maintained a desultory civil war throughout the duchy. In 1087 Philip invaded the Vexin, and, in repelling this attack, William took by assault the town of Mantes, which he committed to the flames. As he rode incautiously among the smoking ruins, his horse's foot slipped upon some hot ashes, and William, thrown forwards on the saddle, received a serious injury. He was removed immediately to Rouen, and afterwards to the monastery of St. Gervais in the outskirts of that city, where, after lingering for six weeks, he died on the 10th September, 1087.

§ 14. In order to gratify his vices, Philip had recourse to the scandalous expedient of offering for sale, to the highest bidder. bishopries and other valuable ecclesiastical preferments. Such wholesale simony was not likely to escape the censure of a pontiff so sternly uncompromising as Gregory VII., who at this time filled the chair of St. Peter. As early as 1073, the very year of his accession, the pope addressed to one of the French bishops a letter full of indignant remonstrances and menaces against the royal offender. In the next year he wrote on the same subject to all the prelates collectively. Gregory concluded by threats of excommunication, interdict, and even deposition, unless the king should forthwith give proofs of repentance. Philip promised amendment, and for a while suspended his simoniacal practices; but afterwards relapsed into the same excesses. The whole attention of the pope, however, was now occupied by the war of investitures with the Emperor Heury IV., and he forbore to carry matters to extremity against the King of France.

In 1092 Philip divorced his queen Bertha, and carried off Bertrade, the wife of Fulk of Anjou. The Count of Anjou and Robert of Flanders, stepfather of the repudiated Bertha, instantly took up arms, and the Church, at a national council at Autun (1094), excommunicated Philip. The king was in reality quite indifferent to the thunders of the Holy See; but, warned by the example of Henry IV., he judged it prudent to avoid the dangers of an open rupture. He therefore temporised, laid aside his crown and sceptre, implored forgiveness of the pope, but at the same time declined to separate from Bertrade. In 1095 he was a second time anathematised by Pope Urban II. at the Council of Clermont. But Philip continued to dissemble, and made no change whatever in his manner of life. Bertrade was crowned at Troves and enjoyed the title of queen; but the legitimacy of her four children by Philip was never admitted. Meanwhile the unfortunate Bertha died, broken-hearted, in her prison at Montreuil.

§ 15. In other circumstances, the popes, now rapidly rising to the zenith of their power, would not have permitted themselves to be thus braved with impunity; but the mind of Urban II. was at this juncture absorbed in a project, which demanded the cordial co-operation of all Christian princes; and he felt that it was no time for alienating any European potentate, least of all a king of France. It was from the Council of Clermont that that spirit-stirring summons went forth to the Christian world which was answered by the first CRUSADE.

Above twenty years previously, Palestine, then a province of the Saracen empire, had been invaded and conquered by the Seljukian Turks, a barbarian tribe from Central Asia. They captured Jerusalem in 1076, and celebrated their triumph by profaning the Holy Places, insulting and persecuting the clergy and pilgrims, and subjecting the helpless inhabitants to every kind of savage cruelty. Europe was soon filled with heartrending accounts of the outrages and sufferings endured by the oppressed Christians; and the enthusiastic Gregory VII. conceived the design of leading a vast host against the infidels, and expelling them from the Holy Land. But that noble-minded pontiff, whose whole energies were engaged in a desperate struggle with the empire, died in 1085 without accomplishing his purpose; and his successors, although the progress of the Turks in the East became daily more alarming, and the tyranny practised at Jerusalem more intolerable, allowed the scheme to sink into abevance.

It was reserved for an obscure ascetic to give that irresistible impulse to the mind of Christendom which produced and sustained for two centuries the mighty enterprise of the soldiers of the cross. Peter, called the Hermit, a poor monk of the diocese of Amiens, made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1094; and was struck with horror, grief, and indignation at what he there witnessed of the miseries heaped upon the Christians, and the sacrilegious insults offered to the shrine of the Redeemer. His ardent, visionary temperament, joined to sincere piety, led him to imagine himself the chosen instrument of Heaven for redressing these grievous wrongs, and rescuing the Holy City from the dominion of the unbeliever. Furnishing himself with letters of recommendation from the Greek Patriarch, Peter returned to Europe and hastened to Rome, where his pathetic and impassioned narrative produced a deep impression upon Pope Urban II. The pope resolved at length to make a grand effort to unite all Christian nations in an expedition for the deliverance of Jerusalem; and Peter was dismissed with a charge to proclaim the holy war, and excite the faithful of all classes to take part in it, as a sure means of working out their salvation. The Hermit fulfilled his commission with

apostolic fervour and perseverance. Yet the reception of the project in Italy was at first partial and uncertain; at the council of Piacenza, in March, 1095, the Greek emperor, Alexis, pleaded earnestly, by his ambassador, for aid against the Turks, but met

with a lukewarm response.

The decisive movement was to originate north of the Alps. No sooner did the Hermit announce his message in France, than he was everywhere received with profound sympathy and unexampled enthusiasm. The austerity of his character and manners, his wild attire, his vehement eloquence, his intense depth of emotion, his self-denying charity, his stirring appeals to all that is noblest and most generous in our nature—all this powerfully affected the excitable multitude. The preacher was reverenced as a saint, an apostle, a messenger direct from heaven; the rich offered their wealth, the poor and infirm their prayers; all who could bear arms eagerly devoted their lives to the glorious end of rescuing from the infidel Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

Urban had appointed a second council to be held at Clermont in Auvergne, in November, 1095. This assembly was attended by upwards of 230 archbishops and bishops; and such was the innumerable concourse of people who thronged to witness the proceedings, that it was necessary to hold the meetings in the marketplace, and even in the open fields around the city. On the day named for the tenth session of the council. Urban mounted a throne prepared for him in the great square of Clermont; he was surrounded by his cardinals, and at his side appeared the hermit Peter. Peter first addressed the vast assemblage, and in words of thrilling power told again the sad story of the desolation of Jerusalem, and the calamities, tortures, and degradation endured by her Christian inhabitants. When the Hermit ended, the pope himself began an address in which, fired by the glowing eloquence of the humble missionary, he threw aside his caution and reserve. He appealed to all the deepest passions of his audience; he dwelt on the glory of self-sacrifice, the necessity of appeasing the Divine wrath and vengeance, the certainty of ample recompense both in this world and the next for all that they should undergo in such a holy cause. Urban concluded with the solemn declaration of Christ, "He that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me. Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren or sisters, or father or mother, or wife or children, or lands, for My name's sake, shall receive a hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life." Scarcely had the last sentence passed the pontiff's lips, when a loud, tumultuous, universal shout arose, "It is the will of God! It is the will of God!" Urban, interpreting this spontaneous cry as a manifest proof of Divine inspiration, decreed that it should be taken

as the motto or rallying word of the Christian army in the arduous struggle about to commence. The whole assembly then knelt in confession, and received the absolution of the holy father; after which thousands of eager devotees bound themselves by oath to avenge the cause of Jesus Christ in Palestine, and received in token of their engagement a cross of red cloth affixed on the right shoulder. From this badge they were thenceforth distinguished as the croisés, and their enterprise as the Crusade. The first ecclesiastic who assumed the cross was Adhemar, Bishop of Le Puy, whom the pope appointed to accompany the expedition in the quality of legate; the first temporal prince who followed his example was the powerful Raymond de St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse.

The Church was lavish in its grant of privileges, and every species of encouragement, spiritual and temporal, to all who should enlist under the banner of the cross. The crusader was, ipso facto, absolved from his sins, and obtained plenary remission of all canonical penance.* He was placed under the special protection of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and thereby shielded from all violence or molestation, both in person and property; any one who might presume to injure him incurred the sentence of excommunication until he should make complete reparation. Death during the pilgrimage was announced to be a certain passport to a glorious inheritance in Paradise.

Never had such a marvellous outburst of mingled military and religious frenzy been witnessed in the annals of the world. Every European nation engaged more or less deeply in the dangers, difficulties, and glories of the crusade; it seemed as if the entire continent, upheaved from its foundations and impelled by some resistless overmastering force, was about to hurl itself in one stupendous mass upon the shores of Asia. But the history of the movement is specially and inseparably identified with that of France. The undertaking was thoroughly congenial to the chivalrous character of the French nation. It was in the heart of France that the crusade was first resolved on and proclaimed. The missionary who preached it, the pope who sanctioned and enjoined it, were natives of France. All the principal leaders of the expedition were without exception French; and two-thirds, at least, of the crusading army belonged to the same nation. It was a Frenchman who founded the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem; Frenchmen were placed at the head of almost all the principalities established by the crusaders in the East. The language, manners, and political system of France prevailed throughout Palestine during the period

^{* &}quot;Quicunque pro solà devotione, non pro honoris vel pecuniæ adeptione, ad liberandam Ecclesiam Dei Jerusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni prenitentià reputetur."—Conc. Clermont.

of the Christian occupation. It was accordingly with perfect truth and justice that a contemporary historian, Guibert of Nogent, adopted for his chronicle the title of "Gesta Dei per Francos."

§ 16. None of the sovereigns of Christendom took part in the first crusade. Philip of France was disabled from joining it both by constitutional habits of indolence and by his peculiar circumstances: labouring as he did under the gravest censures of the Church. The chief command of the expedition was intrusted to Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, descended on his mother's side from Charlemagne; an able, experienced, and successful soldier, and distinguished by the highest qualities of honour, virtue, and piety. His principal lieutenants were Hugh, Count of Vermandois and Valois, brother of the King of France; Robert Courthose, Duke of Normandy, eldest son of the Conqueror; Robert, Count of Flanders: Stephen, Count of Chartres and Blois, who had married the Princess Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, and was father of Stephen, afterwards King of England; Baldwin, Count of Hainault; and Raymond, Marquis of Provence and Count of Toulouse. Godfrey of Bouillon was accompanied by his two brothers, Eustace and Baldwin of Boulogne.

The preparations of these great barons necessarily required considerable delay; and long before they were in readiness to march, the agitation and impatience among pilgrims of the humbler classes rose to such a pitch that it was found impossible to restrain them. Early in March, 1096, an immense column of crusaders, composed of needy adventurers and ignorant fanatic peasants, chiefly from the north and east of France, crossed the Rhine, and took the route through Germany towards Constantinople. It was a rude, miscellaneous, undisciplined multitude, numbering upwards of 100,000, and divided into three bodies, under the guidance of a Burgundian knight called Walter Sansavoir, or the Penniless, Peter the Hermit, and a priest named Gottschalk. After traversing Hungary and Bulgaria, this motley host arrived, not without heavy loss, under the walls of Constantinople. The Greek emperor, dismayed by the strange aspect and lawless behaviour of the advanced guard of his Western allies, lost no time in persuading them to pass the straits into Asia Minor. There they imprudently embroiled themselves with the Turks; they were attacked near Nicæa by the Sultan Kilidge-Arslan, with overwhelming numbers, and nearly their whole force was exterminated, a remnant of only 3000 fugitives escaping from the field.

The grand army of the crusaders was put in motion towards the close of summer. The general point of rendezvous was Constantinople. That part of the army which passed through Apulia was powerfully reinforced by a large body of the Normans of Southern

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Italy, raised and commanded by the crafty and ambitious Bohemond Prince of Tarentum, eldest son of Robert Guiscard. This prince was accompanied by his cousin, the generous and high-souled Tancred, afterwards Prince of Galilee, so celebrated by the muse of Tasso as the mirror and model of Christian chivalry.*

§ 17. We have not space for a detailed account of the complicated operations and events of this first and most successful of the crusades. In March, 1097, the entire army of the Franks was concentrated in the plains of Bithynia; and at a general review it was found that the total force then present amounted to 100,000 horsemen or knights, and 600,000 on foot, t of the two sexes. After taking Nicæa and Antioch, and fighting many desperate battles, the eyes of the crusaders were at length gladdened by the first sight of Jerusalem (7th of June, 1099). Of the enormous multitude which had marched from Europe there now remained no more than 60,000 under arms: the rest had fallen victims to famine, pestilence, fatigue. or the sword. Jerusalem was defended by a garrison of 40,000 Turks; the siege was instantly commenced, and lasted thirty-seven days; a first assault was repulsed; the second was successful; and on Friday the 15th of July, 1099, the ramparts were stormed amid deafening shouts of "Dieu le yeut!" and with indescribable triumph the banner of the cross was planted upon the battlements and towers of the Holy City. The slaughter was continued, long after resistance had ceased, in the streets, houses, and mosques; and upwards of 70,000 Turks are said to have been massacred. The victors rode in blood, says one account, t which reached to their horses' knees. After satiating their fury by this merciless carnage, Godfrey and his attendant nobles threw off their armour, and repaired in solemn procession to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, where they poured forth their souls in devout humiliation, adoration, and thanksgiving: and thus brought their vows to a final consummation. Such were the strange but characteristic inconsistencies of the First Crusade.

The first fruits of this memorable conquest was the foundation of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. The crown is said to have been first offered to the rash, but gallant and generous, Robert of Normandy; and on his declining it the election fell, by unanimous suffrage, upon Godfrey of Bouillon. That excellent prince accepted the high honour conferred upon him, but refused, in his pious humility, to wear a diadem of gold and jewels where his Redeemer's brows had been lacerated by a crown of thorns. He never assumed a higher title than that of Advocate and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre. The reign of Godfrey lasted no more than one year;

^{*} Gerusalemme Liberata, canto i. 45. † William of Tyre, lib. ii. ‡ Robert le Moine.

he died in July, 1100, and was succeeded by his brother Baldwin, Count of Edessa.

The new kingdom was organized carefully upon the feudal model: it was distributed into counties and baronies depending on the crown, like the great fiefs of France. The chief of them, in the order of their foundation, were the county of Edessa, the principality of Antioch, the principality of Tiberias or Galilee created in favour of Tancred, and the county of Tripoli conferred upon Raymond of Toulouse. There were also a Marquis of Ptolemais (Tyre), a Marquis of Joppa, and Counts of Bethlehem and Nazareth. An important and admirable code of laws was drawn up in the French language for the government of the kingdom, and entitled the "Assises de Jerusalem." This system of jurisprudence became so celebrated that it exercised considerable influence upon the principal States of Europe.

§ 18. No events of public importance passed in France during the progress of the crusade. The eyes of the nation were fixed intently upon Palestine, and Philip slumbered on unheeded in his habitual luxury.

The latter years of his reign were spent in tardy remorse for the scandals of his life. In 1104 he underwent a public penance for his sins in the presence of the papal legate, and was absolved from the sentence of excommunication; notwithstanding which, Bertrade was suffered to retain the position and honours of queen consort to the end of her days. A short time before his death the king assumed the habit of a Benedictine monk, and desired that he might be buried in the church of Fleuri-sur-Loire, not deeming himself worthy of a place in the sepulchral vault of the French monarchs at St. Denis. He breathed his last at Melun, July 29, 1108, after a reign of more than forty-seven years, one of the longest in the annals of France.

§ 19. Louis VI., surnamed Le Gros, 1108-1137.—At the death of Philip I. the demesne royal of the King of France consisted of no more than the five cities of Paris, Melun, Etampes, Orleans, and Sens, with the counties or districts surrounding them, answering nearly to the modern departments of the Seine, Seine et Oise, Seine et Marne, and Loiret. The communication between one royal town and another was constantly intercepted by the lords of strong isolated fortresses, who carried on a regular system of brigandage, pillaging travellers on the highways, confining them in the dungeons of their castles, and compelling them to purchase their liberty by ruinous ransoms. They also shamefully plundered the churches and monasteries, and destroyed all public order and security. Such was the result of the total neglect of all the duties of government, under the late sovereign. The first eight years of

the reign of Louis VI. were occupied in successive contests with these feudal freebooters. In this harassing strife the king was vigorously supported by two great powers whose lives or fortunes were staked on its issue-the Church and the people. In order to put down the oppression of these rapacious and seditious barons, he appealed, says a chronicler of the time,* to the bishops: they armed the serfs and tenants of the ecclesiastical domains, and thus organized a popular association which supplied Louis with numbers of determined soldiers, who flocked to his standards under the guidance of their parish priests. This coalition of the monarch. the hierarchy, and the peasantry, against the tyranny of the petty nobles, is one of the most remarkable features of the reign of Louis. The middle and lower classes, thus uniting for mutual preservation from the daily peril of captivity, and every kind of outrage, took the first steps towards the great social revolution which is known in French history as the affranchissement des communes. The towns thus learned the secret of their own power; by degrees they wrested from their oppressors not merely a bare security for personal freedom, but great privileges of internal organization and self-government, by which the commons, or tiers état, acquired the rank of one of the constitutional orders of the state, and became a permanent counterpoise against the high feudal nobility.

§ 20. The foundation of these popular liberties has been generally ascribed to Louis VI., from the circumstance that several of the earliest municipal charters extant are dated in his reign. It does not appear, however, that Louis, properly speaking, granted any of these charters; they were acquired by dint of successful contest with the local proprietors; the king merely ratified them by affixing his royal seal. The praise to which he is justly entitled is that of having been the first to encourage his subjects to league together in active exertion for the general weal, and thus to achieve their own independence. The foundation of the communes was the work, not of Louis VI. nor of any other sovereign, but of the citizens themselves, the result of a simultaneous movement throughout France, for defence against oppression, the maintenance of the rights of property, and the protection and development of commerce. Louis did not originate this movement, but he greatly contributed to its success by making himself the champion of public order, by labouring earnestly to redress wrongs and reform abuses, and by asserting the supremacy of the Crown over all its vassals, most of whom had thrown off all idea of subordination.

The constitution of the boroughs in the south of France differed considerably from that adopted in the north. Here the model was that of the ancient municipia, which had been numerous throughout

^{*} Ordericus Vitalis, lib. ii. cap. 34.

Languedoc and Provence, the earliest and most flourishing seat of Roman power in Gaul. In this part of France the Roman system seems to have been maintained without essential change after the fall of the empire, so that most of the cities enjoyed uninterruptedly the privileges of a free local government, under officers who bore the old traditional name of consuls. The consular form of corporation existed at Marseilles, Avignon, Arles, Narbonne, Toulouse, Perigueux, Bourges, and many other towns beyond the Loire; and this in most cases without any grant of new charters, and without those violent struggles which took place in the north.

Besides those towns which in the north had won civic liberty by the sword, or in the south had inherited it from Rome, there was a third class of towns which were voluntarily enfranchised by their feudal lords, and obtained complete personal freedom and security of property, together with certain fiscal exemptions and commercial advantages, but without the right of choosing their own magistrates and conducting their own government. Such was the state of all the towns in the domaine royal; Paris obtained its liberties in this way from Louis VI. and his two successors; Orleans was enfranchised in like manner by Louis VII. Such too was the origin of all those numerous towns throughout France which bear the name of Villefranche and Villeneuve.

The organization of the communes tended materially to increase the power of the crown. The sovereign, called on to mediate and decide between the nobles and the citizens, became recognised as the supreme authority; besides which, most of the boroughs paid an annual contribution to the royal treasury, and were bound to furnish a certain force of civic militia on the king's demand. It was thus that the Capetian monarchs were gradually enabled to extend their dominions beyond the narrow limits of the duchy of France, to check and curtail the independence of the great feudatories, and to make themselves respected in the provinces of the south, which for so many ages defied their jurisdiction.

§ 21. Louis VI. carried on for several years war with Henry I. of England. The unfortunate Robert of Normandy had been taken prisoner by his brother at the battle of Tinchebrai in 1106, and confined for life in Cardiff Castle; his son, however, called William Clito, escaped, and threw himself on the protection of the French king, who at once determined to espouse his cause and establish him in the possession of Normandy. This struggle was continued, with various intermissions, till the death of William, who was killed in battle beneath the walls of Alost in 1128. Though the death of William removed the chief source of discord between France and England, the crafty policy of Henry I. led him to seize every opportunity of strengthening himself upon the rival

territory. He contracted a second alliance with the house of Anjou, by marrying his only daughter, the Empress Matilda, to Geoffrey Plantagenet, eldest son of the reigning Count Foulques V. Foulques, being on the point of setting out for the Holy Land, abdicated his dominions in favour of his son in 1129; and the influence of the English crown was thus extended over some of the richest and most populous provinces of France.

The death of Henry I. (December, 1135) was followed by a sanguinary struggle in Normandy between the partisans of the house of Anjou and those of Stephen of Boulogne, who succeeded to the English crown. One of the principal allies of Geoffrey Plantagenet was William X. Duke of Aquitaine, a man of fierce temper who had made himself notorious in Normandy by his cruelty during this desolating war. Tortured by disease, and stung by remorse for his crimes, the duke resolved to go on pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella in Spain. But, lest he should die before returning to France, he declared his only daughter Eleanor sole heiress of his dominions, and placed her under the guardianship of Louis VI., with the understanding that she should be bestowed in marriage upon Prince Louis, surnamed le Jeune, to distinguish him from his father. The king accepted this splendid offer, which promised to extend the rule of his family over almost the whole of France south of the Loire. The prince proceeded without delay into Aquitaine, and his marriage with Eleanor was solemnized in the cathedral of Bordeaux on the 2nd of August, 1137. On their journey homewards, Louis and his bride were met at Poitiers by tidings of the death of Louis VI., on the 1st of August. As the Duke of Aquitaine had died at Compostella in the preceding April, the dominions to which Louis VII, thus succeeded reached from the river Somme and the borders of Flanders to the Adour and the roots of the Pyrenees.

Louis VI., surnamed le Gros from his corpulency, was unquestionably one of the ablest and best sovereigns who have filled the throne of France. He found the crown, at his accession, depressed to the lowest point of weakness; he restored its dignity, asserted its prerogatives, enforced its authority, and left the kingdom enlarged to something approaching its ancient and natural extent of territory. It was highly to his credit to have discerned the merit and secured the services of such a man as Suger, Abbot of St. Denis, whom he made his confidential friend and prime minister. At his suggestion the king revived the office of the missi dominici, charged to make judicial circuits throughout the kingdom, and report on all that required reform, correction, or redress. The administration of Suger was eminently wise and efficient, and contributed much to the popularity of his master. It was he who, as

the head of the great abbey of St. Denis, took the lead in attaching the clergy to the cause of royalty, and in organizing the peasantry for its defence against the aristocracy—a movement which, as we have seen, resulted in the formation of the communes and the development of the *tiers état*.

§ 22. France produced at this period some distinguished students of theological and metaphysical science. The system of the schoolmen dates from the commencement of the twelfth century: it soon gave rise to the abstruse controversy between the Nominalists and Realists—the former denying, the latter maintaining, the independent and positive existence of abstract ideas, or universals. Roscelin, a priest of Compiègne, is considered as the founder of the Nominalists. He was a subtle and profound dialectician; but having put forward some heterodox speculations on the nature of the Trinity, amounting in fact to Tritheism, he was opposed and triumphantly refuted by St. Anselm, then Abbot of Le Bec, in Normandy, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, St. Anselm, who professed the Platonist or Realist doctrines, and was the author of many admirable works, especially on the Incarnation and on freewill, died in 1109. William de Champeaux followed in his footsteps, and rose to great celebrity as master of the school attached to the cathedral at Paris. Next appeared the famous Peter Abelard, born in 1079 at the village of Le Pallet near Nantes, who, having been a pupil first of Roscelin, then of William de Champeaux, formed a theory which, under the name of Conceptualism, blended the teaching of both schools. He taught for some years at Melun, and afterwards succeeded to the chair of William de Champeaux at Paris. There he established a splendid reputation, and many of the most eminent men of the age became his scholars. The romantic story which has linked for ever the names of Abelard and Heloise is too familiarly known to need repetition here. After their separation. Abelard entered the monastery of St. Denis, where he devoted himself with redoubled ardour to the study of philosophy and divinity, and soon produced his learned Introduction to Theology. Various charges of heresy, founded upon this work, were brought against him: he was cited before a council at Soissons in 1121, and condemned to commit the treatise to the flames with his own hand. He now sought an asylum in the territories of the Count of Champagne, and founded the monastery of the "Paraclete," near the town of Nogent-sur-Seine; but some years afterwards he incurred the antagonism of St. Bernard, who accused him at the council at Sens, in 1140, of reproducing the errors of Arius, Pelagius, and Nestorius. Abelard replied by appealing to the pope; and Innocent II., who was completely under the control of St. Bernard, pronounced his condemnation, prohibited

him from teaching, and ordered him to be confined for life. Through the kind intervention of Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, Abelard found a retreat in that celebrated abbey, where he passed two years in study, humiliation, and exercises of devotion; and having been removed for his health to the priory of St. Marcel, near Châlon-sur-Saône, died there in the sixty-third year of his age, April 21, 1142.

St. Bernard was born of a good family at Fontaine, near Dijon. and showed from his youth upwards a strongly contemplative, unworldly turn of mind, joined to great powers of intellect, and a warm, energetic, enthusiastic temper. At the age of twenty-two, he resolved to embrace the monastic life, and took the vows in the monastery of Citeaux, then renowned for the severity of its discipline; and such was his extraordinary gift of personal influence at this early age, that he persuaded his father, his uncle, his five brothers, and many friends of high position, to renounce the world and accompany him to his ascetic retreat. The order of Citeaux now rapidly increased in fame and numbers; and in 1115 Bernard was placed by the abbot, St. Stephen Harding, at the head of a colony of monks who were to plant an offshoot of the community in a desolate district of the diocese of Langres, called the "Vallée d'Absinthe." Here Bernard founded the monastery of Clairvaux (Clara Vallis), of which he was the first abbot. The rule which he instituted surpassed in austerity even that of Citeaux; Clairvaux became a model of order, self-devotion, and saintliness; and soon attracted universal admiration, not only in France, but throughout Europe. But it was impossible for a man like Bernard, however deep his passion for retirement, to live in isolation from secular concerns and interests. Compelled in spite of himself to take a prominent part in all the great enterprises, controversies, and struggles of his time, he became the confidant of monarchs, the arbiter between rival popes, the conductor of the most delicate diplomatic negotiations, the champion of the orthodox faith, the instructor and guide of the clergy, the censor of public morals-in one word, the oracle of his age. Meanwhile he preserved an extreme simplicity of character and a rare disinterestedness of motive and conduct, declining in succession the archbishoprics of Milan, Genoa. and Reims. In the year 1128 Bernard was employed to draw up the statutes of the newly founded order of the Templars, which he submitted to the Council of Troyes. Next he found himself engaged in the schism occasioned by the double election of Innocent II. and Anacletus; and having pronounced at the Council of Etampes for the former, he proceeded to undertake missions to the courts of Normandy, Germany, and Italy, for the purpose of gaining over the sovereigns to support that decision. In this he fully succeeded, and

the schism was terminated in favour of Innocent in 1138. Besides his memorable controversy with Abelard, Bernard combated the heresy of Peter de Bruys, whose followers were named Petrobussians; of Gilbert de la Poirée, Bishop of Poitiers; and of two sects called the Henricians and the Apostolici. In metaphysics he leaned to the opinion of the Realists; in theology he followed the teaching of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine. Rejecting the dry dialectic method of the scholastic writers, he adhered to the ancient patristic models of Biblical exposition; and has thus acquired the honourable distinction of the "last of the Fathers." Worn out at length by his almost superhuman labours, St. Bernard expired peacefully at Clairvaux in August, 1153. He was canonized by Pope Alexander III. in 1174.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.

The feudal system consisted of (1) a land tie-gradually all landowners hold of the king and pay him fealty; (2) a personal tie-men, for the sake of protection, commended themselves to a lord and did him homage; (3) the right of jurisdiction -landowners had their own courts and exercised the right of jurisdiction. The three elements of feudalism are, therefore, land grants, commendation, and jurisdiction,

The following books may be consulted: -Luchaire, Histoire des Institutions Monarchiques de la France, sous les the conditions and obligations, and with premiers Capetiens (2 vols.), and Manuel des Institutions, Françaises Périodi des Capetiens directo; Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix, liv. xxx. and xxxi.; Du Cange, Glossar. v. Beneficium, Miles, Alodis, Feudum; Guizot, Histoire de Civilisation en France, vol. iii., and Essais sur l'Histoire de France, Ess. 4; Aug, Thierry, Lettres sur l'Histoire de France.

The necessity of obtaining adequate defence for person and property in an age of weak government, political confusion, and scanty civilization, lies at the root of the entire system of feudalism. The feudal contract was a mutual guarantee of security both to lord and vassal, and tended manifestly to their common advantage. The rapid extension of the system during the ninth and tenth centuries proves that this was fully appreciated,

and it is strikingly illustrated by the singular fact that even the independent allodial proprietors eventually found it desirable to exchange their freeholds for feudal tenures, in order to secure the superior advantages annexed to them. This was done by an extension of the ancient practice of Commendation so often referred to. The allodial proprietor presented himself before the king, or other powerful seigneur whose protection he wished to obtain, holding in his hands and the system was rapidly developed in a clod of turf or the branch of a tree, and surrendered his freehold, which was immediately restored to him, to enjoy and dispose of as before, but subject to all the attendant benefits, of a feudal tenure. When this change had been accomplished, towards the close of the ninth century, the whole country, with the exception of certain districts in the south, became feudal. France presented a vast association or hierarchy of fief-holders, descending by a regularly graduated subordination from the king to the most inconsiderable vassal. For it must be observed that, whereas at first it was only the sovereign and the wealthiest nobles who conferred fiefs, their example was soon imitated by their inferiors; smaller fiefs were created out of the larger, and granted on the same conditions, so that the same individual might be at once a suzerain with regard to his vassals and a vassal with regard to his suzerain. This is the meaning of the French terms arrière

fief and arrive vassal; it is expressed in nation to the crown, as history abundantly English by the word sub-infeudation. The King of France himself was one of the vassals of the Abbey of St. Denis, for the fief of the Vexin; it was in his quality of Count of Vexin that he possessed the privilege of bearing the oriflamme, which was the sacred banner of that great monastic foundation. The Duke of Burgundy in like manner owed homage for a tief to the Bishop of Langres. Thirty-two knights bannerets were vassals to the Count of Thouars; the Count, in his turn, was under the obligations of fealty and military service to the Count of Anjou; while the Count of Anjou held his possessions as a vassal of the crown of France.

Another important feature of the feudal system was that which Guizot describes as the "fusion of sovereignty with property," in other words, the political and administrative power possessed by the holders of fiefs within their own domains. The provincial governors, the counts and dukes, having obtained from the weakness of the later Carlovingian monarchs the hereditary transmission of their benefices, proceeded to usurp the perpetuity of their offices. Each district became a separate independent jurisdiction, an imperium in imperio, the nobles exercising in full sovereignty all those magisterial, judicial, and military functions which their ancesters had originally derived from the crown. As in the case of sub-infeudation, their example was followed by their inferiors, and the great proprietors throughout the country gradually established their claim to all the chief prerogatives of sovereignty within their several boundaries. At the accession of Hugh Capet there were no less than 150 seigneurs who possessed the right to coin money, to make private war, to impose taxes and laws, and to judge in the last resort in criminal causes of all kinds. The direct and inevitable consequence of such a state of things was to enfeeble, and almost to annihilate, all dynastic authority. Under the last Carlovingians the domaine royal consisted only of the city of Laon and a small surrounding district; Hugh Capet augmented it by the addition of the Duchy of France, but even then he possessed little real power except as sovereign of his own fief; of his immediate vassals, the socalled "great feudatories" of Normandy, Burgundy, Champagne, Flanders, and Toulouse, there was not one who was not at least his equal in extent and importance of territory, and their subordi-

testifies, existed rather in theory and name than in reality. Over the lesser feudatories, again, the sovereign could exercise no efficient control, because they could only be reached through their immediate superiors. Hence it appears that, although the feudal system was an admirable institution for self-protection against barbarous violence, and although its laws and usages acted as a social bond which in many respects proved highly beneficial to Europe, yet it always contained within itself a principle of weakness and decadence. The nominally sovereign power was incapable of acting effectively through all the ranks and degrees of society, so as to ensure the rights and liberties of all alike, both weak and strong. The tendency of each lord and of each fief was to be isolated from all others, and to fulfil all the functions of government individually and independently. In the absence of any central monarchical power, the relations of the feudal potentates to each other were seldom or never satisfactory; jealousies, encroachments, oppression, fierce and bloody quarrels, were of continual occurrence. And from the moment when the crown at length became strong enough to assert its superiority and enforce obedience to its decrees through all gradations of the feudal hierarchy, from that moment we find that feudalism was shaken to its foundations, and soon began to verge towards its fall.

The feudal relationship was constituted by the performance of certain prescribed ceremonies, namely, (1) homage, (2) fealty, and (3) investiture. In doing homage (homagium, hominium) the vassal knelt, bare-headed, before the seigneur without belt, sword, or spurs, and, placing his hand in his, repeated the words, "I become your man from this day forth, of life and limb, and will keep faith to you for the lands I claim to hold of you." Homage liege was distinguished from homage simple, the latter from being less stringent than the former, and leaving the vassal at liberty to withdraw from his lord's obedience by renouncing his fief. Fealty (fidelitas) was an engagement by oath on the part of the tenant to perform duly the conditions and services by which the fief was held. Investiture consisted in the lord's delivering to the vassal a clod of turf, a branch of a tree, a handful of earth, or some other such symbolical object, by which act the vassal was put in actual personal possession of his feudal

reciprocal obligations between the contracting parties.

The holders of the fiefs were likewise subject to various and sometimes heavy contributions in money. Feudal aids (auxilia) were certain sums payable to the seigneur on particular occasions, viz. : (1) Towards paying his ransom when he had been taken prisoner in battle; (2) towards his equipment and expenses when he went in pilgrimage to the Holy Land; (3) at the marriage of his eldest daughter, and (4) when his eldest son received the honour of knighthood. A relief (relevium, relevamentum) was a sum of money payable by the heir of a fief vacated by death, before he could enter on the possession of his property. If a vassal sold his fief, a payment, generally equivalent to one year's revenue, was due to the superior lord from the purchaser before taking possession. The practice of disposing of fiefs by sale was originally prohibited, but in latter times was connived at or permitted as a measure of convenience, and was thus naturally used by the suzerain as an opportunity of extorting additional pecuniary advantage. Feudal estates were also liable to forfeiture (forisfactura) in the event of non-fulfilment of the specified obligations of the tenure, or in case of treason or other gross misbehaviour on the part of the tenant, or in case of the death of the vassal without heirs male. Besides these there were two other feudal "incidents," namely, wardship or garde noble, which gave the suzerain all the rights of a guardian during the minority of his vassal, including the management of his domains and the disposal of the revenue; and marriage (maritagium), or the right of presenting to the heiress of a fief three men of suitable birth and condition, of whom she was compelled to select one for her husband. The only alternative by which the heiress could escape this was by paying to the lord a fee equal in amount to that which he would have received from the successful suitor for her hand; for it was the custom to purchase of the suzerain an alliance which involved the possession of a fief.

Having once fulfilled these obligations. the feudal vassal became almost absolute master within his own domains, giving laws to his dependents, administering justice, and exercising all the functions of an independent sovereign. So long as he committed no positive breach of the

property. Thenceforward commenced the | none; in case of such an infraction, appeal might be made against him to the court of the superior lord.

> The suzerain, on his part, was bound to protect and defend his vassal in the enjoyment of his fief, with all the rights, privileges, and emoluments attached to it. All complaints and disputes between vassals were brought before the feudal court of the seigneur. The jurisdiction belonging to these courts was of different degrees of importance, which were distinguished as haute, movenne, and basse justice. The first alone conferred the right of passing sentences of capital punishment; many of the smaller seigneurial courts possessed only the second and third. All the vassals holding of the same suzerain sat in these courts as assessors; the right of trial by peers (pares) being one of the most essential principles of feudalism. In the case of a contest between a vassal and his seigneur, the process took place not in the local court, but in the court of the superior lord, which had appellate jurisdiction in such causes. But the justice dispensed by these feudal tribunals was for many reasons very imperfect and unsatisfactory; and in order to remedy this defect, the rude manners of the times permitted the expedient of the judicial combat, or appeal to the judgment of God, and the still more barbarous practice of private war. (See on these points Dr. Robertson's Notes to the History of Charles V., Notes 21 and 22.) These customs, which in course of time produced abuses of the most serious and dangerous kind, were gradually restrained and suppressed by the wise legislation of Philip Augustus, Saint Louis, and Philip the Fair.

The principal causes which led eventually to the decay and extinction of feudalism were-(I.) The extension of the domaine royal, and consequently of the direct authority and jurisdiction of the crown. In proportion as royalty revived under the auspices of Louis VI., Philip Augustus, and their successors, it exercised a power distinct from and independent of the feudal potentates, an authority which they could not ignore or disallow, an appellate jurisdiction to which they found themselves compelled to submit. The proceedings of Philip Augustus against John of England are a memorable proof of the strength and unity which the central government had already acquired in his hands. The legisfeudal contract, he was responsible to lative and judicial powers of the crown

increased considerably during the reign of Saint Louis, and the change became still more remarkable under Philip the Fair, who instituted a regular judicial order—the "legistes"—a class of magistrates specially trained for the administration of justice. From this date the royal courts, or parliaments as they began to be called, took cognizance of all causes, and enforced their judgments throughout the whole extent of the kingdom, superseding, and by degrees' annulling, the jurisdiction of the fendal seigneurs.

(II.) The enfranchisement of the communes. This, by conferring on the towns charters of incorporation conveying extensive privileges and exemptions, greatly improved and elevated the condition of the bourgeoisie, which by degrees became an effectual counterpoise to the overbearing tyranny of the feudal nobles. Personal liberty and mutual protection were thus guaranteed independently of the feudal confederation. "Until then," says Sir James Stephen, "the population of France had been composed of two great antagonistic powers-the nobles and the roturiers; the one enjoying all the privileges of freedom, the other sustaining all the burdens of servitude. But when at length the bourgeois were interposed between the two as a mediating body, combining in their-own persons the rights and the obligations of each, they at once mitigated the sternness of the dominant authority and the sufferings of the subject multitude. Each bourg formed a species of independent commonwealth within the kingdom; and such commonwealths, when extended throughout the whole compass of it, acted everywhere as germs from which the national government was to derive its growth, or as moulds by which it was to receive its future form and character."

(III.) The Crusades. These memorable expeditions tended in many ways to circumscribe the power of the territorial aristocracy. They contributed to augment the importance of the municipal communes, which were always in antagonism to the feudal nobility. Wealth and capital were in the hands of the industrious and enterprising citizen, and it was to him that the knightly crusader was obliged to apply to obtain the means

of his equipment for the Holy Land. Possessed of the all-important power of the purse, the bourgeois improved their advantage without scruple. Immunities of all kinds were purchased at an easy rate from the needy barons; feudal estates were disposed of at prices far below their real value, property of every description changed hands to an enormous extent throughout France, and invariably to the damage of the great feudal landholder. "The estates of the barons were dissipated," says Gibbon, "and their race was often extinguished, in these costly and perilous expeditions. Their poverty extorted from their pride those charters of freedom which unlocked the fetters of the slave, secured the farm of the peasant and the shop of the artificer, and gradually restored a substance and a soul to the most numerous and useful part of the community. The conflagration which destroyed the tall and barren trees of the forest gave air and scope to the vegetation of the smaller and nutritive plants of the soil." Decline and Fall, vol. vii. p. 349, edit. Smith.

(IV.) The practice of employing large bodies of mercenary soldiers, generally foreigners, in substitution for the feudal military tenants, and, eventually, the institution of a regular standing army paid by the state. These innovations, so contrary to the genius and fundamental principle of feudalism, completed the overthrow of the system. He who could command a powerful force of well-disciplined mercenaries was more than a match for the greatest of the feudal seigneurs. It was thus that Philip Augustus overcame his vassal John of Normandy. The practice was greatly extended in succeeding reigns, and in proportion to its increase the feudal military tenure fell into general discredit, and was felt to be meaningless, burdensome, and useless. At length, after the creation of the "compagnies d'ordonnance," by Charles VII., in 1444, the military service attached to the fiefs was, almost of necessity, superseded and abolished by the new organization; and with the disappearance of this, its main original principle, the other institutions of feudalism quickly lost their efficacy and became obsolete.



Château Gaillard, built by Richard Cœur de Lion-on the Seine.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS VIII, TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS VIII.

A.D. 1137-1226.

§ 1. Accession of Louis VII.; Suger, Abbot of St. Denis; hostilities in Champagne and Normandy. § 2. Louis departs on the second Crusade; failure of the Crusade. § 3. Retirement and death of the Abbot Suger; divorce of Queen Eleanor. § 4. Rivalry between Louis VII. and Henry II. of England; birth of Philip Augustus. § 5. Archbishop Becket in France. § 6. Louis supports the rebellion of the English princes; death of Louis VII. § 7. Accession of Philip Augustus; his marriage with Isabella of Hainault. § 8. Disputes with England: capture of Jerusalem by the Saracens; Philip assumes the Cross. § 9. The third Crusade; rivalry between Philip and Richard Cœur de Lion; siege of St. Jean d'Acre; return of Philip to France. § 10. Philip leagues with John against King Richard; death of Richard. § 11. Philip supports Arthur of Brittany against John; Agnes de Méran; France laid under an interdict by Innocent III.; Philip invades Normandy; murder of Arthur of Brittany. § 12. Philip dispossesses John of Normandy, Poitou, and Touranie; he acquires Vermandois, Artois, and Auvergne. § 13. The Albigensian war; Simon de Montfort. § 14. Philip Augustus invades Flanders; victory of Bouvines. § 15. Expedition of Prince Louis to England; its failure; renewal of war in Languedoc. § 16. Administration of Philip Augustus; his death; the fourth Crusade; Latin conquest of Constantinople. § 17. Reign of Louis VIII.; war with England; expedition against Raymond of Toulouse; death of the king.

§ 1. Louis VII., surnamed Le Jeune, 1137-1180.—Few sovereigns have ascended the throne with fairer prospects than Louis VII.; but unfortunately he was not a prince of great capacity or strong good sense; his character was feeble, capricious, and passionate. His chief counsellors were the Abbot Suger and Gosselin, Bishop of Soissons: the former, one of the ablest statesmen that France has produced, was of invaluable service during the earlier part of his reign.

In 1141 the king became involved in a serious quarrel with the see of Rome. Pope Innocent II. nominated to the vacant archbishopric of Bourges Peter de la Chatre, a relative of one of the great officers of the pontifical court. Louis, who had presented another candidate to the chapter, indignantly declared that while he lived the pope's nominee should never be archbishop, and gave orders for a fresh election. He was, in consequence, excommunicated by the pope, and an interdict laid upon every place where he might sojourn. This sentence remained in force for the space of three years. Wherever the king came all offices of Divine service were instantly suspended; the dead lay unburied; children were unbaptised. In the struggle, Thibald, Count of Champagne, sided with the pope, and in 1142 Louis therefore declared war against the count. The French ravaged the territory of Champagne, took by assault the fortified town of Vitry, set it on fire, and destroyed in the flames no less than 1300 of the helpless inhabitants, who had taken refuge in the principal church. This catastrophe cut Louis to the heart; he hastened to treat with Thibald, and obtained absolution in 1144 from Celestine II., the successor of Innocent, upon condition of establishing Pierre de la Chatre in peaceable possession of his see.

The war continued in Normandy between the rival houses of Anjou and Blois. Louis declared in favour of Geoffrey Plantagenet, and thus turned the scale against Stephen, whose utmost efforts scarcely sufficed to maintain his hold upon England. In 1144 Geoffrey entered Rouen in triumph, and received from Louis the investiture of the duchy of Normandy. The strife after this was confined to England, where the land was desolated with contests between the partisans of the Empress Maude and the armies of King Stephen. In the end a compromise was effected; Stephen retained the crown of England for his life; Geoffrey was recognised as Duke of Normandy, Count of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. The succession to the English throne was settled upon the eldest

son of Maude and Geoffrey; the second son was to inherit the continental possessions.

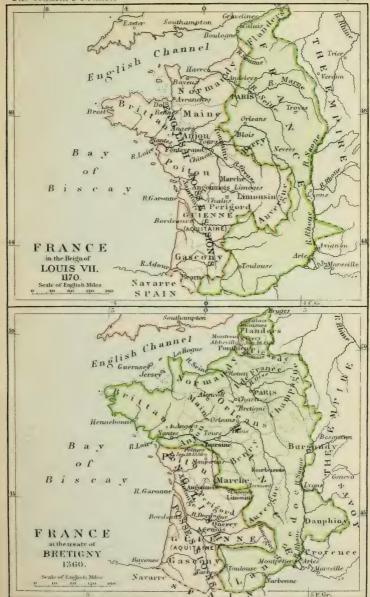
§ 2. Still stung by his conscience on account of the disaster of Vitry, Louis began to think seriously of making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Recent events in the East forced him to a decision. The city of Edessa had lately been captured and sacked by the Sultan of Aleppo (Dec. 25, 1144); and the Christians, after suffering tremendous loss, had been driven from this part of their dominions in the East. This calamity spread dismay throughout the European settlements in Palestine; fears were felt for the safety of the kingdom of Jerusalem; and ambassadors were sent in haste to the various states of the West, especially to France, to represent the immediate danger, and urgent need for assistance. The appeal reawakened the religious sympathies of Christendom; Pope Eugenius III. addressed an eloquent letter to the King of France, exhorting him and his people to take arms immediately for the defence of the Holy Sepulchre and the relief of their brethren-a summons which Louis, already more than half resolved upon the step, received with the utmost satisfaction. The pope delegated his authority to one whose influence, both in Church and State, was at that time supreme in France, if not in Europe—to Bernard of Clairvaux. As the apostle of the second crusade, Bernard fulfilled the mission with zeal and enthusiasm not inferior to that of his predecessor the hermit of Picardy, while in genius, intellectual gifts. and learned acquirements, he was infinitely superior. At his suggestion a great national council was convoked at Vezelay in Burgundy, for the feast of Easter, 1146. So vast a crowd of people of all ranks and classes thronged to the place of meeting, that it was impossible to hold the proceedings within the walls of the town. A platform was erected at the foot of the lofty hill on which Vezelay is built; here Louis, wearing the royal robes, took his stand with Bernard at his side; and the latter, after reading the brief by which he was appointed to act as the pope's representative, addressed the assembled multitude in a vehement and impassioned harangue, the conclusion of which was drowned in resounding cries of "The cross! the cross!" The king, deeply moved, knelt at the feet of the pope's legate, and received the cross from his hand: Queen Eleanor was the next to assume the sacred emblem; and the example of the sovereigns was eagerly followed by the nobles and the greater portion of the assembly. Bernard and his assistant monks, after distributing among them a vast quantity of crosses prepared beforehand, were obliged to tear their garments to supply the demand.

The exertions of Bernard were not confined to France: he proceeded to Germany, where his overpowering eloquence prevailed

upon the Emperor Conrad to join the ranks of the crusaders, together with his nephew Frederick (afterwards emperor), Guelf, Count of Bayaria, and other distinguished princes of the empire. Returning to France, Bernard attended the Council of Etampes in February, 1147: here the last arrangements were made for the approaching expedition, and a council of regency was appointed for the administration of the kingdom, consisting of the Abbot Suger, the Count of Vermandois, and the Archbishop of Reims. At Easter, in the abbey of St. Denis, Louis received from the hands of Pope Eugenius himself the pilgrim's staff and wallet, together with the apostolical benediction; and shortly afterwards proceeded to Metz, where he put himself at the head of the crusading army, numbering upwards of 100,000 barons, knights, and fighting men, besides a vast number of non-combatant pilgrims. The march began immediately: Louis crossed the Rhine at Worms, and the Danube at Ratisbon; traversed the plains of Hungary, and entered the territories of the Eastern Empire. Here the crusaders, instead of meeting with sympathy and support, were treated with insolence. treachery, and violence. The Emperor Manuel Comnenus, like most of his family, distrusted and hated the Franks; and under the mask of outward respect and friendship, laboured in every way to cripple, embarrass, and ruin their enterprise. The whole expedition was one series of disasters. After suffering a severe defeat from the Turks in the defiles of Phrygia, not far from Laodicea, the crusaders gained the seaport of Attalia, in Pamphylia. Here Louis, with his queen and the principal barons, embarked for Syria, leaving the bulk of his forces under the command of the Counts of Flanders and Bourbon. He landed in safety at the mouth of the Orontes. and was there received by Raymond of Poitiers, Prince of Antioch, who conducted him to his capital.

The main body of the crusaders never reached the shores of Palestine. Abandoned by their leaders, they found themselves cooped up between the town of Attalia (the gates of which were closed against them by the Greek governor), the Turkish army, and the sea. Attacked in this desperate position, thousands perished beneath the sabres of the Turks; a large division sought safety in flight, but were overtaken at a short distance and totally exterminated; upwards of 3000 embraced the Mussulman faith; great numbers were sold into slavery.

The further details of this expedition are in every way discreditable and inglorious. Louis, after a lengthened sojourn at Antioch, reached Jerusalem in the spring of 1148, and accomplished the vow of his pilgrimage in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Emperor Conrad had arrived from Constantinople some time before, and the two monarchs, after being repulsed before the walls of





Damascus, attempted no further operations. Louis lingered in the Holy Land for a whole year, ashamed to reappear in his kingdom. At length, overcome by the pressing remonstrances of the wise and faithful Suger, he returned to France in 1149; and disembarked in Provence, attended by a scanty escort of 200 or 300 knights, the wreck of that mighty host with which, somewhat more than two years before, he had marched from Italy.

§ 3. The disastrous issue of this crusade was a heavy blow to the reputation of St. Bernard, who had so confidently predicted its success. On the other hand, the patriotic wisdom of the Abbot Suger was now fully appreciated. He had always strongly opposed the project of the crusade, and did his utmost to dissuade his master from embarking in it. During the king's absence he devoted himself to the duties of his administration; he repressed all attempts to disturb the public order; he greatly improved the royal castles and domains, exercised a judicious financial economy, and restored the kingdom to the hands of Louis in a condition of prosperity. Suger retired to his monastery of St. Denis, bearing with him the title of the "Father of his Country." It is singular that he should have been occupied at the close of his life in organizing a new expedition for the relief of the suffering Christians in the East: he raised vast sums of money for this purpose, and designed to undertake in person the leadership of the crusade; but died in the midst of his preparations, January 13, 1152.

The loss of this excellent minister was soon followed by the great political mistake of Louis VII.—his divorce of Queen Eleanor. Suger had in vain opposed the idea of a divorce which, after the king's return from Palestine, was decided upon. At the Council of Beaugeney, in March, 1152, Louis and Eleanor agreed to demand a separation. The council pronounced the marriage null and void; Eleanor resumed her hereditary possessions as Duchess of Aquitaine; and the crown of France was thus dismembered at one stroke of more than half its territories. Nor was this the full extent of the damage: before six weeks had elapsed, the divorced queen bestowed her hand upon Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Normandy and Count of Anjou. Two years later (Oct. 25, 1154) Henry succeeded, by the death of Stephen, to the throne of England, and became at once the most powerful sovereign of Europe.

§ 4. These circumstances laid the foundation of a mutual enmity between the two princes, which filled up the remainder of their lives. Almost immediately after the marriage Louis made an attack upon Normandy. Henry, however, was on his guard, and defended himself with resolution and success; a truce was soon arranged, and the politic Henry gratified the weak vanity of Louis by doing homage to him for his new acquisitions in Aquitaine. In 1156 the ceremony

FRANCE.

of homage was repeated at Rouen; and Louis was now induced to abandon the cause of Henry's younger brother Geoffrey, who, by the terms of their father's will, ought to have succeeded to the counties of Anjou and Maine. By the same system of hypocritical deference to his suzerain, Henry obtained possession, in 1158, of the county of Nantes, and established his right of feudal lordship over the duchy of Brittany; and shortly afterwards he arranged with Louis a scheme of alliance between their houses, by betrothing his son Henry, a child of four years old, to the infant Princess Margaret, daughter of Louis by his second wife, Constance of Castille. Louis was no match for the English king; and the result of all their disputes was the same;—Henry, without driving matters to extremity against his rival, always contrived to secure to himself some decided advantage.

Louis VII. was still without a son, and shortly after the death of Queen Constance, he married his third wife, Alice, sister of the Count of Champagne. The princess, to the joy of the king and the nation, gave birth, on the 22nd of August, 1165, to a prince, who received the name of Philip: he was welcomed as the "Dieudonné," and became afterwards the renowned Philip Augustus.

§ 5. The conflict between Henry and Archbishop Becket became a fresh source of discord between France and England. When the archbishop fled to France, the king wrote to request that Louis would not countenance or harbour him. Louis, well pleased with so fair an opportunity of annoying his rival, returned for answer that he considered Becket illegally deposed, and would never abandon him. He received him at Soissons with honour, and assigned him for his residence the abbey of Pontigny near Auxerre. A petty war ensued, with disadvantage to Louis; and although the Counts of Poitou, Marche, and Angoulême combined with him against Henry, they found themselves worsted in every encounter. Terms of peace were at length agreed upon in 1169, and the two monarchs had an interview at Montmirail, at which Becket also was present, and, under certain reservations, offered to make submission to his sovereign. It was not, however, till 1170 that a definite arrangement was concluded, in consequence of which Becket took his departure for England to resume possession of his see. Within a month afterwards he was murdered before the altar of Canterbury cathedral.

The tidings of the tragedy were received in France with consternation and horror. Louis, in the height of his indignation, wrote to demand of the pope that the sword of St. Peter should be unsheathed to avenge the martyr of Canterbury. An interdict was immediately laid on all the continental possessions of the King of England; and it was only with extreme difficulty, and at the expense of abject humiliation, that Henry was enabled to appease the storm,

§ 6. The animosity of Louis against Henry now became more and more bitter. There can be no doubt that he fomented, if he did not originate, the rebellion soon afterwards raised against him by Queen Eleanora and the three young princes, Henry, Geoffrey, and Richard. But, when hostilities commenced, the feeble nature of Louis soon quailed, as usual, before the genius, firmness, and vigour of his great antagonist; and in little more than a year he was glad to conclude

peace with the English king.

Shortly before his death Louis undertook a journey to England, and visited, as a pilgrim, the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. On his return to Paris, he caused his son Philip to be crowned king (Oct. 31). In the spring he had been attacked by paralysis, and in the following year, 1180, he died on 18th September. The contemporary historians represent Louis as a religious, gentle-tempered prince, full of kindly feelings towards his subjects, but of a character too simple, easy, and credulous for his position. The communal movement continued to make progress during his reign, and many charters are signed with his name. He gave great encouragement to commerce by incorporating the "hansa" of Paris—a company of merchants who conducted the traffic on the Seine between the capital and Mantes. Louis VII, also took an important step towards improving the lower classes by instituting the "villes neuves," for the reception of serfs who might escape from the yoke of the smaller proprietors. In these towns they enjoyed freedom, together with certain civil privileges, and a small grant of land.

§ 7. Philip II. Augustus, 1180–1223.—Philip, the only son of Louis, now succeeded to the throne, having just completed the fifteenth year of his age. The title of Augustus, by which he is commonly distinguished, was derived, according to some writers, from the circumstance of his having been born in the month of August; others consider the epithet as meaning "the Great" or "the Imperial." Shortly after his coronation he had married Isabella, daughter of Baldwin Count of Hainault, and niece of Philip of Flanders. The Flemish Count, who had no children, promised that on his death Artois and the district of Amiens should pass to

the Crown of France.

Philip early announced what was to be the characteristic policy of his reign—the systematic increase of the power of the crown at the expense of the great feudatories. He had already, in June, 1180, made a treaty with Henry II. of England, and the influence of the Count of Flanders had been weakened. In 1183 and 1184 Philip attacked the count, who had married again, and seemed unwilling to recognise the French king's rights to Artois and Amiens. On November 7, 1185, peace was made at Aumâle, Philip of Flanders being compelled to submit to the king's demands.

He then proceeded to call to account the powerful Duke of Burgundy, who was accused of violating the rights and wasting the property of the church in his dominions. The duke returned a haughty answer, and fortified himself in his castle of Châtillon-sur-Seine. The king, without a moment's hesitation, sent a considerable force into Burgundy, invested and reduced the fortress of Châtillon, and forced the duke to sue for terms. These were granted immediately; the Duke of Burgundy bound himself to make ample reparation to the church for whatever injuries he had committed, and gave up three of his castles in pledge to Philip until the satisfaction should be complete. After inflicting this severe chastisement, the king exercised a wise forbearance, restored the duke's castles, and endeavoured, by marks of confidence and favour, to attach him firmly to the interests of the crown.

The same decisive energy showed itself in the shape of religious intolerance and persecution. A royal edict of April, 1182, commanded all the Jews to leave the kingdom within three months. Their property was confiscated, and their synagogues converted into Christian temples. While a still more rigorous edict was directed against the heretical sect called Paterini—numbers of whom, condemned upon charges more or less trivial and unjust.

perished on the scaffold.

§ 8. The causes of dissension between the rival crowns of France and Eugland were too deep to be easily uprooted. Henry II. had in 1183 done homage for his lands in France; but Philip began soon after to plot with one or other of Henry's sons against their father. In September, 1187, Richard, encouraged by Philip, attempted to raise a revolt in Poitou. The appeals of the pope for aid against the infidel postponed the outbreak of any serious struggle. It was arranged to hold a "parlement" for the conclusion of a definite peace, at a spot near Gisors, where an ancient and magnificent elm marked the boundary between Normandy and the French dominions; but, before the time appointed, tidings arrived from the East which gave an unexpected character to the proposed meeting, and took precedence of all other subjects of discussion. The Latin kingdom of Palestine, after a troubled and precarious existence of eighty-eight years, had fallen beneath the conquering arms of Saladin; the Christians were defeated in a great battle at Tiberias, in July, 1187; and on the 2nd of October in the same year the holy city Jerusalem was assaulted and captured by the Saracens.

The kings of France and England met according to appointment in January, 1188, each attended by a number of knights and nobles. They had scarcely begun to discuss the points in dispute, when the venerable Archbishop of Tyre presented himself before

the assembly, and in a pathetic speech implored the sovereigns to unite in arming for the vindication of the Christian cause in Palestine, and the recovery of Jerusalem from the infidel dominion. It was a chord which in those days was never struck in vain. Henry of England instantly proffered his services in the sacred warfare, and assumed the cross. Philip followed with eager rivalry; and after him a crowd of gallant warriors-Richard Cour de Lion, Philip of Flanders, the Duke of Burgundy, the Counts of Champagne, Chartres, and Nevers-enrolled themselves as leaders of the new crusade. A delay of two years was allowed to complete the necessary preparations; and a tax of a tenth-called the "dîme Saladine"—was imposed on the property of all who were

unable to take personal share in the expedition.

Notwithstanding their solemn and recent engagement, the ensuing summer found Philip and Henry again at deadly strife. Philip invaded Berry, and Henry II. invaded France, refusing the French king's offers of peace. Philip, in a fit of passion, hewed down the "Orme des conferences," vowing by all the saints of France that no more pacific meetings should be held on the spot. Richard now broke out into open revolt against his father, and formally did homage to the King of France for his continental possessions. Deeply wounded by this betrayal, Henry seems to have felt that fortune was finally deserting him. He was no longer able to make war with his accustomed vigour and ability; and he found himself reduced to accept at Colombières, on July 4, 1189, Philip's terms of peace. The conditions imposed on him were harsh and galling; he was compelled to make a declaration of unqualified submission to his rival; to renounce all claim to the sovereignty of Berry; to pay twenty thousand marks of silver for the restoration of the towns captured by the French; and to consent that all the barons who had taken arms in favour of Richard should continue vassals of that prince. Having subscribed this ignominious treaty. Henry retired to the castle of Chinon, and there expired, overwhelmed by grief and despondency, on the 6th of July, 1189.

§ 9. The third crusade began in the year 1190. Richard, who had succeeded his father on the English throne, joined Philip at Vezelay; and the two monarchs marched in company as far as Lyons. Here they separated; Richard continued his route to Marseilles, Philip crossed the Alps and embarked at Genoa. The Sicilian port of Messina was named as meeting-place; here the crusaders passed the winter; and here it was that the first seeds of jealousy and discord were sown between Richard and Philip, whose characters—on the one side impetuous and overbearing, on the other suspicious and revengeful—were such as to forbid

the hope that they could long remain cordially united.

The King of France set sail from Messina on the 30th of March (1191), and in three weeks he arrived at Acre, where a huge Christian army was assembled, numbering several hundred thousand men. The siege of this important fortress had already lasted more than a year; but the jealousies, intrigues, and dissensions which reigned among the crusaders retarded their success even more than the valour and skill of their opponents. On July 12th the city was taken, Philip, like Richard I., showing great energy and courage. But the French king was weary of the war, and suspicious of the English monarch. He was, moreover, in bad health, and his son Louis lay ill in France. The death of Philip of Flanders at Aix, in June, gave him an excuse for returning and claiming the lands of his late wife. Having renewed the engagement which bound him to respect the territories, rights, and interests of Richard of England, the king sailed from Acre on the 31st of July, and, landing at Brindisi, visited the Pontifical court at Rome. Here he is said to have asked from Celestine III. a dispensation from the oath of friendship he had so lately sworn to Richard, against whom he had long meditated deep designs of malice and revenge. The pope positively refused to gratify him; and Philip, having discharged his crusading vow, and prepared for fresh ambitious schemes, pursued his way to France.

§ 10. Whether with or without the papal permission, Philip did not scruple to break his pacific engagement with his English rival. Before the end of 1192 he heard of Richard's imprisonment in Germany, and in February, 1193, he made a treaty with John, who was busily plotting to supplant his brother on the throne, and received his homage, not only for Normandy and the continental states, but also for the crown of England. In virtue of this compact, Philip overran the dominions of Richard in France, and easily made himself master of the Vexin, of the city of Evreux. and several other towns and castles, though Rouen, under the Earl of Leicester, held out successfully against him. Meanwhile, Richard had been seized by Leopold, Duke of Austria, and handed over to the Emperor Henry VI., who imprisoned him in the Castle of Dûrrenstein on the Danube. Summoned before the Diet at Hagenau, in March, 1193, Richard cleared himself from the charges brought against him; notwithstanding which, through the intrigues of Philip with the Emperor Henry VI., his release from confinement was still delayed for some months longer. After a detention of more than one year he recovered his liberty in February, 1194; and the emperor wrote in haste to Philip and John. to bid them "look to themselves, for the devil was unchained." Richard soon made his appearance in Normandy at the head of his barons, breathing wrath and vengeance. John,

A.D. 1199.

ever base and perfidious, endeavoured to propitiate his brother by treacherously assassinating no less than three hundred French men-at-arms, whom he had assembled under pretext of a great banquet of Evreux. Richard soon regained possession of all the places which had surrendered to Philip, and inflicted upon him a severe defeat at Fréteval near Vendôme (July 5th, 1194). Hostilities continued, with indecisive fortune, for five years longer. During this war Richard planned a coalition against France, in which were included Flanders, Champagne, Brittany, and the emperor-elect. Otto IV. It was at the same time that he built the famous Château Gaillard, on the Seine, above Rouen, to defend Normandy from attack. By the mediation of the papal legate a truce for five years was concluded between the belligerents, each party retaining his actual possessions (January 13, 1199). It is most probable that this treaty, like so many others, would have been broken on the first opportunity; but the death of Richard, who was killed before the castle of Chalus in the Limousin, in April, 1199, delivered Philip from his restless adversary, and removed the main obstacle to his ambitious schemes.

§ 11. Philip now skilfully availed himself of the disputed succession between John and his youthful neighbour, Arthur Duke of Brittany, to dismember the Anglo-Norman monarchy. Arthur placed himself under the French king's protection, and offered to pay him homage for the possession of the English crown in France. Philip promised to support him, and gave him a brilliant reception at his court, where the young duke took up his abode. But Philip was in no position at this moment to carry matters to extremity in vindication of the rights of Arthur; he was engaged in a violent struggle with that most inflexible of pontiffs, Innocent III.

After the death of his first wife, Isabella of Hainault, Philip had married Ingilborgis, daughter of the King of Denmark; but for this princess, although she is described as amiable, virtuous, and beautiful, he almost instantly conceived an aversion; and assembling a council at Compiègne, he compelled the servile prelates to pronounce the dissolution of the marriage. Although, on appeal to Rome, the sentence of the French council was reversed, Philip, in 1196, married the beautiful Agnes of Méran, daughter of a Tyrolese count calling himself Marquis of Istria. This step caused general scandal. Pope Celestine III. addressed the king in repeated but ineffectual remonstrances and entreaties. His successor Innocent III. adopted an uncompromising tone, and on December 6, 1199, he was excommunicated by the papal legate, and France laid under an interdict. Philip held out for a time, imprisoned Ingilborgis at Etampes, and deprived of their sees all the bishops who observed the interdict. But in the end he resigned the contest,

separated from Agnes de Méran and reinstated Ingilborgis in her position. Agnes, who seems to have been tenderly attached to Philip, died within a few weeks, in giving birth to a son, who survived but a short time. She had previously borne two daughters, whom the pope, with singular inconsistency, pronounced legitimate.

During the pressure of the interdict Philip was glad to make a temporary peace with John of England. It was agreed that a marriage should take place between Prince Louis, eldest son of Philip, and the Infanta Blanche of Castille, niece of King John; the English king promising to give his niece a dowry of thirty thousand marks of silver, together with the city and county of Evreux, and to declare her sole heiress of all his continental territories in the event of his dying without direct issue. Philip, on his part, promised to give no further support to the pretensions of Arthur of Brittany, and undertook that the young prince should renounce all claim to Normandy and the other French fiefs, and should take the oath of homage to his uncle for the duchy of Brittany. Upon these conditions the marriage between the youthful pair was solemnized near Vernon in Normandy, on the 23rd May, 1200.*

Philip, however, was only waiting for a favourable opportunity to begin a contest with John, for the purpose of dispossessing him altogether of his dominions in France. John had married Isabella of Angoulême, the betrothed of Hugh de Lusignan, Count de la Marche. The barons of Poitou and Limousin flew to arms, and indignantly demanded of Philip, as lord paramount, justice against the King of England. In March, 1202, Philip ordered John to vield to Arthur all his French fiefs, and summoned him to answer the charges made against him. John disregarded the summons. and was sentenced to lose all the lands which he held of the French crown, while Philip, prepared beforehand for the refusal, invaded Normandy at the head of his forces, and in a short time reduced several of the principal towns. Arthur of Brittany, whom Philip had purposely retained near his person, was now despatched into Poitou to place himself at the head of the insurrectionary movement against his uncle. The young duke, in conjunction with the Count de la Marche, laid siege to the castle of Mirabeau, a few miles north of Poitiers, where his grandmother Queen Eleanor had taken refuge. John hastily marched to the relief of his mother, surprised the besieging army, and gained a complete victory, taking prisoners Arthur and his sister Eleanor, the Count de la Marche, and all the chief barons of their party (August 1, 1202).

John confined his nephew first in the castle of Falaise, from which he was transferred to that of Rouen. The exact particulars of his subsequent fate were never ascertained; but the belief seems to

^{*} See Shaksp., 'K. John,' act iii. sc. 1-"Gone to be married," etc.

have been almost universal at the time, that John had taken Arthur one dark night in a boat, had stabbed him with his own

hand, and cast the body into the Seine (April 3, 1203).

§ 12. This barbarous crime excited universal horror: the Bretons. who had been loyally attached to the murdered Arthur, rose, and appealed to the King of France for vengeance on the royal assassin. Philip, eagerly seizing the advantage thrown into his hands, cited John to appear before the tribunal of his peers, the great vassals of the crown, and submit himself to their award. As John returned no answer to this summons, Philip forthwith marched into Touraine and on to Aquitaine, where many of the great lords did him homage. Next invading Normandy, after a siege of five months, he made himself master of the three great fortresses of Andelys (one of them being the celebrated Château Gaillard), regarded as the keys of the province. Château Gaillard was taken on March 6, 1204, and its capture marks the complete victory of the French monarchy over the House of Anjou. This success, rapidly followed by the conquest of numerous other towns, enabled him to lay siege to Rouen. The ancient and flourishing capital of Normandy surrendered at the end of thirty days, after making a fruitless appeal to John, who had retired to England, for help against the invader. Thus, within the short space of three months. Philip completed the conquest of the province, which was at once annexed to the French crown. The greater part of the county of Poitou submitted before the close of the same summer, and in the spring of 1205 Philip reduced almost the whole district of Saintonge and Angoulême. Broken-hearted by this series of disasters, Queen Eleanor, who had strenuously supported the falling fortunes of her favourite son John, died on April 1, 1204, at a very advanced age, at the abbey of Beaulieu, near Loches.

John did not suffer the heritage of his Norman ancestors to pass from him without striking one blow in its defence. He landed at La Rochelle, in July, 1206, and met with an encouraging reception from the Poitevins, who hastened to join his army in great numbers. Marching northwards, he crossed the Loire, carried by assault the important town of Angers, and penetrated into Brittany, where he reduced several fortresses; but on the approach of Philip, with a superior force, he retreated to Poitou, and endeavoured to make the best terms he could by negotiation. A truce for two years was signed on the 26th of October, at Thouars, by the terms of which John renounced all claim to the sovereignty of Normandy, Brittany, Maine, and so much of Anjou and Touraine as lies north of the Loire, ceding also to Philip the city of Poitiers and the surrounding district. The war between the two monarchs had lasted scarcely three years, and in that brief space Philip had added

territories to his kingdom which had almost doubled its extent. He had previously acquired the provinces of Vermandois and Artois, and not long afterwards he obtained possession of Auvergne.

§ 13. While the monarchy thus triumphed at the expense of England in the north, events were preparing in a distant quarter which in their results tended greatly to extend and consolidate the royal authority in the hands of Philip. The spirit of free inquiry in religion had always prevailed in Languedoc, and throughout the south of France. It was fostered in these provinces by the superior intelligence and education of the people, by the general cultivation of the arts and sciences, and by the liberal or almost republican form of the civil institutions. The twelfth century, fruitful in controversy, had given birth to numerous heterodox sects. Of these the most celebrated was the Albigenses, which name they derived from being specially numerous in the town and neighbourhood of Albi. They held the doctrines of the Manicheans: they denounced the court of Rome; they exposed the vices of the priesthood; they abjured the supremacy of the pope, the sacrifice of the mass, purgatory, and image-worship; they professed primitive simplicity, and repudiated the recognised system of property. It was an organized rebellion against the ecclesiastical and social system of the day.

Innocent III, was fully alive to the greatness of the danger, and had resolved to take effective measures to arrest its progress. His efforts for some time failed; but in 1203 he appointed as his legates two Cistercian monks named Peter de Castelnau and Ralph, and armed them with an extraordinary commission to investigate, punish, and root out the heresy which afflicted the four dioceses of Languedoc. The legates found an enthusiastic coadjutor in the person of Dominic de Guzman, afterwards so celebrated as the founder of the order which bears his name, and the first director of the Inquisition. Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse, was known to regard the heretics with indulgence, if not to share their opinions; and the papal envoys made every effort to intimidate and reclaim him. Finding him immovable, they launched against him a sentence of excommunication; and the count having retaliated with menacing language, one of the gentlemen of his household attacked and murdered Peter de Castelnau near St Gilles, as he was preparing to cross the Rhone (January 15, 1208).

Furious at this outrage, Innocent not only anathematized the count afresh, but published a decree by which he absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance, deprived him of his dominions, and bestowed them upon all good Catholics who were willing to take possession of them by force of arms. The same privileges were offered as inducements to serve against the Albigenses that

belonged to those who encountered all the hardships and dangers of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land; and so strong was the temptation thus held out, so insatiable the passion of the age for religious warfare, that the pope's summons was answered by vast multitudes of eager warriors, who were marshalled at Lyons about midsummer 1209. The war soon developed into a struggle by the people of Languedoc for local independence and self-government. The crusading army, under the guidance of the pope's legate, Amaury Abbot of Citeaux, and Simon Count de Montfort, marched into Languedoc, and besieged the town of Béziers, which was stormed on the 22nd of July, and the whole population indiscriminately put to the sword.

The victors next assaulted Carcassonne, the capital of Raymond-Roger, Vicomte de Béziers. Here the papal legate, availing himself of the convenient maxim that "no faith is to be kept with heretics," obtained possession, by a deliberate act of treachery, of the person of the young vicomte, and thus compelled the garrison to surrender the city. Raymond-Roger was detained a close prisoner, and his dominions were offered by the legate to Simon de Montfort, who at last consented to accept them. Bold, unscrupulous, superstitions, cruel, and altogether devoted to the Holy See, no fitter instrument could have been selected for the purposes of Innocent. His captive rival died suddenly, in November, 1209, probably of poison. The remaining towns of the district were quickly reduced; the county of Foix submitted without resistance; the whole of Languedoc, with the exception of the county of Toulouse, lay at the feet of the conqueror.

Raymond of Toulouse, bending before the storm, had, in 1209, made his peace with Innocent by a degrading penance; and had been permitted, on condition of joining the so-called crusade against his own subjects, to retain his possessions. But not displaying sufficient zeal in the cause, he was, in 1210, again excommunicated by the legate. The count now repaired in person to Rome, and strove to win the favour of the pope; he was referred to a council about to be held at Arles: but the terms of reconciliation there offered were so utterly preposterous, that he at once rejected them. Raymond was immediately assailed by Simon de Montfort; he was defeated in the summer of 1211; and the greater part of his territories fell into the hands of the enemy. The count's remaining hope now lay in his brother-in-law, the chivalrous Pedro II., King of Aragon. Pedro hastened to his succour at the head of a powerful army; and the two princes, combining their forces, attacked the crusaders under De Montfort at Muret, on the 12th of September, 1213. Pedro was killed and his army routed. The supremacy of the French king over Languedoc was secured,

and the power of the Capetians enormously increased. The fourth Lateran Council, held in November, 1215, confirmed Simon de Montfort in the sovereignty of all the conquered territories, with the exception of the counties of Foix and Comminges, which were restored to their rightful owners. Count Raymond submitted to the sentence of the council, and took up his residence at Toulouse. The Albigensian war was now formally declared to be at an end.

§ 14. In this desolating strife Philip Augustus took no personal share. He was fully occupied at home, where the power of the French monarchy advanced under his wise and politic government, In 1213 he was invited by Innocent III. to undertake the conquest of England, upon which the pope had just inflicted a sentence of interdict. Philip collected a large army at immense expense, and was preparing to descend upon the English coast, when he was suddenly informed that John had made terms with the pontiff, and that, as his kingdom had now become a fief of the Holy See, the proposed expedition could not be proceeded with. Highly incensed at having been thus trifled with, Philip nevertheless at once desisted from his enterprise, and turned his arms against Ferrand Count of Flanders, who had refused to join his standard for the invasion of England, and had allied himself with the emperor Otto IV., John's nephew; Philip taking the side of his antagonist, Frederick of Hohenstauffen. The French fleet sailed from the mouth of the Seine, and captured Gravelines and Dam, the port of Bruges. At this latter place, however, the invaders were suddenly attacked by a squadron of English ships, and after a severe action were defeated with immense loss; those of the French vessels which escaped capture being so seriously damaged, that they were burnt by Philip's own orders. Meanwhile the king in person led his army across the Flemish border, and gained possession, with slight resistance, of Cassel, Ypres, Courtrai, and Ghent; Lille at first submitted, but afterwards revolted, and imprisoned the French garrison; upon which Philip attacked and carried the city by escalade, and after much slaughter among the inhabitants, burnt it to the ground. Exasperated by these losses, the Count of Flanders exerted himself to form a strong coalition against the French monarch; and it was concerted that the emperor should invade France from the frontier of Flanders and Hainault, while, at the same moment, John of England should make an attack on Poitou for the recovery of that portion of his ancient territory. John disembarked at La Rochelle, in February, 1214, and, before the French troops could arrive to oppose him, possessed himself of several of the chief towns of Poitou, and even entered Angers in triumph; but no sooner did he hear of the approach of Prince Louis, Philip's eldest son, though with a force inferior to his own, than he hastily recrossed the Loire, abandoned

all his advantages, sacrificed his stores and munitions of war, and retreated to the furthest limits of Poitou.

The campaign did not open in the north till hostilities were nearly terminated in the west. Otto assembled his army at Valenciennes; his camp was throughd by the princes and nobles of northern Germany and the Low Countries—the most conspicuous of whom were the Dukes of Lorraine and Brabant, the Counts of Flanders, Holland, and Boulogne; he was also supported by a considerable body of English archers, commanded by William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, the bastard brother of King John. The united numbers of the confederate host are said to have exceeded 150,000 men. Philip did not wait to be attacked; he marched into Flanders towards the end of July, and for several weeks laid waste the country without opposition. At length the hostile armies met at the bridge of Bouvines, between Lille and Tournay; and here. on the 27th of August, 1214, was fought one of the most memorable battles of the Middle Ages. After a conflict of three hours, during which the sovereigns on both sides were nearly taken prisoners, a brilliant victory remained with the French; the emperor escaped from the field with difficulty, leaving behind him his imperial eagle and the car upon which it was borne; five counts, among whom were Ferrand of Flanders and William of Salisbury, were taken prisoners, together with twenty-five knight bannerets. Sixteen of the municipal boroughs of France furnished contingents of men-atarms, or milices communales; and these contributed largely to the success of the day.

The results of the battle of Bouvines were immense. It was fatal to the fortunes of Otto, who retired to Brunswick, resigned his crown, and ended his days in obscurity. John of England gave up the struggle; the Poitevins submitted to the French king; the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne forfeited their fiefs, and the former was imprisoned for life at Paris. But the most important consequence was the prestige acquired by the crown of France. The monarchy, resting for support upon the nation, and not merely on the feudal aristocracy, had strengthened its foundations and consolidated its power. The popular joy throughout the kingdom was unbounded. Philip founded, in grateful memory of his triumph, the abbey "de la Victoire," near Senlis, the interesting ruins of which still remain.

§ 15. John, on his return to England, found his subjects in a state of revolt. Disgusted by his exactions, cruelties, and utter incapacity for government, the great barons leagued together to extort from him by force a redress of grievances, and the restoration of their constitutional rights. John was compelled to yield to their demands; and on the 15th of June, 1214, signed, at Runnymead, Magna

Carta, the bulwark of English liberty. But the ink was scarcely dry when the tyrant appealed to the pope and besought his interference. Innocent, in his capacity of suzerain of England, issued a bull, declaring the charter illegal, null and void, and forbade the king to permit and the barons to demand the observance of its provisions, under pain of excommunication. The barons refused compliance; John levied against them an army of foreign mercenaries, and a civil war ensued. The insurgent nobles, thus driven to extremities, now sent an embassy to Paris, and offered the crown of England to Prince Louis, on condition of his armed assistance in dethroning John. It was not without difficulty that the prince obtained his father's consent to this tempting proposition. The eautious Philip was by no means disposed to embark in a second contest with Pope Innocent, and, in reply to remonstrances and threats from Rome, he declared that, while he would give no active support to his son's enterprise, he could not restrain him from maintaining his own just pretensions. Louis, who affected to lay claim to England in right of his wife Blanche, a grand-daughter of Henry II., accordingly set sail for Calais, in May, 1216, and landing at Sandwich was welcomed by a section of the barons, who conducted him to London. John retreated to the northern counties; the invader took possession of the capital, received the homage of the principal nobility, and was solemnly proclaimed King of England. His bold undertaking seemed upon the point of being crowned with complete success; but the sudden death of John (October 19, 1216) in a moment changed the position of affairs. From the hands of John the sceptre now passed into those of his son Henry, an unoffending child of ten years old; the barons would not desert, in such circumstances, the legitimate heir of the Plantagenets; most of them withdrew from Louis, and declared their adherence to their rightful sovereign. The situation of the French prince now became extremely critical. He was excommunicated, with all his supporters, by the pope; his father declined to succour him; and though he obtained some small reinforcements from France, it was evident that, as the cause of Henry increased in strength daily, an overpowering force would shortly be arrayed against him. After suffering successive defeats by land and sea, Louis found himself blockaded in London; and his sources being entirely exhausted, he had no alternative but to apply to the English leaders for terms of capitulation. By a treaty signed on the 11th of September, 1217, he renounced all title to the crown of Britain, engaged to repass the Channel immediately, and never more to return as an enemy. Further, he promised to persuade his father to restore all the provinces on the Continent which had been wrested from John. Upon these conditions, together with a stipulation of amnesty for

all who had taken arms in his favour, Louis quitted England with his crestfallen followers, and reached the shores of France in safety.

While these events were passing, dynastic war had followed the close of the crusade in Languedoc. The young Raymond of Toulouse, a youth of eighteen, had risen in the spring of 1216, and his father Raymond VI. had joined him and had captured Foix. The two counts forced Simon de Montfort to surrender Beaucaire: then, marching straight upon Toulouse, Raymond entered his ancient capital in triumph, on the 13th of September, 1217. The city was immediately besieged by Simon de Montfort, and for nine months resisted the most desperate efforts of his army. During the progress of the siege, the Count de Montfort was struck down by a huge stone, hurled by a machine from the ramparts, and expired upon the spot, on the 25th of June, 1218. His death was followed by a general rising throughout Languedoc, in defence of Raymond and his family against the northern invaders; and Amaury, the son of Simon de Montfort, who was proclaimed by his party as his successor, was compelled to raise the siege of Toulouse, and retire to Carcassonne. Honorius III., who had become pope upon the death of Innocent, in 1216, now proclaimed a renewal of the crusade, and urged the King of France to take arms in order to root out the heresy of the south. Philip declined to march in person, but sent Prince Louis, attended by the Duke of Brittany and no less than thirty counts, with ten thousand archers, to carry on the war. In 1219 the prince joined Amaury de Montfort at the siege of Marmande, which surrendered, and became the scene of a pitiless massacre like that of Béziers. Toulouse, again invested. again repulsed the besiegers, and after this inglorious failure Prince Louis abandoned the crusade. The party of Raymond everywhere triumphed. Amaury de Montfort retained his sovereignty in name. and on his death, in 1224, ceded his rights to the French king. Count Raymond died at Toulouse in 1222. He was succeeded in his estates by his son, Raymond VII.

§ 16. The career of Philip Augustus was now drawing to a close. His last years were devoted to the task of consolidating his conquests, developing the resources, and improving the internal organization of his kingdom. This monarch was a benefactor to the city of Paris; he enlarged its extent, caused the principal streets to be paved, and beautified it by erecting numerous churches, hospitals, market-halls, and other public edifices. Philip also laid the foundations of the castle or palace of the Louvre. His patronage fostered the rising university of Paris, the first statutes of which were drawn up under his direction; he instituted, in addition to the customary course of study—the trivium and quadrivium—three

new faculties or professorships, of medicine, Roman law, and Canon law. The king also bestowed much pains on the administration of public justice, and the establishment of a regular fiscal system. The ordinary judges, in number sixty-eight, were called prévôts: above them was a superior class, entitled baillis, who formed a court of appeal in important causes, and answered nearly to the missi dominici of Charlemagne.

In the midst of these useful labours, Philip was seized, in the winter of 1222, with a fever, which gradually undermined his constitution. He lingered through the winter and spring, but in the course of a journey from Normandy to Paris the violence of the disease suddenly increased, and compelled him to halt at Mantes; in which town he breathed his last, on the 14th of July, 1223. He had attained the fifty-eighth year of his age and the forty-third of his reign.

Philip Augustus was the first sovereign of what may be called the national monarchy of France. In general political ability-in the qualities of sagacity, prudence, firmness, energy, and perseverancehe was infinitely superior to his predecessors since the time of Charlemagne. He was great as a conqueror; he was "even greater in constructive and unifying power." Nevertheless, he was by no means a great man.

Among the many remarkable events of this period, the Fourth Crusade demands a brief notice, from its intimate connection with the history of France. This crusade originated with Pope Innocent III. and was preached in France, under his direction, by Foulques, the parish priest of Neuilly-sur-Marne near Paris, already distinguished by his zeal and eloquence. This enthusiastic missionary induced all the nobles and knights assembled at a tournament in Champagne to assume the cross. The chief of them were Thibald Count of Champagne, and his cousin the Count of Chartres and Blois; Baldwin IX., Count of Flanders; Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat: Simon de Montfort, afterwards the leader of the crusade in Languedoc; and Geoffrey de Villehardouin, Marshal of Champagne, who became the historian of the expedition. The adventurers, numbering 30,000 knights and foot soldiers, for the most part of the French nation, proceeded to Venice, where they embarked in shipping furnished by that great maritine republic, on the 8th of October, 1202. Being joined by the Doge Enrico Dandolo, they laid siege to Zara in Dalmatia, which had revolted from the Venetians, reduced it to submission, and wintered there. At Zara they formed an alliance with Alexius Angelus, son and heir of the deposed Greek emperor, and engaged to assist him in recovering his throne. The result was that, instead of sailing for Palestine in pursuance of their vow, the crusaders turned aside to

Constantinople; where, by an extraordinary chain of occurrences, one of their number, Baldwin of Flanders, found himself, in the spring of 1204, seated on the imperial throne of the East. The territories of the empire were distributed among the French, Flemish, and Venetian nobles. The emperor retained a fourth part of the whole; out of the remainder were formed a kingdom of Thessalonica or Macedonia, a principality of Achaia, a marquisate of Romania, a duchy of Nicæa, besides several minor appanages. The original object of the expedition was abandoned. Innocent, at first indignant at this breach of faith, soon became reconciled to its results by the triumph thus gained over the schismatic Greek communion, and the apparent restoration of East and West to the obedience of the Roman see. The Latins maintained possession of Constantinople for a period of nearly sixty years; but such were the misfortunes that marred their rule, that to France it was no source of advantage, but rather of weakness,

§ 17. Louis VIII., 1223-1226.—Louis VIII. brought with him to the throne one important personal recommendation, which secured him universal popularity—his descent, on the side of his mother, Isabella of Hainault, from Charlemagne. His accession was regarded on this account as a restoration of the dynasty known by that glorious name; and the circumstance added fresh strength and lustre to the line of the Capetians. Having been crowned at Reims, with his consort Blanche, Louis was almost immediately engaged in hostilities with Henry III. of England; but after two campaigns a truce for three years was concluded, and Louis turned his attention to another and more pressing object, the war in

Languedoc.

In 1225 the King of France was solemnly charged by the Council of Bourges with the task of purging the land from the wickedness of the southern heretics. By the same council Count Raymond VII. was excommunicated, together with all his subjects and adherents, and the possessions of his family were granted in sovereignty to the King of France and his heirs for ever. The royal army, which assembled at Bourges early in the summer of 1226, is said to have numbered 50,000 knights and horsemen, besides an immense number of combatants on foot. They descended the valley of the Rhone, and, being denied a passage through Avignon, were compelled to besiege that city, then an important fortress of the county of Provence. Avignon was gallantly defended during three months; the assailants were continually harassed by Count Raymond, who cut off their supplies, and their ranks were thinned by famine and fever; nevertheless, the resources of the besieged failed at last, and Avignon capitulated on the 12th of September. A heavy contribution was exacted from the city; FRANCE.

its fortifications were demolished, and the French and Flemish mercenaries in the service of Raymond were put to death. After this victory most of the principal towns in the province submitted almost without resistance, and Raymond threw himself with a strong force into Toulouse. Louis advanced upon the capital; but the month of October had now arrived, and it was judged unadvisable to commence the siege. The campaign was thus brought to a close, and the king, leaving a lieutenant in command of the conquered district, set out on his journey northwards, intending to return in the spring. On the road he was attacked by the fever or dysentery which had proved so fatal to his army; his feeble frame, weakened by the fatigues of war, was unable to resist; and on reaching Montpensier, in Auvergne, he knew that his hours were numbered. Assembling round him the prelates and barons, the king caused them to swear allegiance to his eldest son, Prince Louis, a child of twelve years old, and committed him to the guardianship of Queen Blanche, his mother. Louis VIII. expired on the 8th of November, 1226, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He left four sons: Louis, who succeeded to the throne; Robert, Count of Artois; Alphonse, Count of Poitou; and Charles, Count of Anjou and Maine.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

ON THE FORMATION OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE.

The language spoken in France has varied at different periods, according to the different races which have occupied the country. The primitive Celtic population used the tongue of which certain traces, more or less distinct, are to be discovered at this day in "la Bretagne Bretonnante," in Wales, and in Ireland. The Iberians of the south had a peculiar idiom of unknown antiquity, which is said to be preserved among the Basques of the Pyrenees and northern Spain. The Romans, after their conquest of Gaul, introduced their language as a part of their civilisation, and in a wonderfully short space of time imposed it generally on the conquered race. During the four centuries of the Roman dominion the language used by the church, by the courts of law, in public assemblies, by the army, and in polite society, was Latin, as spoken by the Romans themselves. There is no genitive case, and à for that of the dative. doubt however that the provincial and Afterwards followed the substitution of

rural population of Gaul preserved a certain admixture of their original Celtic, and a considerable corruption of the Latin was the natural result. The dialect formed by an amalgamation of these two distinct elements obtained in course of time a vast extension, and acquired the name of lingua vulgaris, lingua Romana rustica, or langue Romane. M. Raynouard, in his Grammaire de la Langue Romane, has described very minutely and clearly the process by which this change was effected. The first step was to suppress the declensions of the Latin nouns, forming the genitive and dative cases by means of prepositions. Thus such words as majestatem, amantem, ardentem, etc., when their final syllable had been cut off, became majestat, amant, ardent, etc.; and the accusatives ending in ionem, as stationem, religionem, became station, religion, in like manner. The loss of the inflexions was supplied by the use of prepositions; de serving for the sign of the the definite and indefinite articles for the pronouns hic, ille, and ipse, and the introduction of the auxiliary verb in the place of the Latin moods and tenses. Upon the Frankish conquest a further modification was made in the popular language of Gaul. by certain additions from the Tudesque or German idiom. The barbarian invaders, being utterly inferior in civilisation to the nation they had conquered, accepted substantially the tongue which they found predominant in the country; incorporating into it, however, many terms from their own rude and homely, yet forcible and expressive vocabulary. The German is said to have contributed greatly to the phraseology connected with war, navigation, jurisprudence, agriculture, and field sports. (See M. de Chevallet, Origine et Formation de la Langue Française, 1853.) Compounded then of these three ingredients-the Latin as its essential basis, the Celtic and German as accessories—the new language of Gaul seems to have been adopted almost universally by the middle of the eighth century. Many local variations existed, nevertheless, as to form and pronunciation, in the different provinces, and especially between the dialects of the north and the south.

At a council held at Tours in the last year of the reign of Charlemagne, a canon was passed enjoining all priests to procure a copy of certain Homilies of the Fathers translated into the lingua Romana rustica; which must therefore at this date have been the recognised language of the people. The earliest specimen that we possess of the Romance tongue, the parent of the modern French, is the oath taken by Louis the German at the famous meeting at Strasburg in 843. It is here subjoined, as preserved by the historian Nithard, in the Recueil des Historiens de France: "Pro Deo amur, et pro Christian poblo et nostre commun salvament, d'ist di en avant, in quant Deus saver et poder me donet, si salvarai eo cist meon fradre Karlo, et in adjuda et in caduna cosa, si cum om per dreit son fradra salvar dist. in o quid il mi altresi fayet; et ab Lodher nul plaid numque prindrai qui, meon vol, cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit." In the French of our day this would run as follows: "Pour l'amour de Dieu et pour le commun salut du peuple Chrétien et le nôtre, de ce jour en avant, en tant que Dieu me donnera de savoir et de pouvoir, je soutiendrai mon frère Charles ici présent, et par aide et en toute chose comme par droit I'on doit soutenir son frère, tant obvious causes. It was the language used

qu'il fera de même pour moi. Et avec Lothaire jamais je ne ferai nulle paix qui, de ma volonté, soit au préjudice de mon frère Charles."

A hymn in honour of St. Eulalia, composed in the tenth century, illustrates the progress of the language. It commences thus:-

> "Buona pulcella fut Eulalia, Bel avret corps, bellezour anima; Voldrent la veintre li Deo inimi, Voldrent la faire diavle servir, Elle n'out eskoltet les mals conseillers." etc.

Next in antiquity come the "Chanson de Roland," and the laws drawn up by William Duke of Normandy after his conquest of England, both belonging to the eleventh century. The latter document begins thus: "Ces sount les lées et les custumes que le rei Willams grantat a tut le puple de Engleterre apres le conquest de la terre, iceles mesmes que li reis Edward sun cosin tint devant lui. Co est a savier; I. Pais a sainte yglise. De quel forfait que home out fait en cel tems, e il pout venir a sainte yglise, out pais de vie et de membre."

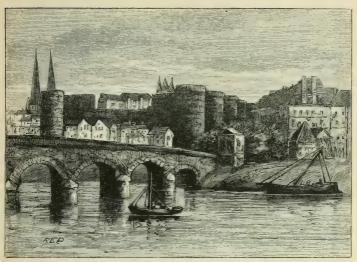
Raynouard considers that in the ninth century the same language was spoken by all the inhabitants of France, both in the northern and southern provinces. But there can be no doubt that by the beginning of the thirteenth century, if not earlier, this national language had acquired two distinctly marked forms or characters, which were known as the Langue d'oc and the Langue d'oil. These names expressed the different pronunciation of the affirmative particle; oc, in the south, being equivalent to the oil, or oui, of the country north of the Loire. The Langue d'oc was the more refined, harmonious, and elegant of the two, and for a long time the more popular and widely diffused. It gave its name to the great and powerful province of Languedoc; it was the language of the Troubadours; and from it were derived three sister dialects, which became in course of time the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese languages. Yet eventually it yielded the palm to its northern competitor, the Langue d'oil, which bore strong marks of the manly, enterprising, energetic genius both of the Franks and of the Normans. It was also known as the Roman Wallon, the southern dialect being called in distinction Roman Provençal. The ultimate predominance of the Langue d'oil, or, as it may be called distinctively, the French, arose from very

by the Capetian princes and their court; and in proportion as the toyal power advalued, the French made corresponding encroachments on the dialect of the southern provinces. The success of the crown in the long and desolating Albigensian war destroyed the independence of Languedoc, and at the same time dealt a mortal blow to the graceful literature of the Troubadours. Their language necessarily suffered in their fall; from that date it rapidly declined in popularity and importance, until at last it became confined to the lower classes, and sank into an obscure and irregular patois. Thus the political unity of the French kingdom produced as its natural consequence the unity of language and of national literature.

The Langue d'oc attained its utmost perfection in the lyric effusions of the Fauriel. Troubadours, who flourished throughout southern France from the eleventh to the France-the land of the Langue d'oilthirteenth century. Their name comes answered to the Troubadours of the south.

from the Provençal troubar, trouver, to invent. They were a race of itinerant poets, who, wandering from château to château, recounted in stirring verse the romantic legends of the worthies of antiquity-the knights of the Round Table, Charlemagne and his twelve paladins. Their favourite themes were war and love; the compositions relating to the former subject were called sirventes; the tensons and canzones were concerned with the latter. "Courts of love" were frequently held at the castles of the principal barons or at the court of Toulouse, in which the Troubadours contended for a crown or other prize of the gaie science, to be bestowed by the hand of the Queen of Beauty. Considerable fragments of their poetry have been collected by the researches of MM. Millot, Villemain, Raynouard, and

The Trouveurs, or Trouvères, in northern



Castle of Angers, begun by Philip Augustus, and completed by Louis IX.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF (SAINT) LOUIS IX. TO THAT OF THE LINE OF VALOIS. A.D. 1226-1328.

§ 1. Accession of Louis IX.; coalition of the barons against the Regent Blanche. § 2. Conclusion of the Albigensian war; cession of Languedoc to the French crown; establishment of the Inquisition at Toulouse. § 3. Marriage of Louis to Marguerite of Provence; revolt of the barons of Poitou; war with Henry III. of England; battles of Taillebourg and Saintes. § 4. Dangerous illness of Louis; his vow to undertake a Crusade; Marriage of Charles of Anjou with Beatrice of Provence; first Crusade of St. Louis; battle of Mansourah. & 5. Moderation and justice of Louis; invasion of Naples by Charles of Anjou; battles of Grandella and Tagliacozzo. § 6. Second Crusade of St. Louis; his death and character. § 7. Termination of the Crusades. § 8. Accession of Philip III.; county of Toulouse and kingdom of Navarre united to the crown. § 9. Pierre de la Brosse. § 10. War between the houses of Anjou and Aragon in Sicily; the "Sicilian Vespers;" death of Charles of Anjou. § 11. Philip III. invades Aragon; his death at Perpignan. § 12. Accession of PHILIP IV. (le Bel); continuation of war with Aragon; treaty of Tarascon. § 13. War between Philip and Edward I. of England;

battle of Furnes: treaty of Montreuil. § 14. Flanders annexed to the French crown. § 15. Revolt of the Flemings; battle of Courtrai: battle of Mons-la-Puelle; peace with Flanders. § 16. Philip IV. and Pope Boniface VIII. § 17. Seizure of Boniface at Anagni; his death. § 18. Election of Pope Clement V. § 19. Prosecution of the Knights Templars; executions at Paris. § 20. Council of Vienne; abolition of the order of the Templars; Execution of Jacques de Molay: death of Clement V. and of Philip IV. § 21. The three sons of Philip the Fair; reign of Louis X. (le Hutin). § 22. Reign of Philip V. [le Long]; the Salic Law. § 23. The Pastoureaux; the Lepers; death of Philip V. § 24. Reign of Charles IV.; troubles in England; Queen Isabella; death of Charles IV.

- § 1. Louis IX., 1226-1270.—The principles of hereditary royalty had not yet taken such deep root in France as to induce the feudal lords to acquiesce contentedly in the rule of a helpless child, under the tutelage of a woman, and that woman a foreigner and a Spaniard. A strong coalition was formed against the government of Blanche; but she was a woman of dauntless courage, and remarkable force of character; firm and resolute of purpose, she was thoroughly versed in the arts of conciliation and persuasion. Gathering round her the vassals on whom she could depend, she first solemnized the coronation of her son at Reims; and having thus secured to herself the authority of a consecrated sovereign, she next attacked the disaffected nobles. It was not however till 1231 that this wearisome struggle was brought to a close, entirely to the advantage of the regent. By the treaty of St. Aubin du Cormier, all the insurgent barons were reconciled to the crown.
- § 2. The regency of Queen Blanche is also memorable for the termination of the Albigensian war, and the definitive submission of Languedoc to the crown of France. By a treaty signed at Paris, in April, 1229, between the king, Count Raymond, and the papal legate, a final pacification was effected. A small portion of his dominions was granted in fief to Raymond for his life; after his death these territories were to pass to one of the French king's brothers, who should be united in marriage to the count's only daughter, Jeanne. The young princess was immediately affianced to Alphonso Count of Poitiers, the third son of Louis VIII.; but the marriage was not solemnized till 1241.

With a view to consolidate the conquest, the Inquisition was formally established at Toulouse, by a council held there in November, 1229; the office of inquisitors being entrusted to the order of the Dominicans. This tribunal became the most formidable engine of religious tyranny and domestic persecution that the world has ever seen. Its proceedings took place in secret; no advocates were permitted to plead, no witnesses were produced. The object was

to extort the confession of crime through the moral and physical prostration of the miserable victim; and to this end the most iniquitous means were employed without scruple; the most subtle trickery, the most unblushing deceit, the most ruthless torture. certain occasions, which soon became frequent, the Holy Office published its sentences and inflicted its punishments. Of the latter there were three degrees-those who had made absolute submission, and were deemed the least criminal, were admitted to penance; those who had not given complete satisfaction (the most numerous class) were immured for life in prison; those who stubbornly refused to confess, or who relapsed after confession, were committed to the flames.

§ 3. As Louis advanced towards manhood, his mother became anxious to procure for him a suitable alliance in marriage; and demanded on his behalf the hand of Marguerite, the eldest daughter of Raymond Berenger IV., Count of Provence. The nuptials were celebrated at Sens, on the 27th of May, 1234; Louis having then attained the age of nineteen, while the bride was in her thirteenth vear. Two years later Louis completed his majority, and became legally independent of his mother's control. But this produced no real change in the direction of affairs. Blanche exacted and obtained from her son the same implicit submission as before; and continued to the end of her life to exercise over him a predominant influence.

The marriage and majority of Louis were succeeded by a few years of tranquillity. In the summer of 1241 the king solemnly invested his brother Alphonso with the government of Poitou and Auvergne, according to the provisions of his father's will. The young prince summoned his feudatories at Poitiers, and demanded of them the oath of homage; few answered to the summons; and it soon appeared that an extensive opposition had been organized to the sovereign claims of Louis and his family, based on the ancient connection of Poitou with the royal house of England. At the head of this confederacy stood Hugh de Lusignan, Count de la Marchethe same powerful baron from whom John of England had carried off his betrothed bride, and upon whom Queen Isabella had bestowed her hand within a few months after the death of her husband. The haughty countess, disdaining to exchange her former regal state for the condition of a vassal, laboured to form a league which should reinstate her son, Henry III. of England, in the possessions of his ancestors; and with such success, that Louis found himself suddenly in open hostility with the kings of England, Aragon, Castille, and Navarre, the Counts of Toulouse and La Marche, and most of the great lords of Poitou and Gascony. Hugh de Lusignan at Poitiers, accused Alphonso to his face of usurping the domains

of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and vowing, in terms of insolent defiance, that he would never become his liegeman, set fire to the house in which he had passed the night, and rode at full speed out

of the city.

Henry III. crossed over to the assistance of his allies, but at the bridge of Taillebourg, on the Charente, he found himself suddenly confronted by the French army, far superior in numbers to his own; and he would have been compelled either to surrender or to fight, with the certainty of total defeat, had not Richard of Cornwall obtained, by personal mediation with Louis, a truce for twenty-four hours, which enabled the English to extricate themselves from their perilous position. A battle was fought two days afterwards (July 22, 1242) beneath the walls of Saintes, in which the English and their allies were worsted, and driven back into the town with severe loss. This engagement decided the fate of the campaign. The insurgent barons laid down their arms and returned to their allegiance; and Henry of England accepted the offer of a truce for five years. which was signed in March, 1243. By this treaty the French acquired possession of all the north of Aquitaine, as far as the Gironde.

This war had an important and lasting effect in breaking up the independence of the feudal nobility, and establishing the supremacy of the crown over its vassals. The work begun by Philip Augustus was thus pursued and completed by his grandson; the privileges of feudalism began from this period to decline, and the entire system

was visibly shaken.

§ 4. In 1244 Louis, whose bodily constitution was by no means strong, suffered severely from an illness brought on by the fatigues and exposure of his late campaign. During his illness he solemnly vowed that, should his life be spared, he would proceed on a crusade to the Holy Land. To Louis, no enterprises appeared so honourable or so meritorious as those which had for their object the liberation or preservation of the Holy Sepulchre; and neither the remonstrances of his mother, the tears of his wife, nor the reasonings of his prelates and councillors, could shake his determination. The fulfilment of his project was however delayed for upwards of three years, through the king's tardy convalescence, and the necessity of taking deliberate measures of preparation.

During this interval a fresh opportunity occurred of enlarging the possessions of the royal house of France. Raymond Berenger, Count of Provence, was destitute of male heirs; of his four daughters, the three elder were married respectively to the King of France, the King of England, and Richard, Earl of Cornwall; the youngest, Beatrice, was declared by her father's will his sole heiress and successor. She was now married to Charles, Count of Anjou and

Maine, the youngest brother of the King of France, on the 31st of January, 1246.

Louis now devoted his whole attention to the arrangements for his expedition to the East. The state of Palestine at this period was indeed such as to excite the utmost anxiety for the prospects of the Christian cause. In 1244 Jerusalem had been taken and sacked by the Kharismians, a people from the shores of the Caspian, who had been driven from their territory by the victorious arms of the Mongol Tartars. In a battle at Gaza the Christians were defeated with terrible carnage; thirty thousand are said to have fallen, and the three military Orders were almost annihilated. Not long afterwards the Kharismians were driven from Syria by the Saracens of Egypt, and the Holy Land once more fell under the tyrannical rule of the Egyptian sultan. The power and influence of the Latins sank to the lowest point of depression; nothing now remained of all their former possessions in the East but the fortresses of Acre and Tyre, together with Tripoli and Antioch.

Louis received the oriflamme at St. Denis in June, 1248, and having confided the government of France to his mother, he embarked on the 25th of August at Aigues Mortes, a city which he had founded at great expense on the Mediterranean, accompanied by Queen Marguerite, and by his brothers Charles of Anjou and Robert of Artois, with their countesses. The mariners sung in chorus the 'Veni Creator,' and the fleet of the crusaders, consisting of thirty-eight large vessels besides transports, stood out

to sea and steered for Cyprus.

The island of Cyprus was then ruled by Henri de Lusignan, grandson of the prince of that family to whom the kingdom had been adjudged at the time of the third Crusade. Landing on the 17th of September, Louis remained eight months in the island, which he had assigned as a general meeting-place to the princes and nobles engaged in the expedition. It was now resolved, instead of sailing direct to Palestine, to attack the Sultan of Egypt, as a decisive success obtained over this potentate would at once ensure the possession of the Holy Land. The plan was well conceived, and, had it been immediately executed, might have produced a fortunate result; but the ill-advised delay at Cyprus gave ample time to the Saracens for preparation and resistance.

When the armament at length sailed from Limasol in May, 1249, it numbered 1600 vessels of all sizes, conveying at least 2800 knights, with a proportionate force of infantry, variously estimated at from 40,000 to 100,000. Arriving before the Egyptian port of Damietta on the 4th of June, the crusaders effected their landing in spite of a stout resistance from the Saracens, among whom the Mameluke horsemen distinguished themselves by their brilliant bravery. Such was

the terror inspired by the assailants, that the infidels abandoned Damietta the next day, and on the 7th of June the kings of France and Cyprus, at the head of the crusading army, made their triumphal entry into the city. So far success had crowned their arms; but instead of pressing forward without pause to overwhelm the disheartened enemy, the Christian leaders committed the fatal error of lingering at Damietta until after the annual inundation of the Nile. Five months were thus wasted in inactivity, and during this interval the soldiers of the Cross gave themselves up to every kind of vicious excess, so that disorder and demoralization reigned throughout the army. On the 20th of November the army at last advanced, and directed its march upon Mansourah. A broad and deep canal, communicating with the Nile, here arrested the progress of the invaders; on the further side was the town of Mansourah and the camp of the Mussulmans. While an attempt was being made to construct a causeway across the current, the enemy harassed the Christian ranks by incessant discharges of arrows and stones, and above all by the terrible and mysterious "Greek fire." A ford was at last discovered; and at daylight on the 8th of February, 1250, the Count of Artois and the Earl of Salisbury, with the Knights Templars and the vanguard of the army, impetuously dashed into the stream, overthrew the Saracens who lined the opposite bank, and chased them with great slaughter into Mansourah. They rallied, however, and, barring the gates of the town, cut off the retreat of the Christian troops; the latter fought heroically, but were overpowered and destroyed almost to a man in the narrow streets of Mansourah. The Count of Artois and the Earl of Salisbury, with five hundred knights and two hundred Templars, lost their lives in this disaster. In a second battle, fought on the following day, the advantage remained with the crusaders; but the vast heaps of putrefying corpses which covered the plain and choked the canal, bred a pestilence more deadly than the sword, and after a fruitless attempt to negotiate with the enemy, Louis commenced a forced and calamitous retreat. The infidels hung on the rear of the devoted army, harassing them at every step, and mowing them down by hundreds, almost unresistingly, whenever they chose to attack. On the 6th of April the king, sinking under disease and exhaustion, surrendered unconditionally to the Saracens, and was carried back in chains to Mansourah. The greater part of his unfortunate troops were massacred in cold blood; some were spared on condition of embracing Mahometanism; others, of the richer class, purchased life and liberty at the price of enormous ransoms.

Louis displayed in his adversity a firmness, dignity, and magnanimity, which extorted the admiration even of his savage captors.

The Saracen sultan soon showed himself disposed to treat for the king's liberation; and demanded as his ransom the restitution of Damietta, and the payment of a million bezants of gold.* These terms were accepted by Louis; and his noble character so impressed the sultan, that he voluntarily remitted two hundred thousand bezants of the stipulated sum. A truce for ten years was now concluded between the Christian powers, represented by the King of France, and the Mussulman princes of Egypt and Syria.

The Regent Blanche, as soon as she heard of her son's release, implored him to return to France; but a keen sense of his recent humiliation, and the obligation of his yet unaccomplished vow, determined Louis to prolong his stay in the Holy Land, where he hoped that his presence might serve the cause of Christendom. He remained therefore four years in Palestine, and occupied himself in repairing the fortifications of the maritime cities—Acre, Cæsarea, Jaffa, and Sidon—and in improving the relations of the Christians with the neighbouring native princes. From all warlike operations he was restrained by his truce with the Egyptian sultan; and he denied himself, for various reasons of policy, the consolation of visiting Jerusalem and worshipping at the sepulchre of Christ.

During the prolonged absence of Louis from his kingdom the queen-mother continued to watch over every department of the government with unceasing vigilance and wisdom. In 1251 great apprehension and agitation were excited in France by the rising of the "Pastoureaux." Vast multitudes of ignorant, deluded peasants, under the guidance of a mysterious adventurer styled "le Maître de Hongrie," overran the provinces declaiming against the Church, the bishops, and the monastic orders, and spreading universal terror by their excesses. Blanche, imagining that this movement might be turned to advantage for the succour of the king and his army, then in captivity, regarded it at first with favour; but soon discerning its alarming character, she interposed with a strong arm to suppress it. Desperate tumults marked the progress of this furious rabble, occasioning a deplorable sacrifice of life. At Orleans the whole populace rose upon the defenceless priests, twenty-five of whom were massacred. The regent now issued orders to her officers to put down the insurrection by force; and the ringleader, being overtaken near Bourges, was attacked and slain on the spot, with several of his followers. Other executions succeeded, and these severities produced a decisive effect; the main body of the insurgents rapidly dispersed, and the danger was at an end.

This was one of the last events of importance in the administration of the regent Blanche, who died towards the close of the year

^{*} About 380,000l.

1253. No sooner did the tidings reach the king in Palestine than he determined to return without delay to France. He made his public entry into Paris on the 7th of September, 1254, having been absent upwards of six years. It was observed that his countenance bere the traces of profound grief, arising, says the chronicler,* from the consciousness that his ill-success had brought disgrace and confusion upon Christendom.

§ 5. Resuming the labours of his ordinary government, Louis exemplified more and more his characteristic virtues of moderation, forbearance, and scrupulous love of justice. We are told that he was troubled in conscience on account of the acquisitions made by his grandfather from the crown of England, of which he doubted the legality. He had already made more than one offer of restitution to Henry III.; and in 1259 a treaty was signed, contrary to the advice of the French barons, by which the districts of Limousin, Périgord, Quercy, and Saintonge, were ceded to the English monarch, who on his part abandoned his claims upon Normandy. Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou. It is a remarkable testimony to the high qualities thus manifested by Louis, that the King of England and his revolted barons agreed to submit their differences to the arbitration of the King of France.

Another instance of the conscientious and disinterested policy of Louis was his refusal of the crown of Sicily, which was offered to him in 1262 by Pope Urban IV. It was true that Manfred, the actual occupant of the throne, was an usurper; but Louis would not on that account do anything to prejudice the rights of the youthful Conradin, the legitimate heir after the death of his father Conrad. He therefore declined the papal appeal, both on his own behalf and on that of his son Robert. The court of Rome now made the same offer to Charles of Anjou, and met with a prompt acceptance from that ambitious prince. Louis was probably not sorry that his brother should be removed from France; and, though he would not actively encourage, at all events did nothing to oppose his views. Charles was accordingly invested with the kingdom of the two Sicilies, as a fief of the Holy See, and embarked at Marseilles in May, 1265. The chivalry of France enlisted eagerly in the crusade which was preached against Manfred by order of Clement IV. Five thousand knights crowded to the standard of Charles; and it was French valour that triumphed on the bloody field of Grandella near Benevento-fought February 27th, 1266-in which Manfred perished, and the sceptre of Naples was transferred from the house of Hohenstauffen to that of Anjou. Two years of such systematic tyranny followed, that several of the Italian cities, disgusted with the rule of Charles, urged the

^{*} Matthew Paris.

young Prince Conradin to undertake a campaign for the recovery of the throne of his ancestors. The prince, defeated and made prisoner at the battle of Tagliacozzo, in August, 1268, languished in confinement for upwards of a year; then, after the mockery of a trial, was beheaded at Naples, on the 27th of October, 1269. This inhuman deed laid the foundation of the long and bloody contest for the possession of Southern Italy and Sicily between the line of Anjou and the princes of the house of Aragon, who succeeded to the rights, and became the avengers, of the murdered Conradin.

§ 6. While Louis thus showed himself proof against all temptations of personal and worldly ambition, he was meditating with calm resolution a second expedition to the East under the banner of the Cross. Ever since his first crusade he had continued to wear the sacred symbol on his shoulder, in token that he deemed his vow still unfulfilled. The tidings which reached him from year to year of calamities in Palestine served only to raise his ardour to a higher pitch; and although discouraged even by the pope himself, the king held firm to his purpose, and pressed forward the necessary preparations. The crusading enthusiasm had by this time subsided throughout Europe; but it was for a moment revived by the startling successes of the Mameluke Emir Bibars, who rapidly reduced the principal Latin fortresses, and on the 29th of May, 1268, planted his standards on the walls of Antioch. The fall of this capital was fatal to the Christian power; 17,000 of the inhabitants were massacred, and upwards of 100,000 sold into slavery. Acre and Tripoli were the only places that held out against the conquerors.

Notwithstanding the desperate nature of the enterprise, the devout enthusiasm of Louis attracted round him a numerous body of princes and nobles from all quarters. Three of his sons assumed the cross, the youngest of whom, Jean Tristan Duke of Nevers, had been born at Damietta amid the disasters of the preceding crusade. He was also joined by his brothers Charles of Anjou and Alphonse of Toulouse, his nephew Robert Count of Artois, and Thibald of Champagne and Navarre. Sailing from Aigues-Mortes on the 1st of July, 1270, Louis touched first at Cagliari in Sardinia, and here formed the singular resolution of proceeding to the coast of Tunis, his motive being, as is affirmed, that the king of that country had intimated a readiness to embrace Christianity. This scheme was warmly seconded by Charles of Anjou, not on religious grounds, but from designs upon the territory of Tunis, which, lying opposite to Sicily, he hoped to annex as a valuable appendage to his own crown. The fleet arrived in sight of Tunis on the 17th of July; the landing was effected the next day, and on the 24th the

ancient Moorish fort of Carthage was taken by assault, and the garrison put to the sword. The King of Tunis naturally met these hostilities by preparations to march against the invaders; and meanwhile Louis, who had not yet been joined by Charles of Anjou and his Sicilian forces, lay inactive for a whole month at Carthage, exposing his army to the scorching sun and malignant climate of Africa. Pestilence soon broke out in the camp, and within the stace of a few days committed fearful ravages. Among the earliest who sank under it was the king's son Jean Tristan; he was followed by the pope's legate and many of the principal barons and knights. At length King Louis was himself attacked by the fatal epidemic. He lingered for twenty-two days, giving wise counsel to his son, consoling his distressed attendants, and exhibiting a perfect model of Christian resignation. In his last moments he caused himself to be laid upon a bed of ashes, and there peacefully expired on the 25th of August, 1270, with the words of the Psalmist on his lips: "I will enter into Thy house, O Lord: I will worship in Thy holy tabernacle." He had reached the age of fifty-six years, of which his reign had lasted forty-four.

Louis IX, stands forth in history an ever-memorable instance of the inherent power of high moral and religious principle, when faithfully and consistently carried out through a whole life. His knowledge was not remarkable; he was not a great military commander; he frequently forbore to make use of advantages which fairly belonged to him, through an over-scrupulous and excessive moderation. Yet such was his weight of character, that no sovereign ever exercised a more widespread influence over his age, and none ever promoted more effectually the advancement, happiness, and true greatness of his kingdom. Voltaire, no partial panegyrist in such a case, has said of him that "it is not given to man to carry virtue to a higher point." Louis was canonised on the 11th of

August, 1297, by Pope Boniface VIII.

§ 7. Charles of Anjou landed at Carthage almost at the very moment of his brother's decease. He conducted with ability the subsequent operations of the crusade, and, having defeated the King of Tunis in two engagements, forced him to make peace upon terms advantageous to France and the Christian cause. The French, who had suffered severe losses, now grew anxious to return home; but Prince Edward of England, arriving with reinforcements towards the end of October, resolved to fulfil his vow by attacking the Mamelukes in Palestine, with however small an armament. Accordingly, having wintered in Sicily, he sailed in the spring for Syria, with a force of about 1200 lances; here he distinguished himself by the capture of Nazareth, and other daring exploits, but was unable to effect anything of permanent or decisive importance. Having

concluded a truce for ten years with the Sultan Bibars, Edward returned to England in August, 1272.

Such were the expiring efforts of that wild yet noble enthusiasm which for the space of two centuries impelled Europe to expend so lavishly her blood and treasure for the conquest of the Holy Land. No further expeditions to the East were undertaken by a united Christendom. The cries of their distressed brethren were heard without response by the Western nations; and the fall of Acre, in 1291, at length destroyed the last solitary remnant of the Latin dominion in Palestine. The era of the crusades was past.

§ 8. Philip III. (le Hardi), 1270–1285.—The throne of France was now inherited by Philip III., afterwards surnamed le Hardi, or the Bold, the eldest of the four sons of St. Louis. He was twenty-five years old at the time of his accession; unhappily his education had been neglected, and as a consequence his character was feeble, superstitious, and destitute of lofty qualities. Philip's reign opened in melancholy circumstances. His fleet was shattered by a violent tempest on the passage from Tunis to Trapani in Sicily, and this disaster was soon followed by the death of his sister Isabella and of her husband, Thibald, King of Navarre, as well as, a few weeks later, by the loss of his own wife, Isabella of Aragon, who died at Cosenza after giving birth to a still-born child. To add to the list of the victims of the late fatal crusade, Alphonso of Toulouse and his wife Jeanne, the heiress of Raymond VII., both expired at Savona on their homeward journey.

Bearing with him in mournful procession the remains of no less than five members of the royal family, Philip entered Paris on the 21st of May, 1271, and performed with great solemnity the obsequies of his father at St. Denis.

The death of Alphonso and Jeanne of Toulouse without heirs added large territories to the French monarchy. The whole of their vast possessions were, according to the terms of the treaty with Raymond VII., united to the Royal domain. The small county of Venaissin, which formed part of this territory, was ceded by Philip to the pope, in virtue of an agreement to that effect with Raymond. It consisted of the city of Avignon and the district surrounding it; and this part of Provence remained subject to the See of Rome down to the period of the Revolution of 1789.

Other territories fell to the monarchy by death or marriage. Thus the counties of Valois and Alençon reverted to the crown by the deaths of the king's brothers, Jean Tristan and Pierre, without heirs. Lastly, upon the death of Henry, King of Navarre, in 1274, his widow, a French princess, fled for protection, with her infant daughter, to the court of Philip. The king gave a cordial reception to the fugitives, and caused the young heiress to be carefully educated

in France. On reaching a marriageable age she bestowed her hand on the king's second son, Philip, who eventually succeeded his father, and thus became the first king of France and Navarre. By the same alliance the crown also gained possession of the important

territory of Champagne.

§ 9. The person who possessed the greatest influence at court and in the kingdom was Pierre de la Brosse, the son of a poor gentleman in Touraine; he is said to have been surgeon to Louis IX., who distinguished him by his highest confidence. Upon the accession of Philip, Pierre de la Brosse became all-powerful and the sole channel of royal favour. It is not surprising that in this position he should have excited the jealousy and enmity of Philip's second wife. Mary, sister of the Duke of Brabant, to whom he was married in 1274. The queen, young, talented, and fascinating. exercised a great ascendency over her husband, and gradually insinuated suspicions against the minister; the favourite, on his part, made no scruple to fill the royal ear with doubts, complaints, and prejudices against the character and designs of the queen. It happened that Louis, the king's eldest son by his first marriage, died suddenly in 1276, and, as was commonly imagined, by poison; Pierre de la Brosse spread a report that the author of the crime was the queen herself. Philip seems to have listened too easily to the accusation; but in order to discover the truth he sent the Bishop of Bayonne, Peter's cousin, to consult two prophetesses of Nivelles. who declared against the queen. But Mary and her friends, on the return of the king from an expedition to Spain, forced the prophetesses to retract, and Pierre de la Brosse, condemned at Paris by a commission composed of his declared enemies, was hanged on a gibbet at Montfaucon on the 30th of June, 1278.

§ 10. The chief interest of this reign is connected with the rule of the French, under Charles of Anjou, in Naples and Sicily. Charles had made himself virtually master of all Italy; but his tyranny soon rendered him odious throughout his new kingdom, and an extensive conspiracy was organized against him by John of Procida, a Neapolitan nobleman who had enjoyed high favour under the Hohenstauffen dynasty, and whom Charles had on that account prescribed and driven into exile. John of Procida succeeded in engaging in the plot Pedro II., King of Aragon, Pope Nicholas III., and the Greek Emperor Palæologus; and the first of these monarchs was preparing to descend with a powerful armament upon the coast of Sicily, when an accident anticipated the plans of the confederates, and suddenly lit up the flame of revolution throughout that island

As the citizens of Palermo flocked to vespers on one of the festivals of Easter week, March 30, 1282, a French soldier was

insolent to a young Sicilian maiden in the presence of her betrothed husband; the latter instantly drew his dagger and stabbed the offender to the heart. This was the signal for a violent explosion of popular fury; cries of "Death to the French!" resounded on all sides; upwards of two hundred were cut down on the spot, and the massacre was continued in the streets of Palermo through the whole night. From the capital the insurrection spread to Messina, from Messina to the other towns of the island; everywhere the French were ruthlessly butchered, without distinction of age or sex; the total number of the slain is said to have exceeded eight thousand. Such was the terrible catastrophe of the "Sicilian Vespers."

Charles, in deep indignation, now hastened to Sicily, and laid siege to Messina, which resisted obstinately for two months. Meanwhile Pedro of Aragon, to whom, as husband of Constance, the only daughter of Manfred, had descended the ancient claims of the house of Hohenstauffen, landed at Trapani, and was crowned King of Sicily. His fleet, under the command of the celebrated admiral Roger de Loria, encountered that of Charles in the Straits of Messina, and gained a brilliant victory, almost all the Neapolitan ships being captured and burnt. Charles beheld this disaster from

the heights of the opposite coast of Calabria.

Pope Martin IV. forthwith excommunicated Pedro for levying war upon a fief of the Holy See, and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance. In August, 1283, a bull was issued by which the dominions of the King of Aragon were conferred upon Charles, Count of Valois, second son of Philip III., on condition that the young prince should acknowledge himself a vassal of the See of Rome, and that the crown of Aragon should never be united to that of France. A crusade was preached against the Aragonese and the rebellious Sicilians; and the French, thirsting to avenge the slaughter of their countrymen, thronged eagerly around the standards of Philip and Charles.

Fortune, however, decided speedily in favour of Pedro and his new subjects, and against the two branches of the royal house of France. Roger de Loria, the most skilful admiral of his time, defeated the fleets of Charles in two successive engagements off Malta and in the Bay of Naples; on the latter occasion the Prince of Salerno, Charles's eldest son, fell into the hands of the enemy, and was sent prisoner to Spain. At the news of this fresh humiliation Charles of Anjou gave way to rage and despair; unable to bear up under such accumulated misfortunes, he fell ill and died at Foggia on the 7th of January, 1285. The death of Pope Martin IV. occurred within three months afterwards.

§ 11. Philip III., accompanied by his sons Philip and Charles, FRANCE.

joined his army in Languedoe soon after Easter in the same year, and marched into Roussillon at the head of 20,000 knights and 80,000 foot soldiers. Advancing towards the passes of the Eastern Pyrenees, the French possessed themselves of the small town and fortress of Elne, the inhabitants of which were put to the sword. The army now descended into Aragon, and sat down before Gerona. This place made a vigorous resistance, and capitulated on the 7th of September, after a siege of nearly three months. But mean while the troops of Philip had suffered severely from the heat of the climate and from disease, and his fleet had twice been roughly handled in the Bay of Rosas by the invincible Roger de Loria. The king became disheartened, abandoned his projects of conquest, and thought only of making good his retreat into his own dominions. But the rains of autumn now set in, and the retrograde movement through the mountains was one of no small difficulty and danger. The march commenced, and the French, though constantly harassed in their rear by the Aragonese, and exposed at every step to serious losses, reached at length the borders of their own territory, beyond which they were pursued no further. The king, however, was sinking under an attack of malignant fever, aggravated by disappointment and bodily exhaustion. At Perpignan he expired on the 5th of October, 1285, at the age of forty. His antagonist, Pedro of Aragon, survived him scarcely more than a month; he fell ill from

exposure, and died on the 11th of November following.

: § 12. Риши IV. (le Bel), 1285-1314.—The reign of Philip IV., surnamed le Bel, or the Fair, who now succeeded to the throne, is in many respects one of the most important in the annals of France. The royal authority was extended in his hands more rapidly than under any of his predecessors, and reached a point closely approaching simple despotism. Systematically repressing the power of the great vassals, Philip almost totally destroyed their independence. At the same time he encouraged the bourgeoisie, or middle classes, and by skilfully opposing them to the nobility, made them instruments of establishing his own absolute rule. Civil institutions now began to predominate over the military forms of feudalism. The Parlement of Paris became the recognised organ of the supreme central administration-judicial, fiscal, and executive; the minor feudal courts were superseded, and all causes throughout the kingdom became directly subject to the royal jurisdiction. It is in this reign, again, that we first find the States-General, or great council of the nation, convoked under its modern constitutional form, in three orders—the tiers état, or representatives of the people, sitting and voting on an equal footing with the nobles and the clergy. Lastly, this epoch is memorable for a fierce and deadly struggle between the temporal and the ecclesiastical

powers. It was Philip the Fair who struck the first successful blow against the papal dominion; it was he who overthrew the mighty

system founded by Hildebrand.

Philip found himself burdened on his accession by the war with Aragon, which had proved fatal to his father. It was brought to a conclusion in 1291, when a treaty was signed at Tarascon, by which Charles of Valois absolutely renounced all pretensions to the Aragonese crown, and received by way of compensation the hand of the Princess Marguerite of Anjou, with the counties of Anjou and Maine for her dowry. The King of Aragon, on his part, engaged that his brother James should restore Sicily to the house of Anjou. Although peace was thus established, Charles II. never succeeded in reconciling the Sicilians to the rule of his family. He and his posterity reigned at Naples, while Sicily became a separate independent state under a younger branch of the rival house of Aragon.

§ 13. Philip owed the removal of his difficulties with the house of Aragon chiefly to the good offices of his kinsman Edward I. of England. While the latter prince was occupied with his ambitious enterprises against Scotland, the French king repaid the debt by embroiling him in a quarrel, with a view to dispossess him of his duchy of Guienne or Aquitaine. A pretext was given in 1292 by an accidental collision between some English and Norman mariners in the port of Bayonne. One of the Normans lost his life in the scuffle, and his comrades, in revenge, seized the first English vessel that they chanced to meet, and hung the captain or pilot at the masthead, with a dog tied to his feet. A savage war ensued between the seamen of the Cinque Ports and the merchant navy of France-unsanctioned, however, at first, by the authorities of either government. In April, 1293, the Normans were defeated in a sea-fight off St. Malo on the coast of Brittany, their entire fleet being captured or destroyed by the English; and the victors afterwards surprised La Rochelle, where they committed great havoc, murdering many of the inhabitants. The officers of the King of France now summoned the delinquents to answer for these outrages before the royal courts; the English authorities retorted by strictly prohibiting all subjects of Edward from pleading at any other tribunal than that of their own sovereign on pain of being proceeded against as traitors. At this point Philip interposed in person, and cited Edward himself, as Duke of Aquitaine, to appear before the parlement of Paris, within twenty days after Christmas, 1293, to answer charges then to be preferred against him by his suzerain. Edward declined to obey, but sent as his representative his brother Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, who, inexperienced and unsuspicious, allowed himself to be completely outwitted by the crafty Philip. Having demanded,

as a matter of mere form, that Guienne should be given up to his lieutenants until the details of a definite arrangement should be settled. Philip was no sooner put in possession of the principal towns than he threw off the mask, and declared that Edward, by reason of his non-appearance, had forfeited all his fiefs held of the crown of France.

Edward, exasperated by this gross deception, instantly renounced his fealty to his liege lord, and prepared for war. He was supported in this centest by the Duke of Brittany, by Guy de Dampierre, Count of Flanders, and by Adolphus of Nassau, King of the Romans—a threatening coalition against Philip. Hostilities commenced in Gascony in December, 1294, and were continued for two years, the advantage on the whole being on the side of the French; Edward was indeed unable to press the operations with vigour, his best troops being engaged in Scotland and in repressing the frequent insurrections of the Welsh. Pope Boniface VIII. attempted, but ineffectually, to mediate a truce; and his interference in this quarrel seems to have given rise to the bitter enmity borne to him by Philip for the rest of his days.

While the war thus languished in the south the King of France assembled a large force at Compiègne for an expedition against Guy of Flanders, the most powerful and steadfast of the allies of England. Two years previously the count had been treachorously entrapped by Philip of Paris, where he was imprisoned in the tower of the Louvre, and only released on condition that his daughter Philippa, who was betrothed to the eldest son of Edward, should be surrendered as a captive in his place. Smarting under this insult, the count now threw off his allegiance to France. The French army advanced in two great divisions into Flanders in June, 1297; the king, in person, laid siege to Lille, while Robert of Artois invaded the western and maritime districts. In a general engagement near the town of Furnes the Flemish were routed with a loss of 3000 men, and the submission of the whole of West Flanders was the immediate consequence of the defeat. The king was no less successful; he gained a battle near Comines, forced Lille and Courtrai to open their gates, and pressed on against the count and his ally the King of England, who were posted at Bruges. They retired, on his approach, to Ghent, and demanded a suspension of arms, which was at once granted; and the mediation of the pope being now tendered a second time, it was agreed on both sides to accept it-with the distinct understanding, however, that Boniface should arbitrate, not in his spiritual, but in his private and individual capacity. A year clapsed before Boniface announced the conditions of definitive peace. He decided that each monarch should retain the part of Gascony of which he was possessed at the moment of the treaty; all ships,

merchandise, and property of whatsoever kind, seized during the war, were to be mutually restored; and the two royal houses were recommended to connect themselves by a double marriage. These terms being assented to, the treaty of peace between France and England was signed at Montreuil-sur-Mer, June 19th, 1299. In the following September the English king espoused the Princess Marguerite, Philip's eldest sister; and Edward Prince of Wales was at the same time affianced to Philip's daughter Isabella, then not more than six years old. The two kings mutually sacrificed their allies, who were not included in the treaty: Edward abandoned the cause of the Count of Flanders; Philip covenanted to give no

further support to the revolted Scots.

§ 14. Thus relieved from danger on the side of England, Philip gave free scope to his ambitious projects against Flanders, which was left almost entirely at his mercy. Early in the year 1300 a French army was poured into the country under the command of Charles of Valois, and took possession without resistance of Douai, Bethune, and Damme. The Count Guy, with the remnant of his forces, was at Ghent, where he stood on his defence; but he soon perceived that his position was hopeless; and yielding to the advice of Charles of Valois, who assured him of the clemency of Philip. he threw open the gates of the city to the French, and surrendered himself to their leader, together with his two sons and his principal barons. Charles despatched his prisoners without delay to Paris, where they experienced that treatment which they might have expected from the known character of Philip. The count and his sons were closely confined in the Châtelet, and the nobles in other fortresses near the capital. The county of Flanders was declared forfeited, and annexed to the crown of France. A few months later Philip and his queen, attended by a brilliant court, made a progress through the chief cities of the conquered province. The Flemings, among whom the deprived count had never been popular, welcomed their new sovereign with joy; the towns vied with each other in the splendour of their festivities, and in the display of that wealth, luxury, and magnificence for which Flanders was at that time pre-eminent in Europe. An entertainment given at Bruges was especially distinguished by the radiant beauty and rich attire of the female nobility: "I thought I was the only queen here," exclaimed the envious Jeanne of Navarre; "but I find myself surrounded on all sides by queens." The king returned to Paris exulting in an acquisition which enabled him to replenish at will his exhausted exchequer, and thus furnish himself with the means of future enterprises. He left as viceroy in Flanders, Jacques de Châtillon, brother of the Count de St. Pol.

§ 15. The Flemings quickly discovered that by their union with

France they had exchanged their ancient liberties for an insupportable tyranny. The insolence and exactions of Châtillon knew no bounds; at Bruges, especially, he exasperated the burghers by a contempt of their rights and immunities, and by the restraints and burdens which he imposed upon their commerce. With a free and high-spirited race revolt was the inevitable consequence; it burst forth at Bruges in March, 1302; the tocsin sounded at dead of night in all quarters of the town, and the citizens, under the guidance of Peter Koning, syndic of the weavers, massacred the helpless French to the number of upwards of three thousand.

Châtillon barely escaped with life, and fled to Paris. Burning with indignation, Philip once more ordered his forces into Flanders, under the command of Robert of Artois, to chastise the rebels. On July 11, 1302, the Flemings, numbering about 20,000, awaited the reval army under the walls of Courtrai, their line being protected in front by a canal, which, flowing between high embankments, was concealed from the view of the advancing enemy. The French rushed on with foolhardy confidence, not even taking the precaution to reconnoitre the ground; all the leading files of their horsemen, blindly charging at full gallop, plunged headlong into the canal, while the column of infantry behind staggered, became confused, and at length fell into disarray. The Flemings, crossing the canal at two points simultaneously, assailed on both flanks the disordered masses of the enemy, slaughtered them almost at pleasure with their long pikes, and inflicted a loss which was estimated at 7000 men. The flower of the nobility and chivalry perished in this fatal disaster. Robert Count of Artois, Pierre de Flotte (Chancellor of France), the Constable Raoul de Nesle, and Jacques de Châtillon, whose misgovernment had occasioned the revolt, were among the slain. So terrible had been the carnage among the knights and superior officers, that their gilt spurs were collected by bushels upon the field of battle.

Philip, although at that time in the midst of his struggle with Boniface and the See of Rome, was by no means disheartened by this great reverse. He exerted himself energetically to repair the calamity. The urgency of his need impelled him to various despotic measures; he forced the nobles to send their plate to the mint, and paid them in debased coin; he ordered that for every hundred livres of income the possessor should furnish a horseman completely armed and equipped, and that every commoner enjoying twenty-five livres annually should be called into active service in the army. A truce for a year had been made with the Flemings; on its expiration, in August, 1304, the king took the field in person at the head of 70,000 men, and marched to Tournay, while at the same time a fleet of Genoese galleys, which he had taken into pay.

attacked the northern coast of Flanders. The Flemish were defeated in a naval fight off Zericksee, and Philip himself gained a victory at Mons-en-Puelle, near Lille, on the 18th of August, where the Flemings, commanded by the two sons of the exiled Count Guy de Dampierre, lost 6000 men. Such, however, was the energy and determination of the stout-hearted burghers of Flanders, that within three weeks they were enabled to advance against the king with a fresh army of 60,000 men; and Philip resolved to abandon the contest and conclude a peace. A treaty was signed on the 5th of June, 1305, by which Philip engaged to respect and preserve all the ancient franchises of Flanders, and recognised as count the eldest son of the late Guy de Dampierre, receiving at the same time the homage of the young prince for the fief. The Flemings on their part agreed to pay the King of France two hundred thousand livres for the expenses of the war, and placed him in possession of the towns of Lille, Douai, Athies, and Bethune, with the whole district of French Flanders. It seems, however, that they designed this cession to be not permanent but temporary, as a guarantee for the due payment of the indemnity.

Such was the result of the Flemish war—a memorable struggle, as proving for the first time that it was possible for a small state, if well organized and animated by a love of liberty, to humble the pride of a great military kingdom. And it is important to remark that the spirit of independence thus displayed by the inhabitants of the Low Countries has distinguished them throughout their

history.

§ 16. For the sake of clearness, we have hitherto omitted all notice of the contest between Philip the Fair and Pope Boniface VIII., which is so prominent a feature of his reign, and forms indeed one of the turning-points in modern history. Boniface was a man of overbearing, inflexible temper, who brought to the throne the most extravagant notions of the authority of the Roman Sec. He accordingly shaped his policy upon the model of Gregory VII. and Innocent III.; but he encountered in Philip IV. an antagonist as determined as himself, and one who understood far better the spirit and tendency of the times.

The king, to meet the growing necessities of his government, had instituted a tax called the maltôte; it was levied originally on the merchants, but afterwards extended to all classes, including the clergy, and amounted to a fiftieth part of their whole revenue. This was the opportunity seized by Boniface for commencing the strife. He issued, in August, 1296, his famous bull "Clericis laicos," by which the clergy were forbidden to furnish princes with subsidies or any kind of pecuniary contribution without the permission of the Holy See, and any layman of whatever rank.

demanding or accepting such payment, was ipso facto excommunicated. Philip replied by a decree prohibiting his subjects of all classes to send out of the kingdom any gold or silver coined or uncoined, plate or jewels, arms, horses, or military stores, without the royal sanction. The effect of this was to deprive the pope of the large annual income which he derived from the French clergy. Boniface therefore hastened to put forth a second bull, styled "Ineffabilis," explaining and softening the first, which was not meant, he observed, to preclude the payment of feudal imposts, or voluntary donations, or tribute levied with the papal consent. The pope, however, still insisted that no temporal power can lawfully control the Church or her ministers, and that by attempting this Philip had incurred excommunication. The king rejoined that the defence of the realm was both a duty and a right devolving on the sovereign; that all orders of his subjects were alike interested in the safety and prosperity of the state; that taxes and subsidies were the legitimate means for that purpose; and that therefore the clergy, no less than any other class, were obviously bound to contribute to them. The pope now made certain further concessions, and an apparent reconciliation followed. But on the occasion of the Jubilee, in the year 1300, Boniface, whose heart swelled with pride on beholding thousands of pilgrims from all parts of the world prostrating themselves in humble devotion at his feet, renewed his pretensions, and proceeded most unwisely to enforce them. Philip, ever jealous and encroaching, had demanded homage from the Vicomte of Narbonne and the Bishop of Maguelonne, whose fiefs were held of the Church. The pope forbade the prelates to obey, and sent as legate to the king, in order to arrange the affair. Bernard de Saisset, Bishop of Pamiers, a violent and rash man, and particularly obnoxious to Philip, who suspected him of treasonable views against the royal authority in Languedoc. The bishop addressed the king in unmeasured and offensive language. Philip caused him to be suddenly arrested, and committed to the custody of his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Narbonne. The pope's bull, "Ausculta, fili," which immediately followed the seizure of the legate, was couched in a style of menace, and summoned the bishops and superior clergy of France to meet him in council at Rome, and deliberate on measures for reforming the disorders of the state. This bull Philip caused to be publicly burnt at Paris in the presence of the nobles of his court and a vast multitude of people; and immediately afterwards, on the 10th of April, 1302, he convoked for the first time the States-General, and consulted this great body as to the course to be pursued. The fiery Robert of Artois rose and declared that the nobility of France would never endure the usurpations of the pope; the assembly

bound themselves to uphold the honour of the crown and the liberties of the kingdom against all opponents; and a manifesto containing stern remonstrances was drawn up under the direction of the chancellor, and transmitted to Rome.

§ 17. A few months afterwards, in November, 1302, Boniface issued the celebrated bull "Unam sanctam," in which the claims of the papacy were asserted with more audacity than ever, and carried to their furthest extreme. On the 13th of April, 1303, a formal sentence of excommunication was published against Philip, upon which the king held a second council at the Louvre, when he produced an act of indictment against the pope, charging him with a series of scandalous crimes, and demanded that he should be judged by a general council of the Church. Philip now seems to have formed the design of gaining forcible possession of the person of the pope, in order, if not to commit further violence, at least to impose on him such conditions as would make him comparatively harmless for the future. Both sides prepared for extremities. Boniface gave out that, on the 8th of September, a bull would be published at Anagni announcing the deposition of the King of France from the throne, and prohibiting his subjects from paying him any further allegiance or obedience. William de Nogaret, a professor of civil law, and Sciarra Colonna, a younger son of a noble Roman family, whom the pope had cruelly persecuted, now resolved, apparently without Philip's express orders, to execute his known wishes. They passed secretly and rapidly into Italy, entered Anagni at the head of a few hundred men, and, forcing the gates of the palace, burst into the presence of the aged pontiff, who awaited them with dignity, seated on his throne, with the tiara on his head, and arrayed in the stole of St. Peter. Nogaret overwhelmed him with reproaches, and it is said that the brutal Colonna struck the old man on the face with his gauntlet, and was with difficulty withheld from despatching him on the spot. This was on the 7th of September, the day before the threatened promulgation of the sentence of deposition. Two days afterwards the people of Anagni, recovering from their panic, rose in arms, drove the conspirators from the city with the loss of many of their number, and restored the pope to liberty. Boniface hurried to Rome, breathing wrath and vengeance; but the shock he had sustained from the outrage at Anagni, added to the infirmities of his great age, produced an attack of fever, and he expired at the age of eighty-six, on the 11th of October, 1303.

§ 18. Philip, although thus released from his most inveterate enemy, pursued his memory with unrelenting malice, and demanded of the new pope, Benedict XI., his formal condemnation by a council for heresy and other crimes. Benedict replied by

denouncing sentence of excommunication upon Nogaret and Colonna, together with all others who might in any way have encouraged or aided them in the attempt upon the person of the late pontiff—an expression in which he evidently intended to include the King of France himself. This act of boldness proved fatal to Benedict; he died suddenly a month afterwards, with every appearance of having been carried off by poison. Philip now intrigued to procure the nomination of a pope who should become his own dependent; and such was the skill of his partisans in the conclave, that at the end of nine months he found that the election rested absolutely in his hands. The person chosen by the king was Bertrand de Goth, Archbishop of Bordeaux, a man in every way well fitted for the part he was to play. Philip held a secret interview with him, and offered to raise him to the papal throne on six conditions, which were at once accepted. The archbishop engaged to revoke all ecclesiastical censures passed upon the king, his allies, ministers, and officers; to grant him a tenth of the whole revenue of the Church throughout France for five years: to pronounce a solemn condemnation on the memory of Pope Boniface; to restore the Colonna family to all their honours, and to bestow the cardinal's hat on several nominees of Philip. The sixth and last condition the king reserved to be hereafter specified in proper time and place, exacting an oath from Bertrand to fulfil it on the first demand. Having closed this disgraceful bargain, the archbishop was advanced to the chair of St. Peter on the 5th of June, 1305, and took the name of Clement V. The new pope, instead of proceeding to Rome, was crowned at Lyons, and fixed his residence at Avignon, in which place six of his successors, all Frenchmen like himself, continued to sojourn during seventy years. This period is compared by Italian writers to the Babylonish captivity of the rebellious Israelites. It was indeed plain that the popes had abdicated their freedom by forsaking the Eternal City for a strange land. So long as they remained in France they could never be more than the servile instruments of the French monarch.

Clement fulfilled the compact by which he had gained his elevation; but the king prepared to extort from the enslaved pontiff a still further sacrifice, and no less deeply affecting the interests and honour of the Holy See: this was the condemnation and suppression of the Order of the Knights Templars.

§ 19. Since the abandonment of the crusades, the Templars, who for near two centuries had so nobly fought the battles of Christendom, had become generally detested. Their wealth, their pride, their covetousness, were proverbial, and it was commonly believed that both in faith and manners the Order had become degenerate

and corrupt. Their power and independence sufficiently account for the enmity borne to the Templars by Philip the Fair, even apart from the motive of avarice to which it is usually attributed. They formed a body of 15,000 veteran warriors, exempt from the royal jurisdiction, and governed by their own peculiar laws and officers. They were thus the most formidable class of the remaining feudal aristocracy, and Philip had frequently encountered their resistance to his tyrannical exactions. He resolved on their destruction; and it is thought probable, though it can never be certainly known, that the sixth article of the treaty with Clement—that reserved by Philip to be claimed hereafter at his

pleasure—had reference to this design.

The Grand Master of the Templars, Jacques du Molay, had been invited into France by Pope Clement, acting doubtless in concert with the king, under pretence of taking measures for a new crusade. He came without suspicion, attended by other chief officers of the Order, and bringing with them an immense treasure of gold and silver. Philip received him honourably, and distinguished him by marks of special favour; but suddenly, on the 13th of October, 1307, not only Du Molay, but all the Knight Templars throughout the realm of France were arrested and thrown into prison; and Philip proceeded in person to the fortress of the Temple at Paris, of which he took forcible possession. Certain secret revelations had been made to the king by two renegade members of the Order. who had been condemned for gross misconduct and imprisoned for life; and the Templars were charged, upon their testimony, with the most monstrous crimes, including systematic blasphemy and impiety, immorality, and apostacy from the Christian faith. One hundred and forty of the prisoners were immediately examined before the Grand Inquisitor at Paris: and the severest tortures having been employed to extract confession, admissions were obtained which seemed to a great extent to establish their guilt. The same measures were followed throughout the provinces, with the same result: in some cases the charges were positively denied, in others partially confessed. Having thus collected a vast mass of evidence which could hardly be discredited, Philip, in May, 1308, held a meeting of the States-General at Tours, and laid the whole affair before them. The decision of the assembly was soon taken: they pronounced the Templars to be guilty and worthy of death. With the pope Philip had more difficulty. Notwithstanding his state of abject bondage to the king, Clement could not tamely permit the destruction of an Order specially protected by the Holy See, and the invasion by the civil power of rights which belonged solely to his own jurisdiction. He indignantly proclaimed that the affair of the Templars could be judged only by himself; he suspended from

their functions the inquisitors, prelates, and other dignitaries who had presumed to meddle with it without his sanction, and sent two legates to the king to demand that the persons and property of the accused should be immediately surrendered into his hands. But Philip was not to be thus balked of his prey. At a conference which he held with the pope at Poitiers, Clement consented to sacrifice the Templars. It was now announced that the pope had reluctantly become convinced of their criminality; that the entire case was reserved for the hearing and decision of the General Council for October, 1310; and that meanwhile a papal commission would be opened at Paris, by which all the prisoners would be reexamined, and an impartial report drawn up to be laid before the council.

The commission met in August, 1309. No less than five hundred and forty-six Templars appeared before it from different parts of the kingdom, all of whom agreed in declaring that the accusations against them were utterly false. Alarmed for the result, Philip took summary measures to secure his ends. He caused the Archbishop of Sens, one of his creatures, to assemble a provincial council, which hastily condemned fifty-four of the Templars to be burnt at the stake as relapsed heretics, who had retracted their former confessions obtained under the torture. The sentence was carried into effect on the 10th of May, 1310, in the Faubourg St. Antoine at Paris. The unhappy sufferers died with the utmost constancy, and protested with their last breath their entire innocence.

§ 20. The Council of Vienne at length opened on the 16th October, 1311. On the 22nd of March, 1312, Clement pronounced a decree annulling and abolishing the Order of the Templars throughout Europe, in the presence of the king of France, his brother Charles of Valois, and his three sons. The immense landed estates of the Order, with all its privileges, were bestowed by the same decree upon the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. Two-thirds of their movable property was claimed by the French crown by way of compensation for the expenses of this iniquitous

prosecution.

The Grand Master Jacques de Molay, and his three brethren the preceptors of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Poitou, remained still to be disposed of. They were kept two years longer in confinement at Paris, and on the 11th of March, 1314, were brought forth before a commission named by the pope to hear their final sentence, which condemned them to perpetual imprisonment. The presiding cardinal had no sooner ceased than the Grand Master and the Preceptor of Normandy suddenly stood up, and in energetic language recanted the confessions formerly extorted from them, and called Heaven to witness that they were wholly guiltless. The commissioners

adjourned till the next day; but Philip, on being informed of what had passed, took counsel with some of his most trusty confidants, and caused the two prisoners to be conveyed the same night to a small island of the Seine, close to his palace, where they were burnt to death. They persisted to the last in asserting their innocence, and suffered with a constancy which moved the admiration of all beholders. The incident mentioned by one historian,* that Jacques de Molay, while expiring in the flames, summoned both the pope and the king to appear and answer before the tribunal of God, the one in forty days, the other within the space of a year, is of doubtful credit, and was probably suggested by the event. Both Clement and Philip died in point of fact within the period thus assigned to each—the former on the 20th of April, the latter on the 29th of November, 1314.

Despotic power has seldom been exercised with more general success than by Philip the Fair. He accomplished all his schemes and objects. He humbled the Church in the persons of Boniface and Clement, and the feudal nobility by the extinction of the Templars; he established the legistes, or civilians, as the devoted instruments of his will in all the courts of his kingdom; he restored the supremacy of the ancient Roman imperial law. His acknowledged talents were, however, obscured by his rapacity, vindictive-

ness, and cruelty.

§ 21. Louis X. (le Hutin), 1314-1316.—Philip IV. left three sons, who were all successively kings of France. The eldest of them, Louis X., surnamed la Hutin, now mounted the throne. His brief reign of two years is marked by a violent reaction against the despotism of his father. The nobles, the clergy, the commonalty, all protested with equal vigour against the encroachments of the crown; and the young king, finding himself obliged to yield, sacrificed as victims of the movement the chief minister and civil functionaries of the late reign. The nobles claimed the restoration of their suppressed privileges; and the feudal rights of private war, of coining money, and of the judicial duel, were thus recovered. Many of the great civil offices created by Philip, as well as most of his burdensome imposts, were abolished; the appeal to the parlement of Paris as the supreme court, and even that to the royal judges was withdrawn. At the same time Louis issued an ordinance enfranchising the serfs throughout the royal domains: a measure adopted apparently not from views of liberal policy, but for the sake of raising money. The serfs, not comprehending the value of the proffered boon, were compelled to purchase their freedom for various sums; and the practice was imitated on the estates of the nobility. But whatever may have been the motive of this celebrated

^{*} Ferretti of Vicenza.

edict, it marks the commencement of a great change in the social state, and was seen followed by important consequences. Had the opportunity been fully understood and skilfully turned to account, the result might have been the establishment in France of a free constitution like that of England. But unfortunately the movement was merely taken advantage of by one class to exalt itself against another, and the nation, thus internally divided, never attained that unity of sentiment and purpose which alone could ensure its success in a struggle with despotic royalty.

Leuis X. was twice married. His first wife, Marguerite, sister of the Duke of Burgundy, was convicted in 1314 of the crime of adultery, and imprisoned in the Château Gaillard, where she was strangled. Shortly afterwards, in August, 1315, Louis married the Princess Clemence, a niece of Robert II. King of Naples, and sister of the King of Hungary. Before a year had passed the king expired at Vincennes. His death, which was caused by drinking wine immederately when overheated by a game at ball, occurred on the

5th of June, 1316, in the twenty-seventh year of his age.

§ 22. Louis X, left by his first wife a daughter named Jeanne, and at the time of his death, his second queen had borne no child. Philip, the brother of the late king, was appointed regent. A grave question now arose concerning the succession. In the event of a failure of direct heirs male, could the crown of France be inherited by a female? The Capetians had hitherto transmitted it from father to son, without interruption, through ten generations; and the law had made no provisions for circumstances which had never yet occurred. About four months later-on the 15th of November, 1316-the queen was delivered of a son, who received the name of John; but the infant survived only six days. Upon this, the regent caused himself to be crowned King of France, at Reims, on the 9th of January, 1317. The Duke of Burgundy attempted to claim the kingdom for his niece, the Princess Jeanne; but the new king immediately assembled the States-General, a decree was published by that body, declaring that females are incapable of inheriting the crown of France. This was decisive, and the opposition at once fell to the ground. In order to give colour to the usurpation (for it was nothing better, the lawyers cited an obscure article,* from the code of the Salians, which, as they pretended, had always been the acknowledged law of the Frank monarchy. However slight and doubtful its foundation, this adroit justification met with general acceptance; and ever since that time the Salic Law, as it is called, has been regarded as an essential constitutional principle in France.

^{*} It provided that Salic land (i.e. the allodial property of the tribe) hould not descend to females. On the Salian code see Guizot, Hist. of Civilisation, vol. i. lecture ix.

§ 23. Philip V. (le Long), 1316-1322.—The reign of Philip V., surnamed the Long, is barren of important events. He was a prince of mild and generous disposition, and many useful measures of legislation are due to him, especially one by which he declared the royal domain inalienable. The appanages granted to the princes of the blood thus became resumable by the crown on default of male heirs.

But the condition of the great mass of the people was at this time most deplorable. Under the influence of Pope John XXII., a man of narrow and weak mind, the king was induced to lend himself to several cruel and bloody persecutions. The Franciscan mendicants who, under the title of Spirituals, had vigorously attacked the corruptions of the papacy, were denounced as heretics, and pursued with extreme severity. Great numbers of them were burnt at the stake in Languedoc and Provence in 1318 and 1319. The renewal of the project of a crusade, in 1320, produced a second insurrection of the Pastoureaux,* who, under the pretence of arming for the defence of the Holy Land, roamed through the country, committing frightful depredations and excesses. Multitudes of helpless Jews were murdered in the southern provinces by these wretched fanatics. who at last grew so formidable that the pope declared them excommunicate, and appealed to the civil power to suppress them by force. A vast body of them, surrounded by the Seneschal of Carcassonne in the marshy plains near Aigues Mortes, were massacred by hundreds and thousands, and the dispersal of the fugitives who escaped the sword brought the insurrection to a speedy end.

The following year was marked by a savage outburst of indignation against the lepers, who were popularly accused of having poisoned all the wells and fountains in Poitou and Guienne. The grounds of this horrible charge are not distinctly known; the lepers were reported to be under the influence of sorcery and magic the belief in which was then universal; another account represented them as the hired agents of the Moorish King of Granada; a third, as accomplices of the Jews. The lepers were arrested in all parts of France, and barbarously tortured; every petty official in the kingdom was authorised to deal with them at his sole discretion; and great multitudes, thus condemned in defiance of all forms of justice, perished in the flames.

The popular fury was now once more directed against the unfortunate Jews, who never failed to suffer in every fresh outbreak of persecution. They were hurried indiscriminately to the stake, without the semblance of any judicial procedure; at Chinon, in Touraine, an enormous pit was dug near the castle, a fire lighted at the bottom, and 160 wretched victims of both sexes hurled, pell-

^{*} See p. 139.

med, into the flames. The richer class were kept in prison until an account had been obtained of their property, and of the amount of their claims acquired by lending money; these the king transferred to his own credit; and a sum of 150,000 livres is said to have been thus added to the royal treasury.

Philip expired, after an illness of five months, at Longchamps near Paris, on the 3rd of January, 1322. He had scarcely attained

the thirtieth year of his age.

\$24. CHARLES IV. le Bel), 1322-1328.—Philip the Long left no male issue; and his daughter being excluded from the throne by virtue of the Salie Law, which he himself had called into action. the third and youngest son of Philip the Fair was unanimously recognised as king, under the name of Charles IV., surnamed le Bel, or the Fair. He took advantage of the struggle between Edward II. and his subjects to invade the English territories in Guienne. The French troops forced the Earl of Kent, brother of the King of England, to sign a capitulation at La Réole. Queen Isabella, sister of Charles le Bel, was now despatched by her husband to Paris May, 1325, to negotiate for peace; but she no sooner found herself upon the Continent than she began to conspire with Roger Mortimer, for the deposition of Edward; and in this disgraceful project she was encouraged by her brother, who secretly supplied her both with men and money. She embarked for England in September, 1326, and, being quickly joined by a considerable body of partisans, accomplished within the next two months the revolution which ended in the capture, dethronement, and cruel murder of her unfortunate husband. Upon the succession of Edward III. a definitive treaty was made between France and England, by which the duchy of Guienne was restored to Edward upon payment of an indemnity of 50,000 marks sterling.

Charles IV. died at Vincennes on the 31st of January, 1328, at the age of thirty-four, and, although he had been three times married, left no male heir to succeed him. This rapid extinction of a line which, for upwards of three centuries, had given sovereigns to France in unbroken descent, was popularly regarded as a Divine

retribution upon the crimes of Philip the Fair.

Like his brother Louis Hutin, Charles IV. left his queen, Jeanne d'Evreux, enceinte. He gave directions, on his death-bed, that if the expected issue should prove a prince, he should at once be proclaimed king; if a princess should be born, then the council of peers was to assemble, and adjudge the crown to him whom, in their wisdom, they should pronounce the legitimate heir.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

EARLY FRENCH HISTORIANS.

The historical literature of France, as distinguished from the dryness and barrenness of mere chroniclers, may be said to commence with Geoffroi de Ville-Hardouin, Marshal of Champagne, who took part in the fourth Crusade, and composed an interesting History of the Conquest of Constantinople. This work is the first in that lengthened series of historical memoirs for which France is so specially celebrated. Ville-Hardouin is an unpretending, but faithful and graphic narrator of events which passed under his own eyes. His descriptions of contemporary manners. both among his own countrymen and in the East, are particularly valuable. The Sire de Joinville, Seneschal of Champagne (A.D. 1223-1317), was the confidential friend of St. Louis, whom he accompanied to Egypt on his first crusade in 1248. In his Mémoires he has left an admirable biography of that monarch, characterised by great originality and vivacity of style, shrewdness of observation, and variety of detail. M. Villemain classes this work as " le premier mouvement de génie en langue Française."

Joinville was followed at the distance of some years by Jean Froissart (A.D. 1333-1400), a native of Valenciennes, and by profession an ecclesiastic. His Chroniques treat (according to their title) of the Merveilleuses Emprises, Nobles Aventures, et Faits & Armes advenus en son temps en France, Angleterre, Bretaigne, Bourgogne, Escosse, Espaigne, et ès autres parties. They form one of the most important and authentic sources of the history of that day; but at the same time are by no means free from mistakes and inaccuracies.

Philippe de Comines, Seigneur d'Ar-

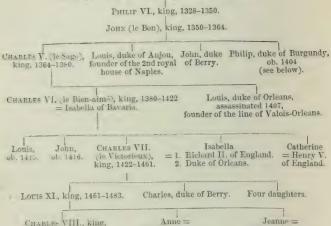
genton, was born in the year 1445, of a noble family in Flanders. His early life was passed at the court of Burgundy under Charles le Téméraire: but in 1472 he transferred his services to Louis XI. of France. That prince loaded him with favours, employed him on missions of the highest importance, and made him Seneschal of Poitou. In the following reign De Comines joined the party of the Duke of Orleans in opposition to Anne of Beaujeu. and was in consequence tried and condemned to exile by the parlement of Paris; the sentence, however, was not executed. He accompanied Charles VIII. to Italy. and was one of his most useful advisers. During the reign of Louis XII. he lived in retirement at Argenton, and died there in the year 1509. The Mémoires of De Comines embrace almost the entire reigns of Louis XI. and Charles VIII., A.D. 1464-1498. In his account of this period he displays a remarkable acquaintance with mankind, and great sagacity and soundness of judgment on political affairs.

The Life of Charles V. by Christine de Pisan, the Chroniques of Enquerrand de Monstrelet, and the History of Charles VI. by Juvenal des Ursins, afford useful materials of contemporary history, but in point of literary merit are far inferior to the authors above mentioned.

Of modern works the following are recommended for the history of France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries:—Luchaire, Introduction des Louis VI.; Philippe Auguste; Communes Françaises. W. Walker, Increase of the royal Power under Philip Augustus. Walton, Histoire de Saint Louis; Langlois, Saint-Louis; Beugnot, Essai sur des Institutions de Saint-Louis. Boutaric, La France sous Philippe le Bel; Fournier, Le Royaume d'Arles.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF VALOIS OF FRANCE.

Charles, count of Valois, younger son of King Philip III.



GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SECOND DUCAL HOUSE OF BURGUNDY.

Sire de Beaujeu.

duke of Orleans,

afterwards Louis XII.

John, king of France, inherits the duchy as nearest heir male of the late-Duke Philippe de Rouvre, 1361.

Philip, fourth son of king John, created duke of Burgundy, 1364.

Jean Sanspeur, killed at Montereau, 1419.

Philip (le Bon), ob. 1467.

Charles (le Téméraire), ob. 1477.

1483-1498.

Mary, duchess of Burgundy = Maximilian, archduke of Austria.

Philip, archduke of Austria, = Juana, heiress of Castille and Aragon, and sovereign of the Netherlands, ob. 1506.

Charles V., king of Spain, sovereign of the Netherlands, and emperor, 1519.



Arrest of Charles the Bad, King of Navarre, by King John, in the château of Rouen.

BOOK III.

FALL OF FEUDALISM.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP VI. TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES VIII.
A.D. 1328-1498.

CHAPTER VIII.

FIRST PERIOD OF THE WARS WITH ENGLAND.—PHILIP VI., JOHN, AND CHARLES V. A.D. 1328-1380.

§ 1. Accession of the House of Valois; Philip VI. § 2. Expedition of Philip to Flanders; battle of Cassel. § 3. Homage of Edward III.

to Philip at Amiens; Robert of Artois; he is condemned and banished, and flies to England. § 4. War breaks out with England; Edward invades France, but without result. § 5. The French defeated in a naval action off Helvetsluvs; truce between France and England. § 6. Disputed succession in Brittany. § 7. Edward lands in Normandy; battle of Créey. § 8. Siege of Calais; truce with England; death of Philip VI. § 9. Accession of King John. § 10. Charles the Bad, King of Navarre; assassination of the Constable de la Cerda; arrest and imprisonment of Charles of Navarre. § 11. War breaks out in Aquitaine; battle of Poitiers; captivity of John. § 12. The dauphin Charles assumes the regency; insurrection at Paris under Etienne Marcel and Lecoq; meeting of the States-General. § 13. The Jacquerie; suppression of the insurrection in Paris. § 14. Edward invades France; peace of Bretigny; John released from captivity. § 15. Foundation of the second Ducal House of Burgundy; John returns as a prisoner to England; his death. § 16. Accession of CHARLES V.; war with Pedro the Cruel, of Castille. § 17. Renewal of the war with England. § 18. Successes of the French. § 19. Successes against Charles of Navarre. § 20. War in Brittany and Languedoc; death of Du Guesclin and Charles V.

§ 1. The late king's nearest relatives were his nephew, Edward III. of England, son of his sister the Princess Isabella; his niece, the Princess Jeanne. daughter of King Louis X., and married to the Count of Evreux, by whom she had a son; and his first-cousin, Philip Count of Valois, grandson of King Philip III. Immediately on receiving the news of Charles's death, the King of England asserted his claim, not to the crown, but to the regency. The peers of France were thus compelled to meet and decide to whom the government of the realm should be entrusted during the interval before the queen's accouchement. And the grounds upon which they settled the regency were those which, it was sufficiently clear, would also determine the succession to the throne, supposing that question to arise.

It was argued, that since, by the fundamental laws of France, Queen Isabella was excluded from inheriting the crown in her own person, she could not transmit to another a right which she did not herself possess. And further, that, even supposing the principle of representation (as it was called to be admitted, there was another person (the son of the Countess of Evreux) whose claim, through his mother, was manifestly prior to that of Edward. In consequence, it was unanimously declared that the regency of the kingdom

belonged of just right to Philip Count of Valois.

PHILIP VI., 1328-1350.—On the 1st of April, 1328, two months after the death of her husband, the queen was delivered of a princess. Upon this, the peers and barons treated the question of the succession as one already decided. Refusing to re-open the discussion,

they acted promptly on their previous decision, and caused Philip to be proclaimed in Paris, and throughout the kingdom, as sovereign of France and Navarre. He was crowned king at Reims on May 29th. The royal dignity thus passed from the direct descendants of Hugh Capet, who had transmitted it from father to son through a period of 340 years, to the collateral line of the House of Valois.

Philip VI., at the time of his accession, was in the thirty-sixth year of his age. Possessed of considerable tact and talent, he was brave, generous, and affable; but his ruling passion was the love of display and pomp. He formed a luxurious court, at which figured, as habitual residents, the kings of Bohemia,* Navarre,† and Majorca. His hospitality was well calculated to conciliate and attach the great nobles, who during the last few reigns had been much estranged from the court. In Philip they found a king after their own heart; and they grew careless of their liberties, unconscious of the rapid strides made by the crown towards absolute power.

§ 2. Among those who were present at Philip's coronation was Louis, Count of Flanders, who came not merely to pay his homage, but also to ask his assistance against his own revolted subjects, the citizens of Cassel, Bruges, Ypres, and other Flemish towns. This request was willingly listened to by Philip, who longed for an opportunity of winning fame, and strengthening his throne, by some military achievement. He gave immediate orders for assembling a large army at Arras. The rebel burghers had entrenched themselves upon the hill of Cassel, and in front of their camp they set up conspicuously a banner bearing the device of a cock, and inscribed with the derisive legend—

"Quand ce coq ici chantera Le roi trouvé ci entrera."

This expression "le roi trouvé" was meant as a jest upon the king's questionable title.

Undismayed by the imposing array of the French host, the Flemings, descending from their stronghold, made a daring attempt to surprise Philip in his quarters at the hour of supper. Their first onset threw the camp into some disorder; but the king, rallying

* The chivalrous and eccentric John of Luxemburg, father of the Emperor Charles IV.

† Philip entered into a treaty with the Count and Countess of Evreux, by which he established them on the throne of Navarre, receiving in return a formal renunciation of their pretensions to the French crown, and the restoration of the counties of Champagne and Brie. We shall see that this was unscrupulously violated by their son, Charles le Mauvais.

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round him his knights, fell upon them, surrounded them, and, after an obstinate struggle, finally routed them with terrible slaughter. August 23, 1328. It is said that no less than 13,000 of the insurgents were left dead on the field of battle, including their leader, Colin Zannekin. The victory was complete, and its results decisive. The town of Cassel was immediately stormed, taken, and pillaged: Bruges and Ypres submitted unconditionally; the whole of Flanders lay at the feet of the victor. Philip re-established the authority of the count throughout his dominions, and returned in triumph to Paris.

§ 3. Finshed by the success of this expedition, the King of France now felt himself strong enough to summon Edward of England to appear at his court and do feudal homage for his duchy of Guienne. Edward complied with this demand, and did homage to Philip at Amiens in 1329. He thus virtually withdrew his claim to the French throne. But, within the next six years, war broke out with England, owing to the aggressive policy of Philip, who found an excuse for attacking Edward in the protection which had been

afforded to Robert of Artois by the English Court.

Robert of Artois, Comte de Beaumont-Roger, was a prince of the blood-reval of France, being the great-grandson of that Count of Artois, brother of Saint Louis, who perished at the battle of Mansourah, and grandson of the count who fell at Courtrai in 1302. He was nearly connected with Philip of Valois, having married his half-sister Jeanne, the daughter of Charles of Valois by Catherine de Courtenay, titular Empress of Constantinople. The two princes were on terms of friendship; and the Count of Artois was the person of all others in France, says Froissart, to whom Philip was indebted for his elevation to the throne. It was he who in the Court of Peers had urged with such convincing force the necessity of continuing the succession in the male line, and the weakness of the claims of Edward. Upon the accession of Philip, the Count of Artois became one of the most influential persons in the kingdom, and he determined to renew his attempt to recover the possessions of his ancestors. Already, by two adverse decisions of the courts of law in previous reigns, he had been dispossessed of his paternal inheritance; and the county of Artois was at this time enjoyed by his father's sister, Matilda, Countess of Burgundy. It was not likely, however, that the Court of Peers would be induced to reverse its former judgments, except upon the strength of fresh and conclusive evidence; and the count accordingly gave out that certain missing documents had lately come to light which would establish his claim beyond dispute. The inquiry commenced in June. 1329, and the Countess of Burgundy hastened to St. Germains, where the court sat, to defend her interests. Pending the proceedings,

she was seized with a sudden illness, and died in the month of October the same year. Suspicion was aroused, and Robert of Artoic was accused of having poisoned his aunt. Her eldest daughter, Jeanne, who succeeded to her mother's rights, fell a victim in a similar manner within three months afterwards, January 21, 1330. Meanwhile the trial proceeded, and Robert, by means of wholesale forgery and the bribery of witnesses, endeavoured to win his case. The matter came before the parlement of Paris in March, 1330, and Robert, escaping secretly from France, took refuge at the court of the Duke of Brabant. Philip's peers arraigned him in his absence, convicted him, and pronounced against him a sentence of confiscation and perpetual banishment from France, May 19, 1332. Two years later, Robert proceeded to the court of the English king, where he found himself at once received with fayour.

§ 4. Early in the year 1336 the King of France published a proclamation at Paris, in which Robert of Artois was declared an enemy of the state and a traitor; the king forbade all his vassals, of whatever rank, whether within or beyond the French territory, to harbour or assist him on pain of confiscation of their fiefs. This manifesto, then, was a defiance to the King of England, and virtually a declaration of war. On the pretext that Edward harboured and assisted Robert of Artois. Philip thus made the outbreak of war with England inevitable He supported David Bruce against Edward Balliol in Scotland, with the idea of using that country as a weapon against England; he invaded Gascony. By advising the Court of Flanders to arrest all English merchants in his dominions, he had roused the mercantile community in both England and the Low Countries. To occupy England in a Scottish war while he won Gascony seems to have been Philip's policy. Edward was resolved to retain Gascony; he was equally determined to maintain the trade with Flanders. In 1337 he declared in Parliament his intention of claiming the crown of France, and the same year the Flemish, under the leadership of James Van Artevelde, the celebrated brewer of Ghent, made a treaty of neutrality with England, and the trade between the two countries was renewed. The hundred years' war began with the seizure of the Island of Cadsand by Edward. In 1339 Edward invaded France, advancing from Valenciennes towards Cambrai. The French king, concentrating his army at St. Quentin, marched promptly to confront the invaders, and came up with their main body near the town of La Capelle. The armies separated without a battle; Edward retired by Avesnes, and recrossed the frontier into Hainault.

§ 5. The result of this first campaign was unfavourable to Edward. He was, however, by no means disheartened; he returned to England at the opening of the new year (1340), and,

assembling his parliament, obtained a considerable supply of troops and money, of which he stood urgently in need, and again sailed for Flanders with a powerful fleet on the 22nd of June. To overcome the scruples of the Flemings, Edward had agreed to assume the arms of the French crown. He was then recognised by them as their feudal lord, and they decided to aid him in his campaigns against France. Meanwhile Philip had procured from the pope a bull by which the whole of Flanders was placed under an interdict for having entered into alliance with the Church's enemies, Edward of England and the excommunicated emperor, Louis of Bavaria.* A French army was despatched in the month of April to invade Hainault; and the fleet was ordered round to the coast of Holland to oppose the disembarkation of the English. Philip's naval force of 400 ships took up a position at the mouth of the Scheldt, near Helvetsluys. The English fleet came in sight towards evening on the 23rd of June; and early the next morning a general action ensued, which was kept up till late in the afternoon. The fleet of Philip was unskilfully arranged, the ships being moored so close together, and so near inshore, that they had no room to manœuvre. There seems also to have been a want of concert and good understanding among the commanders. After a gallant resistance the French were compelled to give way on all sides, and almost the entire fleet fell into the hands of the English. Thirty thousand men are said to have perished on the side of France. The French navy was totally destroyed, and the maritime supremacy of England was established. Towards the end of July, Edward advanced with a mighty host, including 60,000 Flemings under Van Artevelde, and formed the siege of Tournay. But again, as in the previous campaign, he gained no advantage upon land. A truce was conchiled in the course of the year. It was continued beyond the period originally named, up to midsummer, 1342; and it might very probably have been converted into a durable peace, had not unexpected events encouraged Edward to embark once more upon the war.

§ 6. The circumstances which rekindled the smouldering embers of war between France and England arose out of a disputed succession to the ducal throne of Brittany. John III., Duke of Brittany, died without children on the 30th of Λpril, 1341. His niece, Jeanne, Countess of Penthièvre, had been married some years previously to Charles of Blois, a nephew of the King of France; and upon contracting this alliance, Charles had been publicly declared heir to the

^{*} The emperor had appointed the King of England Imperial Vicar for the provinces comprised between the Rhine and the sea; investing him with supreme military command throughout those countries, and with all the rights and prerogatives of sovereignty.

dukedom. But his claim was now contested by John, Count of Montfort, a half-brother of the late duke, who insisted that, according to the immemorial custom of Brittany, a female was incapable of inheriting, except in absolute default of male posterity. The Count of Montfort, on hearing of the death of his brother, instantly seized Nantes, the capital of the duchy, and established himself there with his countess, the heroic Marguerite of Flanders, one of the most remarkable characters of the time, whom Froissart describes as possessing "the courage of a man and the heart of a lion." The French peers naturally gave their award in favour of the nephew of Philip; whereupon Montfort threw himself into the arms of Edward of England, who zealously espoused his cause, received his homage as Duke of Brittany, and created him Earl of Richmond.

The first trial of strength between the rivals took place at Nantes, where Montfort was besieged by Charles of Blois in August, 1341. After some resistance, Nantes was surrendered, and Montfort was conducted to Paris, and closely confined in the Louvre. The Countess of Montfort, however, was still at liberty, and she now displayed the most extraordinary energy, resolution, judgment, and skill, in defending the cause of her husband. She fixed herself at length in the town of Hennebon, whence she opened communications with England, and received from Edward assurances of speedy succour. She maintained the defence of this place until, just as the garrison was beginning to despair, a large English force, under the command of Sir Walter de Manny, raised the siege (1342). The French and English were thus brought into collision, as supporters of the two rival factions in Brittany. In the autumn of the same year the English monarch appeared in person on the French coast; but his troops suffered severely from the failure of provisions, and a suspension of hostilities was arranged with Philip. By the treaty of Malestroit, signed January 19, 1343, peace was established between the two sovereigns, including all their allies and partisans on both sides, for three years from the Michaelmas following.

§ 7. The quarrel, however, had by this time become so bitter that no engagement of this kind was likely to be faithfully observed. Before the close of the same year an act of treacherous cruelty perpetrated by Philip betrayed his real views and feelings, and proved that the recommencement of hostilities could not be long delayed. Fifteen of the most powerful barons of Brittany, whom the king had invited to a grand tournament, were suddenly arrested and thrown into the Châtelet, upon a vague charge of intriguing with the English; and after a brief detention they were brought out and beheaded, without any form of trial, on the 29th of November, 1343. Early in the next year three barons of Normandy

were in like manner seized and put to death, in utter violation of all rules of justice. These deeds justified the King of England in asserting that the terms of the treaty had been broken on the part of the French. Edward declared war in a violent manifesto against Philip in 1345; and in the following year he invaded France with an army of about 30,000 infantry. He landed at Cape La Hogue, in Normandy, on the 12th of July, 1346, and advanced almost up to the gates of Paris, pillaging and burning the country. Ho then retreated towards Flanders, followed by Philip, with an army now augmented to near 100,000 men. The French king moved in a parallel line, in order, if possible, to force his rival to give battle before he could accomplish the difficult passage of the Somme. On the 24th of August Edward received intelligence of a ford between Abbeville and St. Valery, called la Blanche-tache, and, hastening to the spot before Philip and his forces could arrive, he transported his whole army to the opposite bank in safety. The returning tide rendered Blanche-tache impassable to Philip, who fell back and crossed the Somme at Abbeville; after which he marched rapidly towards the English, who halted on his approach, and formed in order of battle in an excellent position upon the edge of the forest of Crécy, about twelve miles from Abbeville.

The memorable battle of Crecy was fought on the 26th of August, 1346. Philip, finding his troops fatigued and disordered by their hasty march, intended not to attack till the day following; but his orders were either misunderstood or wilfully disobeyed. A desultory skirmish began, and Philip, seeing the combat inevitable, impetuously commanded the Genoese mercenaries to charge the enemy. The Genoese, exhausted by the march, dazzled by the sun in their faces, their bowstrings soaked by a heavy shower of rain, obeyed, advanced to the attack with a shout, and discharged their arrows; but a close and well-aimed volley from the English archers instantly assailed them like a snowstorm, and carried terror and destruction through their ranks. They turned to flee, but were stopped by the dense masses of the French cavalry behind, who rode furiously against them, and horse and foot were at once thrown into inextricable confusion. The Counts of Alencon and Flanders at length disengaged themselves, and, wheeling round, made a desperate onset on the first division of the English, commanded by the young Prince of Wales. The prince fought heroically, but, finding himself hardly pressed, sent to entreat his father to support him with the reserve. The king, who watched the battle from a windmill, first satisfied himself that his son was neither dead nor disabled, and then declined to move to his assistance, "Let the boy win his spurs," said he; "for, if God will, I desire that this day be his, and that all the honour of

it shall remain with him, and those to whom I have given him in charge." Thus encouraged, the English stood immovable as a rock, and a tremendous carnage ensued; the Counts of Alençon and Flanders were slain; the French, bereft of their leaders, wavered and gave way, and the rout became general. The veteran John of Bohemia, nearly blind with age, resolved to strike at least one good stroke before he surrendered, and, ordering his attendants to fasten the reins of his charger to their own, dashed into the thickest of the enemy's ranks, when they all perished together. No quarter was granted by the victors in this fatal field, and the French loss was accordingly enormous; according to Froissart, 11 princes, 1200 knights, 80 bannerets, and 15,000 soldiers are said to have fallen. Philip, who fought with the utmost gallantry, fled with a scanty escort, and found himself by daybreak safe within the walls of Amiens.

§ 8. Edward, immediately after this great victory, marched upon Calais, and invested that fortress, while the port was at the same

time blockaded by a powerful fleet.

Calais was defended with determined courage for upwards of eleven months; during which time Philip made several vain efforts to relieve the place. The garrison, having endured the extremities of hunger and privation, was at length reduced to the necessity of capitulating on the 4th of August, 1347. The circumstances which followed—the barbarous demands of Edward, the magnanimous self-devotion of Eustache de Saint Pierre and his five companions, the generous and successful intercession of Queen Philippa—are well known. Edward established in the conquered town a numerous colony of his own subjects; and Calais continued for more than two centuries a valuable appendage to the English crown.

This campaign, so disastrous to France, was now brought to a close; a truce for ten months was proclaimed on the 28th of September, and Edward immediately returned to his own dominions.

The truce between France and England was not disturbed during the short remainder of the reign of Philip VI. Hostilities between the two nations were for a time checked by a dreadful visitation called the Black Death, which ravaged almost the whole of Europe during the years 1348 and 1349. Not less than fifty thousand persons were carried off by it in Paris alone. Among the victims were the queen of Philip (Jeanne of Burgundy), the Duchess of Normandy, the Duke of Burgundy, and the Queen of Navarre, daughter of King Louis X. The latter princess left a son, who succeeded to her crown, and has acquired an unenviable celebrity in history under the name of Charles the Bad.

Philip, now a widower, married, on the 19th of January, 1350,

the beautiful Blanche of Navarre, a princess of eighteen; but some months after he fell ill. and expired on the 22nd of August, 1350. He had reigned twenty-two years.

Philip was the first who imposed the tax called the gabelle, a government monopoly of salt, which afterwards proved so lucrative

to the treasury, and became so oppressive and odious.

In the last year of this reign the Dauphin of Vienne, Humbert II.. who had no children, and was about to retire into a monastery, ceded his estates to Philip on behalf of his grandson Prince Charles, for the consideration of two hundred thousand florins. Other conditions were added; one of which provided that the province of Dauphiné should never be united to the crown of France. On this account, and to mark the importance of the acquisition, the young prince, on succeeding to the throne as Charles V., ordered that the title of Dauphin should be borne thenceforward by the eldest son of the reigning sovereign, the heir apparent to the monarchy.

§ 9. John. 1350-1364.—John, surnamed "le Bon," or "the Good," son of Philip VI., ascended the throne in the thirty-second year of his age. He was passionate, obstinate, cruel, and devoted to luxury, display, and pleasure; he was brave, he loved military fame and glory. His extravagance, folly, and self-indulgence, though qualified by good nature and courtesy, brought to France the defeat of Poictiers and the Treaty of Bretigny. He found the kingdom in a state of embarrassment and depression; but his was not the hand fitted to remedy its disorders and restore it to

prosperity and greatness.

The new king began his reign with an act of severity. The Constable of France, Raoul de Nesle, a trusted servant of Philip VI., had been taken prisoner by the English in the late invasion; he now obtained leave to proceed to France for the purpose of raising money for his ransom; but no sooner had he reached Paris than John caused him to be arrested, and put to death, without trial, on the charge of designing to place his castle of Guines in the hands of Edward III. The constable's sword was bestowed on the king's chosen companion, Charles de la Cerda, brother of Prince Louis, who had commanded under Charles of Blois in Brittany; and, not content with this, John further gratified his favourite with the county of Angoulême, recently ceded by Charles of Navarre upon the promise of other territories in exchange. These promised fiefs, however, were withheld; and John thus incurred the deadly resentment of a prince who seemed born to be the evil genius of France.

§ 10. Charles the Bad, King of Navarre, possessed eloquence, keen penetration, popular manners; but beneath this attractive exterior he concealed an ambitious, treacherous, revengeful heart;

nor was he ever known to hesitate at any sacrifice to secure his ends. Independently of his personal character, which was superior to that of the King of France, his birth gave him a position of importance; for as the grandson, by his mother's side, of Louis X., his claims to the throne of France were better than those of Edward of England, and were in fact indisputable, but for the law of female exclusion. He likewise held large feudal possessions, inherited from his father the Count of Evreux; and John had lately bestowed on him in marriage the hand of his daughter the Princess Jeanne.

Charles the Bad had vowed vengeance against the Constable de la Cerda. Dissembling his purpose for some time, the King of Navarre watched his opportunity, and on January 19, 1354, he surprised the constable at the town of l'Aigle, and caused him to be assassinated in his bed. Charles boldly avowed the deed, and defied the king. John thought it wiser to overlook this crime; but when the Dauphin Charles entered into friendly relations with the King of Navarre, he decided to take decisive measures. Proceeding suddenly to Rouen, where the Dauphin, as Duke of Normandy, held his court, the king arrested Charles the Bad at a banquet, caused the Count of Harcourt and two other noblemen to be instantly

beheaded, and threw the King of Navarre into prison.

§ 11. This occurred in April, 1356. In the summer of the same year Philip of Navarre, brother of the captive Charles, supported by Godfrey of Harcourt and other powerful lords, united with the Duke of Lancaster and the English, and levied war upon John in Normandy. John assembled his forces, and, after driving back the enemy into the Cotentin, laid siege to Breteuil, a fortress belonging to the King of Navarre. Here he received the alarming news that the war with the English had burst forth with destructive fury in Aguitaine. Edward the Black Prince of Wales, who had marched from Bordeaux, in July, with a small army of 8000 men, had penetrated to the gates of Bourges. Raising the siege of Breteuil. the French king now rapidly advanced into Poitou, with the purpose of intercepting the Prince of Wales and cutting off his retreat into Guienne. By forced marches, John reached Chauvigny on September 16, a day in advance of the English commander. Edward saw at once that he must either fight or surrender; and, not dismayed by the immense numerical superiority of his opponents, determined to abide the issue of battle. On the 17th he drew up his troops, with great judgment, on an elevated plateau called Maupertuis, about two leagues north of Poitiers, and there awaited the attack of the French. His position, intersected by hedges, enclosures, and vineyards, was approached from the side of Poitiers by a narrow hollow causeway running between steep banks. On such

ground cavalry could not act, while its nature offered great advantages to marksmen and small detached bodies of light troops. On the next day two papal legates made their appearance in his camp, and endeavoured to mediate between the rival leaders. King John granted a delay of twenty-four hours for the purpose of negotiation; and the Cardinal Talleyrand de Périgord urged upon the Prince of Wales to accept the French king's terms. Edward offered to restore all prisoners taken in the campaign, to abandon his conquests, and to bind himself by oath not to take arms against the King of France for the space of seven years. But John, confident of victory, demanded that the prince and one hundred of his knights should give themselves up as prisoners into his hands; and Edward returned a prompt refusal, and committed himself to the fate of arms, saying that "God would defend the right."

Early on the morning of September 19, 1356, the two marshals Audenham and Clermont, with a body of chosen knights, charged gallantly up the hollow way. But their ranks were thinned by the murderous shafts of the English bowmen who lined the hedges, and long before they gained the brow of the ascent they were thrown into confusion. Those who reached the prince's position were met by the men-at-arms, and forced down the hill upon the broken mass below, now still more disordered by the advancing "battle" of the Duke of Normandy. One of the marshals was slain, the other taken prisoner; and the Captal de Buch, who had been stationed in ambush with 600 horsemen, now rushed from his concealment and bore down furiously upon the dauphin's troops. Thus unexpectedly assailed in flank, while their path was blocked up in front by their defeated comrades, the second division of the French failed to sustain the shock; they gave way, and the narrow lane instantly became a scene of indescribable confusion and fearful carnage. At this critical moment the Prince of Wales, acting upon the advice of the celebrated English knight John Chandos, ordered his whole line to descend the hill and charge the enemy in front; and, the French being already disheartened and panic-struck, this attack was decisive of the fortunes of the day. The Dauphin Charles and his brothers Louis and John turned their horses and took flight towards Chauvigny, followed by more than 800 cavaliers who had not drawn sword that day. The corps commanded by the Duke of Orleans, 16,000 strong, carried away by the fatal example, fled ignominiously from the field, leaving their king, with the sole division of his army that remained unbroken, to meet the impetuous rush of the English.

The final struggle was nobly, but fruitlessly, maintained by John and his rear-guard. The king defended himself on foot with a heavy battle-axe; at his side his youngest son, Philip, afterwards Duke of Burgundy, a youth of fourteen, fought like a hero. But at length, when numbers of his most distinguished knights and nobles had fallen around him, hard pressed by the English, who made desperate efforts to reach his person, the unfortunate monarch surrendered to an outlawed knight of Artois, Denis de Morbecque by name, who had taken service under Edward of England. He was conducted to the Prince of Wales, who received his captive with every mark of respect and sympathy; giving him precedence as King of France, attending upon him while he sat at table, and striving to soothe the anguish of defeat by praises of his personal courage and assurances of honourable treatment.

The battle of Poitiers cost France no less than 2500 of her nobility and chivalry, and between 7000 and 8000 common soldiers, out of a total force of nearly 60,000. The prisoners alone amounted to more than double the numbers of the victorious army.

King John was carried to Bordeaux, and in the spring of 1357 was removed to England. There he was courteously received by Edward, who gave as his residence the ancient palace of the Savoy in London. Efforts to conclude a peace were made, but failed; a truce, however, was signed for two years from Easter, 1357.

§ 12. Meanwhile France was thrown into general consternation and confusion. The Dauphin Charles reached Paris ten days after the battle, and assumed the government under the title of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. The States-General were assembled without delay at Paris: and it soon appeared that a determined struggle was about to be made to obtain for the people, through their representatives, an acknowledged share in the conduct of public affairs. The popular leaders were two men of talent, resolution, and sincere patriotism,-Etienne Marcel, "Prévôt des Marchands," or head of the municipality of Paris, and Robert Lecoq, Bishop of Laon. Under their influence the assembly named a committee of eighty members, to deliberate upon measures to be taken for the defence and administration of the kingdom in the absence of the sovereign. This committee presented to the dauphin various demands, which for the time he evaded; and, having promised to convoke the States again early in the next year, he proceeded to raise money in the interval by depreciating the current coin of the realm.

When the States-General of Paris again met, in February, 1357, they not only insisted on their former demands, but stipulated in addition that the adulterated coin should be withdrawn and a new currency issued; that the management of the taxes, and the execution of all the great measures of reform required by the present emergency, should be intrusted to a committee of thirty-six persons nominated by themselves; and also that further meetings of the States should be held, when they should see fit, in the course of the

year. Upon these conditions the States engaged to raise and maintain a force of 30,000 men, to be paid by a tax of fifteen per cent. levied on the revenues of the three orders.

Charles found it absolutely necessary to yield, and published an edict by which he adopted, without reserve, all the conditions. At the same time, however, he secretly procured from his father a refusal to ratify the compact; and orders arrived from John, setting aside all the acts of the States-General, and forbidding his subjects to pay the subsidy which they had voted. A furious struggle was the result. The agitators released the King of Navarre from his prison near Cambrai, and brought him in triumph to Paris, where he was welcomed with enthusiasm by the populace, and urged to assert his right to the throne against the usurping house of Valois. Paris now became a scene of frightful disorder; Marcel placed himself at the head of the multitude, and distinguished his friends by a particoloured hood (chaperon) of red and blue, the civic colours of Paris. They took up a position of open hostility to the court: and on the 22nd of February, 1358, a party of the rioters, headed by Marcel himself, forced their way into the palace, and cruelly murdered, in the very presence of the helpless dauphin, two of his confidential advisers, the Marshals of Champagne and Normandy. The prince was compelled by Marcel to signify to the people his approval of this atrocious deed, and to associate himself with the cause of the insurgents by adopting their rallying sign of the particoloured hood.

Marcel was at this moment virtually master of France; but instead of using his power to secure for his country some solid guarantee of constitutional freedom, he allowed the dauphin to leave Paris and retire to Compiègne, where he assembled the States-General. The nobility flocked to support him, a strong reaction commenced in favour of the royal cause, and civil war was the result.

§ 13. At this juncture burst forth the terrible insurrection called the Jacquerie—a general rising of the enslaved peasants of the provinces against the nobles, not so much prompted by love of liberty as goaded by hopeless misery and a ferocious thirst for vengeance. The revolt of the Jacques, as they were called (from the familiar nickname of Jacques Bonhomme applied to the French peasantry), began in the neighbourhood of Clermont and Beauvais, in May, 1358, and quickly overspread the northern and western districts. It was a war of wholesale extermination; the feudal castles were sacked, burnt, and razed to the ground, and their inmates put to the sword. Marcel, desirous of directing the Jacquerie so as to serve his own purposes, negotiated with the leaders of the revolted serfs, and aided them with a powerful body

of troops. Thus reinforced, an immense multitude of the insurgents besieged Meaux, where the wife of the dauphin, the Duchess of Orleans, and nearly three hundred other ladies of high rank, had taken refuge under the protection of the Duke of Orleans and a scanty garrison. The population of Meaux took part with the assailants, and a horrible catastrophe was only averted by the gallantry of two knights, Gaston Phœbus, Count of Foix, and the Captal de Buch, who, on hearing of the danger, hastened to the relief of the beleaguered city. Aided by their valour, the defenders in a successful sally routed the peasants, 7000 of whom were slain on the spot.

This single defeat decided the fate of the Jacquerie. The nobles, recovering from their panic, exerted themselves resolutely to suppress the rebellion, and the unhappy serfs were hunted down on all sides like wild beasts. Thousands were massacred, and within a few weeks the silence of ghastly desolation reigned throughout the rural districts.

The dauphin, who was now encamped with a large army under the walls of Paris, effected a secret understanding with Charles of Navarre. That prince, ever fickle and perfidious, sold his support by turns to the popular party and the court, without a thought for anything but his own selfish interest. But though his falsehood was suspected by Marcel and the popular chiefs, it was plain that without his aid the dauphin must shortly become master of Paris, in which case there was no hope of mercy for the murderers of the two marshals. It was therefore necessary to gain over Charles at any price; and Marcel accordingly made an engagement with him, by which Paris was to be given up into the hands of the King of Navarre, the principal adherents of the dauphin were to be assassinated, and Charles was then to be proclaimed King of France. This plot was discovered by Jean Maillart, one of the sheriffs of Paris, who determined to defeat it. Collecting a strong party of the dauphin's friends, Maillart surprised Marcel at the very moment when he was about to introduce Charles and his soldiers into the city by the Porte St. Antoine, and with one blow of a hatchet stretched him dead at his feet. (July 31, 1358.)

Two days afterwards the dauphin re-entered Paris, and marked his triumph by several examples of extreme severity. Many of the principal men of Marcel's party were put to death on the scaffold; others were punished with exile and confiscation; all who had taken part in the rebellion suffered from the prince's vengeance. All the measures of reform advised by the States-General were set aside; the former ministers were reinstated; and the royal authority became in fact more absolute than ever. Thus ended this memorable attempt to impose some constitutional check upon the

arbitrary and irresponsible power of the French monarchs. Various causes contributed to its failure;—the extravagance and violence of Marcel, and his alliance with a confederate in every way so unworthy as the King of Navarre; but chiefly, it would seem, the want of intelligent and determined co-operation on the part of the States-General, and their neglect to retain in their own hands the all-important power of taxation. The movement was crude and premature; still it was not devoid of some valuable results, which may be traced in several measures of wise reform adopted by Charles V. and some of his successors.

§ 14. While the regent thus triumphed in Paris, Charles of Navarre renewed the war in the provinces; his bands of adventurers -English. French, and Navarrese-ravaged the country far and wide, and for more than a year longer France groaned under the miscries of civil strife. In August, 1359, a treaty, disadvantageous to the dauphin, was signed with Charles at Pontoise; and a prospect opened of some respite from this desolating warfare. But at the same moment news reached Paris that the captive John had entered into a convention with the King of England, by which he ceded to Edward in absolute sovereignty, not only Aquitaine, but also Normandy, Touraine, Poitou, Saintonge, the Limousin-in short, at least onehalf of his dominions. The dauphin nobly determined to resist these terms of crushing humiliation; he assembled the States-General, and the treaty was at once repudiated, the deputies declaring that they would endure any internal calamity rather than sanction such a ruinous dismemberment of France. This patriotic step produced a second invasion of France by Edward, in October, 1359. The English king, with an immense and admirably appointed force, proceeded through Picardy to Reims, which he besieged without success. Thence, finding it impossible to support his army in the exhausted condition of the country, he marched into Burgundy, which was compelled to purchase its neutrality for an enormous sum. Finally, descending the Yonne, Edward appeared before the capital, and defied Charles to a pitched battle. This, however, the regent declined; and either from want of provisions, or from inability to undertake a formidable and protracted siege, Edward withdrew from Paris, and took the road to Chartres. Here the sight of the privations endured in his camp, and the effects of a terrific tempest, which caused an awful sacrifice of life among his soldiers, are said to have determined him to open negotiations for peace. By the treaty of Bretigny, subscribed by the commissioners of both monarchs on the 8th of May, 1360, France obtained terms which, although far more moderate than those so rashly accepted by John, were still sufficiently galling to her national pride. The whole province of Aquitaine, including Périgord, Quercy, and Bigorre —and in addition, the counties of Poitou, Angoumois, Limousin, and Saintonge, with Montreuil-sur-Mer, Calais, Guisnes, and Ponthieu—were ceded to Edward in full sovereignty, independently of all homage to the crown of France. Edward, on his part, renounced for himself and for the Prince of Wales all pretensions to the French throne, as well as to Normandy and other ancient possessions of the Plantagenets north of the Loire. The ransom of the King of France was fixed at three millions of crowns, payable in six years; the king was to be set at liberty upon the payment of the first instalment, and a certain number of hostages, chosen from the first men in the kingdom, were to remain in the hands of Edward until it was paid in full.

After considerable difficulty the stipulated sum was at length raised, and on the 25th of October the king found himself free, after four years of captivity. He made his entry into Paris on the 13th of December, and was welcomed with transports of joy and gratitude. The satisfaction with which the dear-bought peace of Bretigny was everywhere hailed is the plainest proof of the extreme depression and misery into which France had sunk during this period.

§ 15. The remainder of John's reign is of little importance. The terrible "Black Death" reappeared in the autumn of 1361, and among its victims were the Queen of France, and her son by her first marriage, the youthful Philip de Rouvre, Duke of Burgundy. The direct line of this ancient house being now extinct, John asserted his right to the succession as the nearest male relative of the late duke; and disregarding the equal, if not superior claim of the King of Navarre, he proceeded to Dijon, took possession of the duchy, and annexed it to the royal domain.

The king's second son, Louis of Anjou, had been delivered up as one of the hostages under the treaty of Bretigny. Wearying of his confinement at Calais, the young prince broke his parole, effected his escape, and hastened to Paris. John, who as a "preux chevalier" was keenly sensitive upon the point of honour, now resolved to atone for his son's breach of faith by returning in person to England, and surrendering himself again a prisoner. Before his departure he bestowed the duchy of Burgundy in appanage upon his youngest and favourite son Philip, afterwards called the Bold; expressly stating in the charter that the grant was made in recompense of the prince's courage and devotion in defending his father at the risk of his own life on the field of Poitiers. This was an act of shortsighted and mistaken policy, as tending to weaken the monarchy by perpetuating the system of feudal division. Philip the Bold thus became the founder of the second ducal house of Burgundy, which in the following century

assumed a position of rivalry with the throne itself. John sailed for England in January, 1364, and was received in London with magnificent rejoicings. In the midst of these festivities he was taken ill at the Savoy Palace, and after a few weeks' suffering died

there on the 8th of April, at the age of forty-five.

§ 16. Charles V., 1364-1380.—Charles V., upon whom the crown now develved, was a prince of very different disposition and character from his father. Of a feeble bodily constitution, he had no taste for chivalry and war; he was studious and reserved; and his habitual prudence and caution, joined to a certain acquaintance with science, especially with astrology, procured him the surname of le Sage, or the Wise, by which he is generally known. Charles's personal infirmities were abundantly redeemed by the possession of the faculty of choosing the fittest instruments for effecting his purposes; the art of carrying out his own counsels and projects by a successful use of the agency of others. His chief general was the far-famed hero Bertrand du Guesclin, the son of a poor gentleman in Lower Brittany, who had already given proof of great military genius in the war between Montfort and Charles of Blois.

Civil war was raging at this time in Spain between Pedro the Cruel, King of Castille, and his bastard brother, Henry of Trastamare. The latter prince, driven across the border into France, implored the succour of Charles against the bloodthirsty tyrant, who, in addition to other atrocities, was accused of having poisoned his wife. Blanche of Bourbon, sister of the Queen of France. Henry of Trastamare received a favourable answer; and Du Guesclin engaged to levy an army among the free companies, and conduct them across the Pyrenees, to assist in conquering the Castillian throne for the young pretender. Upon the entry of the French into Catalonia in December, 1365, an almost universal insurrection against the detested Pedro ensued. Escaping with difficulty from the country, he sought shelter at the court of the Black Prince at Bordeaux: and his brother took possession of his vacant throne without striking a blow. Pedro now prevailed upon the English prince to employ his forces in re-establishing him upon the throne. In February, 1367, the Prince of Wales and his army, including 10,000 English troops of the free companies, descended into Spain, and marched in quest of Henry of Trastamare and Du Guesclin. The armies met on the 3rd of April, between the villages of Najara and Navarrete, on the confines of Castille and Navarre, and after an obstinate contest a brilliant victory remained with the English. Du Guesclin was captured, the free companies were cut down by thousands, and the survivors dispersed through the country. Don Henry escaped from the field, passed the frontier in disguise, and reached in safety the papal court at Avignon.

Events now took an unexpected turn, which produced consequences important to the fortunes of the French monarchy.

Pedro of Castille failed to fulfil his engagements with the Black Prince, and the latter found himself unable to pay the mercenaries of the free companies on their return from Spain. Discontented and indignant, they began to commit depredations upon Edward's vassals in Aquitaine, and being ordered by the prince to leave his territories, they burst into the neighbouring provinces of France. and laid them waste far and wide. This inroad raised among the suffering population an outery of hostility and vengeance against England. At the same time the rule of the Black Prince in Gascony became odious on account of the heavy taxes he was compelled to impose to defray the cost of the late campaign. The rich nobles remonstrated, threatened, and refused to pay the required subsidies; and in June, 1368, three of the most powerful lords of Guienne took the bold step of carrying their complaint before the King of France as lord paramount, and invoking his interference for the redress of their grievances. That Charles himself had secretly encouraged this outbreak of disaffection against Edward, there can be no reasonable doubt. The moment seemed to him favourable for breaking the peace of Bretigny. Edward III. was growing old and infirm; the Black Prince was suffering from a serious malady contracted in his Spanish campaign; the national pride of the inhabitants of the lately ceded provinces revolted against the English voke. Resolved to avail himself to the utmost of this propitious moment, Charles concluded a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Henry of Trastamare, and despatched Du Guesclin, at the head of the free companies, to aid him in a second attempt to seat himself upon the throne of his ancestors. The tyrant Pedro was defeated and captured at the battle of Montiel, and shortly afterwards lost his life in a personal encounter with his brother. As soon as Henry was recognised as King of Castille, Charles V. threw off the mask. The final ratifications of the treaty of Bretigny had not yet been exchanged; and upon this pretext Charles declared that he had never renounced the suzerainty over Aquitaine and the other English fiefs, which belonged to him as King of France. Accordingly, in January, 1369, he addressed a formal summons to the hero of Poitiers and Navarrete, citing him to appear before him in the court of peers, and answer the complaints and accusations of his Gascon vassals. "We will not fail." replied Edward, "to obey the order of the King of France; we will proceed to Paris, but it shall be with bassinet on our head, and 60,000 men to bear us company."

§ 17. War now commenced simultaneously in the north and the south of France. Charles gave the command of his forces to his

three brothers, the Dakes of Burgundy, Anjou, and Berry; but, profiting by the lessons of past disasters, he ordered them to avoid pitched battles, and trust to guerilla warfare and separate sieges. The whole county of Ponthieu was reconquered in a single week; the districts of Quercy. Rouergue, and Agenois submitted before the end of June; and the death of Sir John Chandos, seneschal of Poitou, opened an easy road to the reduction of that county. In the following year (1370) the Prince of Wales, though worn out with suffering, captured Limoges; but his victory was stained by the pillage of the town, and the massacre of more than 3000 unoffending citizens. This was the last warlike exploit of the illustrious prince; a few months afterwards the state of his health compelled him to quit France, to which he never again returned.

Reverses now befell the English arms in quick succession and on all points. In June, 1372, an English fleet, under the Earl of Pembroke, was defeated off Rochelle by Henry of Castille, and the English cause in the south of France received its death blow. Du Gueselin, whom Charles had appointed Constable of France, advanced into Poitou, and commenced a series of enterprises, which ended in the complete recovery of the whole territory between the Loire and the Gironde. In the spring of 1373 the constable was despatched with an army into Brittany, where the people had shown a disposition to rise against their duke and declare for France. Most of the Breton fortresses surrendered to the French commanders, and De Montfort was forced to fly for succour to the court of his father-in-law, Edward of England.

Resolved to make a final effort, the English king once more raised an army for the invasion of France, which landed at Calais, under the orders of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, in July, 1373. Charles strictly charged his generals to adhere to the plan of cautious defensive warfare, and never to accept a great battle. "Let the storm rage," said he; "retire before it; it will soon exhaust itself." Marching across the country, the English, towards autumn, reached the mountains of Auvergne, where they began to suffer greatly from stormy weather, difficult roads, and want of provisions: the French hung on their flanks, harassing them at every turn, and cutting off stragglers. Before he arrived at Bordeaux the duke had lost at least a third of his army, and out of 30,000 horses had scarcely saved 6000. Numbers of towns and fortresses in Gasconv now declared for the King of France, and the rule of the English in the south became visibly weaker day by day. The only places of importance which remained in their hands by the close of the year were Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Calais.

By the interposition of the pope a truce for two years was proclaimed in June, 1375. Before its expiration the two most formidable enemies of France, Edward III. and his son the Black Prince, had died.

§ 18. Charles V., recognising the advantages offered by the prospect of a long minority in England, refused to renew the truce. The combined fleets of France and Castille made a descent upon the opposite coast near Rye, which town they reduced to ashes; then proceeding westward, they ravaged the shores of Sussex, the Isle of Wight, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, and in returning threatened Southampton and Dover. Meanwhile the Duke of Burgundy pursued the war in Artois; Olivier de Clisson reduced the few fortified places in Brittany which still held out for Jean de Montfort; Du Guesclin and the Duke of Anjou completed the subjection of the English possessions on the Dordogne, the Garonne, and the Gironde. Everywhere the French arms were triumphant, and the population returned with satisfaction to the dominion of their natural rulers.

§ 19. In 1378 Charles became aware of a new plot hatched against him by Charles of Navarre. The young Count de Beaumont, son of Charles the Bad, renouncing his fealty to his treacherous father, ordered the governors of Charles's fortresses in Normandy to surrender them to the officers of the French king. Charles thus obtained possession of all the strongholds belonging to his enemy, with the sole exception of Cherbourg. Besides losing his towns in Normandy, Charles the Bad was besieged in Pampeluna by the Castillian allies of the King of France, and compelled to purchase peace by the cession of several of the strongest castles of Navarre.

§ 20. The last enterprise of Charles V. was the least successful of his reign. Relying on the zeal with which the Bretons had fought for the cause of France in her struggle against England, the king summoned the expelled duke, Jean de Montfort, to appear before the court of peers. No reply being received, a royal decree declared the duchy forfeited, and annexed it to the crown. In this instance Charles departed from his usual prudence: he had not calculated on the deep and fervent attachment of the Bretons to their national independence. The chief nobles leagued together to resist the offensive decree, and recalled the banished Jean de Montfort, who landed at St. Malo in August, 1379, and was received with enthusiasm. The duke soon found himself surrounded by a powerful army, and, what was far more serious, all the Breton generals abandoned the French standard, and declared for the national cause. Even the faithful Du Guesclin renounced his office as constable, and retired from court. Charles saw his error, and begged the veteran warrior to resume his post; he consented, but at the same time refused to draw his sword against his countrymen. Charles still persisted, with strange obstinacy, in his designs upon Brittany; and the entire population of the province, upon whom he might otherwise have counted as stanch allies against England, was now hopelessly alienated from his crown.

Meanwhile serious disturbances had broken out in Languedoc through the maladministration of the Duke of Anjou. The revolt was put down with difficulty, and the duke proceeded to such measures of vengeance, that the king suddenly recalled him, and placed the government of the province in the hands of the Count of Foix. The English free companies took advantage of this moment of confusion to seize several towns and castles along the frontier of Languedoc. The inhabitants threw themselves upon the king's protection, and Charles charged the Constable Du Guesclin with an expedition for their assistance. In July, 1380, Du Guesclin laid siege to Châteauneuf de Randan, a small town and fortress between Mende and Le Puy; here he was attacked by illness, which proved fatal. The governor had sworn to surrender to none but the great constable; and on the day after his death (July 13th, 1380) the keys of the castle were brought into his tent, and deposited in silence upon the body of the departed hero. The loss of this illustrious soldier filled France with grief. The king caused hiz body to be transported to Paris, where it was interred, with marks of almost regal honour, among the tombs of the French monarchs at St. Denis.

The death of the constable was followed, two months later, by that of Charles V. himself. A German physician had warned him that, if at any time the abscess should close, his death was inevitable within fifteen days. Charles recognised the fatal symptom with calmness. He summoned round him his three brothers and his brother-in-law the Duke of Bourbon, and having earnestly commended his son Charles to their care and protection, and addressed to them much wise and able counsel on the condition and government of the kingdom, he expired at the château of Beauté-sur-Marne, on the 16th of September, 1380, at the age of forty-four.

The extraordinary success of Charles V. in winning back so many provinces of his dismembered and desolated empire entitles him to rank among the great sovereigns of France. His internal administration was that of a despotic prince, sincerely desiring the welfare of his country, but seeking it solely in the unchecked exercise of his own arbitrary prerogative. Dreading a renewal of his early troubles, Charles convoked the States-General only once during his reign. He adopted, as a substitute, the practice of holding beds of justice—assemblies composed chiefly of the ministers and officers of state,

who were compelled to register whatever measures the king thought proper to present to them, these edicts acquiring thenceforward all. the force of law. The monarch thus assumed the power of legislation, and also that of levying taxes; usurpations which necessarily effaced every semblance of constitutional liberty. It must be mentioned, however, to the honour of Charles, that he never resorted to the habit of adulterating the coin of the realm, so common among his predecessors. His financial system was conducted upon fixed and wise principles, every branch of the public expenditure being under the jurisdiction of the "court of aides," a tribunal created for the purpose, which lasted down to the Revolution of 1789.

This prince gave great encouragement to the arts, especially to architecture. He built the Hôtel St. Pol, at Paris, which became his favourite residence; and adorned the neighbourhood of the capital with several eastles. He also laid the foundation of the fortress of the Bastille.* His acquaintance with literature was considerable, and he was an enlightened and generous patron of men of letters. The royal library of Paris may be said to owe its origin to Charles V. It consisted at his death of something more than nine hundred volumes.

^{*} Commenced 1369, finished 1383.



Castle of Chinon - place of meeting between Charles VII. and the Maid of Orleans (see p. 207).

CHAPTER IX.

SECOND PERIOD OF THE WARS WITH ENGLAND. CHARLES VI. AND CHARLES VII. A.D. 1380-1461.

(1. Accession of Charles VI.; contentions for the Regency; tumults in Paris. § 2. Philip, Duke of Burgundy; defeat of the Flemish at Rosebecque. § 3. Preparations against the English. § 4. Charles assumes the government. § 5. His illness and insanity; Duke of Burgundy at the head of affairs. § 6. Animosity between the houses of Burgundy and Orleans; peace concluded with England; deposition of the Pope Benedict XIII. § 7. Death of Philip, Duke of Burgundy; war between John. Duke of Burgundy, and the Duke of Orleans; their pretended reconciliation: murder of the Duke of Orleans. § 8. Duke of Burgundy at the head of affairs. § 9. Count d'Armagnac becomes the head of the Orleanist party. § 10. Civil war. § 11. Henry V. invades France; battle of Agincourt. § 12. Coalition of the queen and the Duke of Burgundy; massacre of the Armagnacs. § 13. Murder of John, Duke of Burgundy, at Montereau. § 14. Treaty of Troves; marriage of Henry V. with the Princess Catherine; death of Henry V. and Charles VI. § 15. Regency of the Duke of Bedford; accession of Charles VII. § 16. Jacqueline Countess of Holland; the Constable de Richemont. § 17. Siege of Orleans;

"Journée des Harengs." § 18. Joan of Arc, the Maid of Orleans; her success at Orleans. § 19. Charles VII. crowned at Reims; conspiracy against Joan of Arc; her capture. § 20. Trial, condennation, and execution of Joan of Arc. § 21. Reverses of the English in France; treaty of Arras; reconciliation of Charles VII. and the Duke of Burgundy. § 22. The "Écorcheurs;" States-General at Orleans; creation of standing army. § 23. The "Praguerie;" wise and successful policy of Charles VII. § 24. Organization of the army. § 25. The English driven from Normandy and Gascony. § 26. Factious behaviour of the dauphin; last illness and death of Charles VII.

§ 1. Charles VI., surnamed "le Bien-aimé" or "Well-beloved," 1380-1422.—The troubled reign of Charles VI. opened with a contest between his uncles, for the regency of the kingdom. The young king was not yet twelve years old; and his majority had been fixed, by an ordinance of 1374, at the age of thirteen. The royal dukes, or "Sires des Fleurs-de-lys," as they were called, at length agreed to a compromise; the Duke of Aujou was declared regent, while the custody of the royal person, and the direction of the household, were intrusted to the Dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon; the Duke of Berry was appointed governor of Languedoc and Aquitaine; the swort of constable was delivered, according to the

dying injunction of Charles V., to Oliver de Clisson.

These arrangements were scarcely completed when popular commotions broke out simultaneously in Ghent and in Paris. The Duke of Anjou, a man of notorious avarice, had seized the whole of the vast treasure amassed by the late king, as well as the contents of the public exchequer; notwithstanding which he withheld the pay due to the troops, upon the pretence that the taxes could not be obtained from the people. The discontented soldiers flocked in crowds to Paris, where they committed every kind of excess; the populace rose against them, and furious broils took place. Soon the excitement turned against the regent, and the citizens, headed by the prévôt des marchands, proceeded tumultuously to the palace, and demanded the abolition of the gabelle, the tax on sales, and other obnoxious imposts. The terrified duke dared not resist; he promised immediate satisfaction; and on the 16th of November an edict was published by which all the extraordinary taxes and duties, of whatever description, levied since the reign of Philip the Fair, were suppressed, and all popular rights and liberties which existed before that reign were re-established. Such sweeping concessions could neither be sincere nor lasting. No less than seven fruitless attempts to obtain supplies were made in the course of the year 1381; and as the irritation rapidly spread throughout the country, civil strife became every day more imminent. A riot took place at

Rouen, in consequence of the proposal of a new duty upon cloth; the burghers rushed to arms, and, having proclaimed a wealthy clothier king of Rouen, insisted on his issuing an edict repealing the tax. The unfortunate collectors were plundered, and driven from the city; an attack was next made upon the castle, in which the governor was killed; the clergy were also assaulted and maltreated. In February, 1382, the young king and his uncles, at the head of an armed body of nobles, proceeded to Rouen, and, the gates being opened to them without resistance, wreaked vengeance upon the insurgent citizens. The chief authors of the revolt were

executed, and the duty upon cloth was levied by force.

Embeldened by this success, the court attempted to enforce at Paris an excise-duty upon produce exposed for sale in the markets. This step was energetically resisted; the popular wrath exploded at once, and the capital was in full insurrection. The multitude burst into the Hôtel de Ville, and armed themselves with a quantity of leaden maces (maillets) and other weapons which were there in store; with these they attacked and murdered all the agents of the government upon whom they could lay hands, and afterwards, breaking open the prison of the Châtelet, released all who were confined there, whether for debt or other crimes. The Maillotins, as they were called, not finding an efficient leader, dispersed, on an assurance from the court that the obnoxious tax should be abandoned, and an amnesty was proclaimed; but no sooner had the ferment subsided than arrests were made in every part of Paris, followed by executions. The States-General were now assembled at Compiègne; but the deputies flatly refused to sanction even the smallest subsidy. Full of suspicion and disaffection, the Parisians closed their gates, barricaded the streets, and denied the king entrance to his capital. At length terms were arranged through the skilful management of the advocate-general, Jean Desmarets; and, in consideration of 100,000 francs paid to the insatiable Duke of Anjou, it was agreed that no further proceedings should be taken on account of the late insurrection. Peace being thus restored, in May, 1382, the king, attended by his uncles, re-entered Paris.

§ 2. Immediately after this pacification Louis of Anjou, who had been adopted by his cousin Joanna, Queen of Naples, as successor to her throne, quitted Paris, and marched, with an army of 30,000 men, towards his new dominions. In Italy he was vigorously opposed by his competitor Charles of Durazzo, heir of a collateral branch of the house of Anjou; and after obtaining some successes

the duke died suddenly in 1384.

The chief direction of affairs in France now passed to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, the ablest of the three royal brothers; and his first exercise of power was to engage in the civil contest which had

been waged for two years past in Flanders. The duke, who had married the heiress of that great province, was naturally interested in quelling this seditious spirit, which threatened to end in revolution. Count Louis of Flanders was at this time besieging the revolted city of Ghent; the burghers, headed by the famous Philip van Artevelde, attacked and totally defeated him at Beverhout, and the count, flying in disguise to Bruges, seemed on the point of being dispossessed of his dominions. He implored his son-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy, to march to his relief; the duke proposed the expedition to the young king; and Charles, joyously welcoming the opportunity of making his first essay in arms, hurried on the military preparations, and entered Flanders at the head of his force in November, 1382. The real commander of the royal army was the Constable Oliver de Clisson. Philip van Artevelde marched against them with 50,000 Flemings, and a terrible battle was fought on the 28th of November at the village of Roosebeke or Rosebecque, in which the French were completely victorious. The struggle lasted only half an hour, but in that brief space the carnage was immense: 25,000 Flemings perished in the field: Artevelde himself was among the slain, surrounded by the whole division formed by the citizens of Ghent, 8000 strong, which was cut off to a man.

The victory of Rosebecque was in reality a triumph of royal and feudal power over the cause of popular liberty; and its consequences were not less sensibly felt at Paris than in Flanders. The gates, chains, and barricades were thrown down at the approach of Charles, and the burgesses were required to surrender their arms; the constable and his officers then occupied all the military posts, and the bloody work of the executioner began. No less than 300 of the principal inhabitants died upon the scaffold; among them Nicholas le Flamand, formerly a distinguished partisan of Etienne Marcel, and the Advocate-General Jean Desmarets, a long-tried, able, and faithful servant of the crown. At the same time the municipal liberties of the city were summarily withdrawn, its magistrates were replaced by officers named by the prévôt-royal, and the detested gabelle, the duty on the sale of wine and other commodities, and the rest of the lately abolished taxes, were reimposed in all their force. After this display of power the king consented, at the intercession of his uncles, to extend his royal pardon to his subjects, upon payment of the exorbitant fine of 960,000 francs. Similar scenes were enacted at Reims, Troyes, Chalons, Orleans, and throughout the north of France.

Thus was democracy once more crushed in France beneath the iron heel of despotism. Without intelligent leaders, or definite purpose, the people gave up the struggle in the moment of danger, and fell an easy prey to a rapacious and brutal aristocracy. Their

degeneration and misery bore their natural fruit in the savage civil wars which marked the closing years of this distracted reign.

§ 3. Louis. Count of Flanders, expired in January, 1384. only daughter Marguerite was married to Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, who now succeeded to the ample possessions of that house, including Flanders, Artois, the counties of Rhetel and Nevers, and other territories in Champagne. To these were soon added the duchy of Brabant; and, with the great fief of Burgundy, the duke thus owned an extent of dominion which made him one of the most powerful of European sovereigns. The new count forthwith concluded a pacification with the people of Ghent, and was

recognised throughout the province.

Having married his eldest son to the daughter of Duke Albert of Bavaria, the Duke of Burgundy proposed to his royal nephew an alliance with another princess of the same family, Isabella, daughter of Duke Stephen of Bavaria. Isabella was brought to France upon pretence of a pilgrimage to Amiens in the summer of 1385; and the marriage was celebrated in the cathedral of Amiens on the 17th of July, only four days after their first interview. Charles V. had expressed a desire that his son should connect himself by marriage with Germany, in order to secure for France a valuable ally against the English. Little did he foresee the train of disaster which would be entailed on his kingdom by means of this ill-starred union.

In the following year, 1386, gigantic preparations were made for the invasion of England. Ships were equipped, forming an almost countless flotilla, in all the seaports from Cadiz to the shores of Prussia: Froissart states that near 1400 vessels were assembled in the harbour of Sluys in the month of September. A prodigious land force was collected at the same place; everything promised an expedition capable of reducing England to a state of vassalage to France. But by a strange series of fatalities this mighty movement passed away without result. The king loitered on his journey, and did not join his army till the close of September; the Constable de Clisson sailed from Brittany, was driven by a tempest upon the coast of England, and, having lost many of his ships, at last reached Sluys with difficulty; the Duke of Berry, who from the beginning had opposed the project, purposely delayed his arrival at the meeting-place until the season was too far advanced to put to sea. This scheme was abandoned for this year; and the soldiers, dismissed without payment, harassed and pillaged the whole country on their road homewards. The English, watching their opportunity, now bore down upon the Flemish coast, attacked the French fleet, and burned and captured a great part of it.

The descent upon England was again proposed in the spring of

1387, but was frustrated by the personal enmity of the Duke of Brittany and the constable. When the armament was on the point of sailing, the duke treacherously decoyed De Clisson into one of his castles near Vannes, from which he was liberated only at the price of an extortionate ransom. The constable complained to the king, and the duke was compelled to give ample satisfaction; but



Isabella of Bavaria, wife of Charles VI.

this second failure caused the design upon England to be finally laid aside.

The year 1388 was wasted in an ill-planned and unsuccessful expedition against the Duke of Gueldres, who had defied Charles. The king forced his vassal to make a verbal submission, but the French army suffered severely in returning home, and regained Champagne in a state of disorder and distress.

§ 4. The whole blame of this disgraceful failure, as well as of other public misfortunes, was popularly attributed to the maladministration of the royal dukes; and Charles had no sooner entered

Reims than he found himself besieged by entreaties that they might be dismissed from power. The Cardinal-bishop of Laon urged at the council-board that the king, who had now attained his one-and-twentieth year, ought to take into his own hands the reins of government, independently of all control. Charles acted on this advice; and having graciously thanked his uncles of Burgundy and Berry for their care of his person, and their services to the state, intimated that henceforth he should not require their aid in the direction of affairs. The princes did not venture to resist, and immediately withdrew from court. The Bishop of Laon, the same day on which they quitted Reims, was found dead, with manifest marks of having been carried off by poison.

The chief offices of government were now bestowed on several able ministers of the preceding reign—the Constable de Clisson, Bureau de la Rivière, Jean de Nogent, Arnaud de Corbie. They changed in many important points the policy of the dukes; many useful reforms were published, oppressive taxes were reduced or repealed, and a truce was concluded with England for three years. The king, however, displayed no taste or capacity for affairs of state. He became more and more absorbed in frivolous amusements. Three years passed in comparative tranquillity, during which the king's uncles remained entirely excluded from power. They lost no opportunity of ridiculing the ministers, whom they styled the marmousets or monkeys; and at length, wearied and exasperated, they leagued with the Duke of Brittany, the avowed enemy of De Clisson, for the purpose of effecting the disgrace of the constable and their own reinstatement in authority.

It happened that a young relation of the Duke of Brittany, Pierre de Craon, had been lately banished from court. He imagined that De Clisson was the author of his dismissal; and one night in June, 1392, he waylaid the constable with a band of bravos, and left him for dead in the street. The wounded man, however, recovered, and De Craon escaped to the court of his confederate the Duke of

Brittany.

The king, furious at this daring outrage upon De Clisson, swore that it should be signally avenged. The Duke of Brittany refused to arrest De Craon, and Charles assembled an army and set out from Paris, accompanied by his brother the Duke of Orleans and the Duke of Bourbon, for Brittany.

§ 5. The king was detained three weeks by illness at Le Mans. On the 5th of August he mounted his horse, contrary to the advice of his physicians, and proceeded through the forest of Le Mans, in the direction of Angers. The day was intensely sultry, and the king, already weakened by disease, suffered much from the scorching rays of an almost vertical sun. Suddenly a man of

wild and ferocious aspect, bare-headed and bare-legged, started from behind a tree, seized the king's bridle, and exclaimed, in a terrible voice, "Ride on no further, O king! return, thou art betrayed!" The attendants came up and drove off the intruder, but he continued to follow Charles at some distance, shouting with redoubled energy and fury, "Thou art betrayed! thou art betrayed!" The king, astounded and bewildered, nevertheless pursued his route. Soon afterwards one of his pages, who had fallen asleep in his saddle, dropped his lance, which struck upon the steel helmet of his companion. Startled by the sound, which seemed to his morbid fancy to confirm the threatening warning he had just heard, the unhappy Charles now lost all self-control, drew his sword, attacked the pages, whom he no longer recognised, and, after severely wounding several persons of his escort, spurred his horse against the Duke of Orleans. The duke fled in terror; and the Duke of Burgundy, perceiving that the king was bereft of his senses, ordered him to be secured. Charles was disarmed, and carried back to Le Mans unconscious. physicians were at first of opinion that the king's seizure was mortal and his end approaching; but a favourable change took place on the third day. Charles recovered his senses, and to a certain extent the use of his reason, but never so as to be capable of sustained effort or close application. For the rest of his life his condition was one of chronic imbecility, varied by fits of frenzy, and sometimes, but more rarely, by rational intervals.

This calamity naturally caused an immediate change of political administration. The dukes of Burgundy and Berry seized the government; the Duke of Orleans, who alone could have contested the post, being set aside for want of age and experience. Two of the late ministers were thrown into the Bastille. Oliver de Clisson was tried before the parlement on a charge of embezzling the funds of the state, condemned to a severe fine, deprived of his office as constable, and exiled into Brittany.

§ 6. The king's health, which had continued gradually to improve, suffered a serious relapse in January, 1393. On the occasion of the marriage of one of the ladies of the queen's household a grand masked ball was given at court, in which Charles, with five of his nobles, disguised themselves as savages, in close-fitting dresses covered with pitch and tow to resemble hair. The young Duke of Orleans, excited no doubt by wine, approached these grotesque figures with a lighted torch, and, either accidentally or from wanton love of mischief, set them in a blaze. The king was fortunately standing apart, and the Duchess of Berry hurried him out of the hall. Four of the unlucky maskers were burnt to death; one saved his life by throwing himself into a large tub of water which happened to be at hand. FRANCE.

The shock occasioned by this accident produced a violent return of the king's malady. The royal sufferer totally lost his memory and all consciousness of his position. He conceived a strong aversion against the queen; he ceased to recognise his children; and the only person who retained any influence or control over him was his sister-in-law, the Duchess of Orleans. That princess, distinguished by her amiable temper and the charm of her graceful manners, exercised her natural ascendency over the diseased mind of Charles; but the jealousy of the rival faction, and the superstition of the times, ascribed the result to sorcery and magic, and the Duke of Burgundy took advantage of the popular clamour to banish the accomplished Valentine from court. This step greatly inflamed the growing animosity between the houses of Burgundy and Orleans.

During a temporary restoration to reason Charles concluded, in 1396, a definite treaty of peace with England. Richard II. demanded the hand of the Princess Isabella, a child scarcely more than seven years old; and the espousals were celebrated at an interview which took place between the two monarchs near Calais. The term of this pacification was fixed at twenty-eight

years; it lasted in reality little more than six.

About the same time Charles made a praiseworthy attempt to heal the schism which for near twenty years had afflicted the Church. A council was held at the Hôtel Saint-Pol, which pronounced, in accordance with the decision of the University of Paris, that the peace of the Church would be best secured by the resignation of both the rival popes, Boniface IX, and Benedict XIII. A splendid embassy, composed of the three roval dukes of Orleans, Berry, and Burgundy, with several prelates, doctors, and officers of state, now proceeded to Avignon to make known to Benedict XIII,—the inflexible Pedro de Luna—the determination of the council. Benedict entertained them at first with fair promises, which were soon exchanged for excuses and evasions, and at last he plainly announced to the commissioners his refusal to resign. Two years later a second council of the French Church met at Paris, when it was resolved to withdraw the kingdom from the obedience of Benedict: and as he still refused to submit, and asserted his exclusive claims in the most resolute terms, a military force was sent to Avignon under Marshal Boucicaut, which blockaded the pope in his own palace. He remained there a close prisoner for upwards of four years.

§ 7. The opening of the fifteenth century found France prostrate under a complication of evils which threatened to destroy all settled government and to sap the very foundations of society. Notwithstanding the king's incapacity, no regency had been legally appointed; and the struggles of the rival factions—those of the queen,

the Duke of Burgundy, and the Duke of Orleans-engendered general anarchy and confusion. The Duke of Orleans displayed, as he grew up to manhood, a reckless and dissolute character; and fresh grounds of discord continually rose to aggravate his feud with the Duke of Burgundy, which became irreconcilable. During the absence of his antagonist in Flanders the Duke of Orleans came to Paris surrounded by a numerous body of knights and armed retainers, who took up their quarters round his hotel. The Duke of Burgundy soon arrived at the head of an equally threatening force. Every moment a collision was expected, which might usher in a desolating civil war. After a lengthened suspense the two princes were induced, by the earnest intercession of the gueen, to consent to a formal reconciliation in January, 1402; but no sooner had the Duke of Burgundy quitted Paris than the Duke of Orleans, profiting by one of the king's intervals of reason, procured an edict by which he was placed at the head of the financial administration. and for two months the whole power of the state was in his hands-The return of the Duke of Burgundy at once re-established his authority; but within two years he was suddenly attacked by a contagious disease at Brussels, and, having been conveyed to his château of Halle in Hainault, expired there in April, 1404, in the seventy-third year of his age. Philip of Burgundy possessed many admirable qualities, and his loss was deeply and generally lamented. His great fault was prodigality. His extravagant luxury caused him continual embarrassment, and he died overwhelmed with debt.

The administration of affairs was now once more seized by Louis of Orleans. He made a coalition with the queen and her party. and the union of interests made them supreme in the state. But an opponent appeared on the scenes who was destined to bring to a fatal crisis the deadly enmity which had so long reigned between the rival houses; this was John, surnamed sans Peur, who had just succeeded his father as Duke of Burgundy. Inheriting all the ambition and courage of Philip le Hardi, Jean sans Peur hesitated at no act of violence, cruelty, or revenge; and apart from other grievances, he had sustained at the hands of the libertine Duke of Orleans a private injury which was not likely to be forgiven. Their quarrel burst forth at the beginning of 1405, on the occasion of a new tax levied by the Duke of Orleans. The Duke of Burgundy declared that, whether authorized or not by the rest of the council, he would take care that the impost should be paid by none of his own subjects, and abruptly quitted Paris. This conduct procured him credit with the lower classes, who regarded him henceforth as their champion. The misgovernment of the party in power became in the course of a few months so insupportable that the duke received an urgent summons from the king to resume his place in the

council. Escorted by 800 lances, he marched to Paris, where he learned that the queen and the Duke of Orleans had taken flight to Melun, leaving orders that the dauphin, a child of nine years old, should follow them. Jean sans Peur possessed himself of the person of the young prince, and, entering Paris, took up his residence at the Louvre, thus remaining undisputed master of the capital. Upon an appeal to an assembly of notables, the duke's acts were fully ratified; and he was placed, by unanimous consent, at the head of the government. His first care was to put Paris in a state of defence, by repairing the city gates and hanging heavy chains across the streets. Many of the civic privileges were restored; and the burghers were encouraged to arm, hostilities being now deemed advisable.

The Duke of Orleans assembled his troops, crossed the Seine, and took post at Charenton. The Duke of Burgundy drew up his forces at Argenteuil. The Orleanist banner bore the device of a knotted club, with the motto, "Je l'envie;" the Burgundian emblem was a carpenter's plane, with the legend, "Je le tiens." The leaders, however, shrunk at the last moment from a battle. The Duke of Berry interposed, and after eight days of negotiation an arrangement was effected at Vincennes; the two dukes agreed to dismiss their hired bands, and to divide the government between them. The queen now made her entry into Paris with great pomp, surrounded by the princes and a brilliant court. The rival dukes gave every outward token of restored confidence and friendship, but deep distrust was concealed beneath the mask of reconciliation.

The Duke of Orleans went every evening to visit the queen, then recovering from an illness. On the 23rd of November a false message was sent to him at the queen's residence, requiring his immediate attendance on the king at the Hôtel Saint-Pol. The duke set out, followed by two servants, and when near the Porte Barbette was suddenly attacked by a band of assassins, and murdered.

§ 8. The authorship of this crime remained for a short time doubtful. But, after a short interval, the Duke of Burgundy confussed that, yielding to the instigation of the evil one, he had caused the deed to be committed. Recovering, however, his natural audacity, he presented himself the next day at the council chamber; but the Duke of Berry resolutely opposed his entrance. Jean sans Peur instantly took horse, and, in spite of a brisk pursuit, gained the frontier fortress of Bapaume, whence he continued his flight to Lille.

It is a painful illustration both of the character of the Duke of Orleans and of the deprayed morals of the age, that this atrocious

murder not only aroused no popular indignation, but was generally applauded and even justified. After some futile demonstrations the assassins were allowed to go unpunished. The widowed Duchess Valentine came, with her children, to throw herself at the feet of Charles, and demand vengeance for her husband's blood; but the menarch could do no more than assure her of his sympathy, and repeat vain promises of satisfaction. The Duke of Burgundy soon reappeared at Paris, escorted by eight hundred gentlemen and a considerable armed force, and reached his hotel amid the acclamations of the people. The next day, March 8, 1408, at a great assembly of princes, nobles, clergy, and burgesses, held at the Hôtel Saint-Pol, Jean Petit, a Franciscan monk and celebrated doctor of the Sorbonne, appeared as the duke's advocate, and offered an elaborate vindication of his conduct. The orator maintained. with much pedantic display of logic and learning, that the Duke of Orleans was a tyrant, a traitor, and a heretic; that on all these grounds he deserved death; and that, whether as regarded God, the king, or the nation, it was not only a lawful but a laudable deed to rid the world of such a vile offender. The assembly listened in silence. No one ventured to gainsay this extraordinary line of defence. The duke became a second time dictator; and his first act was to force the unhappy Charles to issue a public declaration that he retained no displeasure against his dear cousin of Burgundy for having caused the assassination of his brother.

Shortly afterwards Jean sans Peur was summoned to the Low Countries, to suppress a sudden revolt of the people of Liége; and his opponents at Paris profited by his absence to attempt a reaction. The queen, who had retired with the dauphin to Melun, entered the capital on the 26th of August, attended by the dukes of Berry, Bourbon, and Brittany, with 3000 men-at-arms. In an assembly held by the dauphin, the Abbé de Serisy pronounced a solemn refutation of the discourse of Jean Petit; and the Duchess of Orleans was assured that the parlement would execute speedy and ample justice in her behalf. The duke's letters of pardon were revoked, and he was summoned to appear and make answer before the parlement to

all charges brought against him.

But meanwhile the duke had won the battle of Hasbain (September 23, 1408), and his enemies, on the first tidings of this decisive success, renounced all thoughts of prosecuting their designs of vengeance. In November he returned triumphantly to Paris, and found that his enemies had fled on his approach. The queen and the princes, carrying with them the imbecile king and the dauphin, had retired to Tours. Valentine of Orleans fell ill at Blois, and died there within a few weeks, of a broken heart.

§ 9. The parties now found it mutually advisable to negotiate;

and at an interview held in the cathedral of Chartres in March, 1409, the Duke of Burgundy received from Charles a full pardon for the bloody deed which he had committed, as he maintained, "for the welfare of the king and the kingdom;" after which the young princes of Orleans were forced to go through the farce of reconciliation with their father's murderer.

This transaction, aptly called "la paix fourrée" (hasty or patchedup peace), caused general demonstrations of joy; but no one believed that the dissensions of the state were effectually healed. The immediate result was to throw the government still more absolutely into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy. The duke had also the address to conclude a secret alliance with Queen Isabella. and by this means secured the guardianship and direction of the young dauphin, as well as complete power over the person of the king. The opposite party were not behindhand in taking measures of self-defence. In 1410 a league was organized at Gien, between the young Duke Charles of Orleans and his brother, the dukes of Berry, Bourbon, and Brittany, the Count Bernard d'Armagnac, and the Constable d'Albret, with the avowed object of overthrowing the Duke of Burgundy; and from this time must be dated the real outbreak of civil war. The Count d'Armagnac, a distinguished nobleman of Languedoc, whose daughter had just been married to the Dake of Orleans, became the acknowledged chief of the new confederacy; and the partisans of the house of Orleans were henceforth known by his name. He was a man of ability, courage, and experience. He collected a large force in Gascony, where he enjoyed vast influence; auxiliary bands were raised in Poitou, Auvergne, Touraine, and Brittany; and the army of the Armagnacs marched towards Paris. No engagement, however, took place this year. Armagnacs ravaged the whole country up to the gates of Paris; but the Duke of Burgundy, though his force was superior, hesitated to attack them, and an insincere treaty was made in November, 1410, at the château of Bicêtre. Next year hostilities were renewed. The allied princes sent a violent letter of defiance to the Duke of Burgundy, and took the road to the capital, resolved to strike a vigorous blow for its possession. Meanwhile the Parisians had risen in terror, and organized for their defence a sort of civic guard called the milice royale, composed of the very dregs of the populace, and commanded by the butcher Legoix, a surgeon named Jean de Troves, the skinner Caboche, and the executioner Capeluche.* The Cabochiens (so they were styled) were soon masters of Paris; and their reign was marked by the most hideous atrocities. Every

^{*} They were members of the ancient corporation of butchers, which possessed at that time great credit and power. The tower St. Jacque-la-Boucherie marks the site of their chief establishment at Paris.

one who chanced to offend them was denounced as an Armagnac, and plundered and murdered without remorse. The army of the princes, however, overpowered this horde of brigands, and, occupying St. Denis and St. Cloud, poured into the city, which became a frightful scene of confusion. A royal proclamation now declared the princes guilty of high treason, and banished them from the kingdom; but the Duke of Burgundy, at length making his appearance before the capital, with a strong auxiliary force of English lances, successfully attacked the Armagnac position of St. Cloud, cut to pieces 12,000 knights or gentlemen of their party, and forced them to retreat precipitately to Orleans. The most merciless vengeance followed this triumph of the Burgundians. The streets of Paris ran in torrents with the blood of the Armagnacs, while numbers died in prisons by torture, starvation, or disease, and their property was confiscated.

§ 10. The Orleanist party, thus driven to desperation, naturally began to turn their eyes and hopes towards England. Negotiations were entered into with Henry IV., and in May, 1412, it was arranged that the princes and their adherents should assist the English king to recover all the ancient possessions of his predecessors in the south of France. In return for their aid Henry engaged to place at their disposal a force consisting of 1000 men-at-arms and

3000 bowmen, paid in advance.

The despatch containing this treaty was intercepted in Normandy, and publicly read before the council of state at the Hôtel Saint-Pol. It excited extreme indignation, and the king, just then in a somewhat improved state of health, announced his determination to march instantly against the rebellious traitors who would thus sell France to her inveterate foes. The war which followed was marked with the same scenes of cruelty and bloodshed. The Cabochiens again rose in Paris, and perpetrated dreadful crimes. At length, in 1414, the dauphin, to the great discontent of the other princes, made proposals of accommodation to the Duke of Burgundy. His overtures were accepted, and, upon the nominal condition of asking the king's pardon, the duke was permitted to retain all his possessions. He was prohibited, however, from coming to Paris without the royal command; and the Armagnacs remained completely masters of the government.

§ 11. Both parties in the strife had made applications in turn to England. Henry V., a young, talented, and ambitious monarch, could not resist the temptation of diverting the attention of his nobles from his weak title by reviving the pretensions of England to portions of France. During the negotiations at Arras, Henry sent ambassadors to assert formally his claim to the French crown, and to demand the hand of the Princess Catherine in marriage,

together with the restitution of all the provinces ceded by the treaty of Bretigny, and of Normandy in addition. War was the alternative. Such was the degraded state of France, that the dauphin dared not answer this message by a bold defiance; he offered Henry the hand of the princess, with a handsome dowry in money, and the whole of Aquitaine and Limousin; but this proposition was peremptorily rejected, and the English king prepared to prosecute his claim in arms.

Landing at the mouth of the Seine on the 14th of August, 1415, Henry invested Harfleur, which surrendered after a month's siege. But the invader was prevented from following up his success; dysentery broke out in the English camp, and Henry, finding his forces reduced, resolved to abandon further operations for this year. He then directed his march northwards through Ponthieu and Picardy, intending to take up winter quarters at Calais.

The royal army of France was composed almost entirely of the partisans of the house of Orleans; the Duke of Burgundy preserving, either from spite or by the king's command, a sullen neutrality. Constable d'Albret had collected about 60,000 men, commanded, under him, by the dukes of Orleans, Anjou, Alencon, and Bourbon, and the veteran Marshal Boucicaut. It was resolved to cut off the retreat of the English, and give them battle on the line of the Somme. For this purpose the constable marched to Abbeville, and gave orders that every point where the river could be crossed should be strongly occupied. After vainly attempting to pass at Blanchetache and at Pont Remy, Henry ascended the Somme, and at length discovered an unguarded ford at Bethencourt near Ham; here, on the 19th of October, he transferred his whole army to the right bank of the river. Such was the want of vigilance among the French, that the constable received no notice of the passage of the enemy until the difficult operation had been safely completed. Nothing remained but to select a position for a general engagement; and the constable again showed his incapacity by drawing up his army on a narrow plain between the villages of AGINCOURT and Tramecourt, flanked on either side by a thick wood, which prevented him from extending his forces and making full use of his cavalry. The English reached the ground on the evening of the 24th of October, and spent the night, which was cold and rainy, in devotional exercises. On the 25th, after a fruitless endeavour to negotiate, the battle began by a tremendous discharge of arrows from the English archers, who were protected by a strong palisade of sharp stakes. The French knights attempted to charge, but their horses sunk at every step above the fetlock in the mire of some newly ploughed fields, and not one in ten reached the enemy's lines. They fell back in disorder; the English archers. throwing down their bows, rushed forward with their swords, battle-axes, and pikes, and, falling upon the confused masses of the French, slaughtered them in heaps almost without resistance. The rear-guard, which had remained unbroken, instead of making a determined effort to retrieve the fortunes of the day, shamefully turned and fled, leaving the English undisputed masters of the field.

A false report was made to Henry, in the moment of victory, that a fresh division of the enemy had attacked his rear, and was plundering the baggage. Upon this the king ordered a general massacre of the prisoners; and vast numbers of lives were thus sacrificed to a mistake. The disaster of Agincourt was even more fatal to the French nobility than those of Crécy and Poitiers; out of a total loss of 10,000 men, 8000 were of gentle blood; among them were the dukes of Alencon and Brabant, and the Constable d'Albret, to whose incapacity the defeat was chiefly due. Charles of Orleans, the Duke of Bourbon, and Marshal Boucicaut, with 1500 other knights and gentlemen, remained prisoners in the hands of the victors. The loss on the side of the English was about 1600 men. Henry, however, was in no condition to pursue his victory: he immediately resumed his march to Calais, and on the 17th of November landed at Dover with his royal and noble prisoners.

§ 12. The Count d'Armagnac was now created Constable of France, and assumed the direction of affairs. The Dauphin Louis died, a victim to his vicious excesses, in December, 1415, and was succeeded by his brother, John, Duke of Touraine. He was attached to the Burgundian party; but within little more than a year he also breathed his last, so opportunely for the interests of the Count d'Armagnac as to excite a general suspicion of foul play. The title of dauphin now devolved on the king's youngest son, Charles, a boy of fourteen, who had been educated among the Orleanist faction, and was steeped in all their prejudices. The queen was the only remaining personage in the state who might embarrass the overbearing constable; and he at once resolved on her removal from all opportunity of power or influence. In concert with the young dauphin, whom he completely governed, Armagnac caused Isabella to be exiled to the castle of Tours. Her jewels and treasure were seized by the dauphin; and his mother thenceforth regarded him with a vindictive hatred which lasted throughout her life.

The queen and the Duke of Burgundy had hitherto been declared enemies; but in present circumstances it was evidently their interest to combine for their mutual restoration to power. Accordingly Isabella had not been many months in confinement before she found means to communicate secretly with Jean sans Peur, and

the duke in consequence proceeded with a sufficient force to Tours, and by a stratagem effected the queen's deliverance from captivity. The measures of the new allies were bold and decisive. The queen declared herself regent of the kingdom; a council of state was established at Amiens in opposition to that of the "usurpers and traitors" who ruled at Paris; and letters were despatched throughout the provinces, requiring the people to pay no regard to the orders of the king and the dauphin, and acknowledge no other government than that of the queen and the duke. The struggle thus became more desperate than ever; and although in the course of this year (August, 1417) Henry of England landed a second time in Normandy, and captured Caen, Bayeux, and other towns, this aggression seems to have been scarcely noticed. Another sudden change of scene took place in May, 1418. The Constable d'Armagnac, and his chief supporter, Tanneguy Duchâtel, provost of Paris, had fallen in popularity from having broken off a promising negotiation for peace. A young citizen named Perrinet Leclerc contrived to introduce into the capital a strong party of armed Burgandians; the populace rose and joined them; and their commander, having forced the gates of the palace, took possession of the person of the helpless king, so as to justify the revolt by the appearance of royal authority. Tanneguy Duchâtel succeeded in carrying off the dauphin to the Bastille, and thence to Melun. A dreadful massacre followed in the streets of Paris on the night of the 12th of June; the Constable d'Armagnac, several prelates, and numbers of the nobility, were cruelly murdered; and the mob, breaking open the prisons, butchered indiscriminately all that they contained. The cut-throat Cabochiens reappeared, and for three days Paris was given up to atrocities too revolting to bear recital. The numbers of the slain were estimated at near 3000.

A few weeks afterwards the queen and the Duke of Burgundy re-entered Paris, and were received with joy, but they found it impossible to restore order. The massacres were renewed; and although the duke laboured to restrain the popular fury, and even submitted to shake hands with the butcher Capeluche in order to gain his confidence, Paris still remained in a state of lawless insurrection. At last Capeluche and others of the ringleaders were condemned and executed, and some degree of tranquillity was restored.

§ 13. Henry of England, meanwhile, had subdued Lower Normandy, and laid siege to Rouen. That ancient capital was defended for seven months; a capitulation took place in January, 1419, and Henry spared the city in consideration of a ransom of 300,000 golden crowns. The fall of Rouen led to the submission of the whole province; and Henry, who had received pressing overtures both from the queen's party and from the dauphin, now declined

to negotiate, marched to Pontoise, and threatened the approaches to Paris. The presence of a foreign potentate, as a conqueror, in the very heart of the kingdom, brought about a momentary reconciliation between the factions which distracted France.

The dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy, at an amicable interview near Melun, engaged to use their utmost efforts in conjunction to expel the foreigner from France. But Tanneguy Duchâtel and other counsellors of the dauphin—the survivors of the butchered Armagnacs—knew well that no reliance could be placed on the professions of their sworn enemy; and there is little doubt that they were already deliberately meditating, with or without the cognizance of Charles, a deed of vengeance which should rid them for ever of his rivalry. The duke was invited to a second conference on the bridge of Montereau; an enclosure of woodwork was formed in the

centre of the bridge, into which the two princes entered, each with ten attendants. There the duke was murdered, and all the nobles who accompanied him, except one, were either slain or taken prisoners. Thus perished, on the 10th of September, 1419, the celebrated Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy.

§ 14. The consequences of this crime to France were calamitous. The young Duke Philip of Burgundy, who now succeeded his father, thinking only of vengeance on the dauphin, threw himself at once into the arms of the English. He was eagerly supported by the queen, who regarded her son as the author of all the injuries and indignities she had endured, and preferred anything to the chance of again falling into the power of the Armagnacs. The population of Paris, furious at the loss of their great patron, warmly favoured the same policy. Negotiations accordingly commenced at Arras with



Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, in the Robes of the Golden Fleece Order.

the King of England: and on the 2nd of December it was agreed that Henry should marry the Princess Catherine, be invested with the regency and administration of the kingdom, and declared heir to the crown of France after the death of the present

sovereign. In April, 1420, this extraordinary treaty was signed by Charles VI., under the dictation of the queen and the duke, and was immediately afterwards accepted and ratified by the States-General. the parliament, and the constituted bodies of the capital. In addition to the articles above mentioned, it was stipulated that the crowns of France and England should henceforth remain for ever united in one and the same person; and the parties to the treaty bound themselves to enter into no engagement or transaction whatever with Charles, "calling himself Dauphin of Vienne," except by mutual and unanimous consent, and with the sanction of the estates of the realm both in France and England. These terms being finally settled, the marriage of Henry V, with the fair Princess Catherine was solemnized with great magnificence in the church of St. Jean at Troves, on the 2nd of June, 1420. Such was the general horror excited by the civil war and the foul crimes to which it had given birth, that the treaty of Troves seems to have been received in France with lively satisfaction. Few comparatively regarded it in its true light, as the most deplorable act of national humiliation to be found in the annals of their country.

The Dauphin Charles and his party now retired to the provinces beyond the Loire, which were generally favourable to their cause. Notwithstanding his personal demerits, Charles possessed one immense advantage: his side was that of national independence as opposed to foreign dominion. When once the Burgundians had allied themselves with the hated English, right and justice fought on the side of those who struggled for the freedom of France. It was this single fact, rather than any superiority of valour, energy, or talent, that caused the arms of the proscribed dauphin eventually to

prevail, and replaced him on his throne.

By an utterly unexpected turn of fortune, the most formidable antagonist of the national cause was soon removed by death. Henry V. expired at Vincennes on the 31st of August, 1422. His son was an infant nine months old; and the prospect of a long and stormy minority could not fail to act favourably to the interests of the rightful claimant of the crown. While still debating the measures to be taken, the dauphin received tidings of the decease of his father, which took place at the Hôtel St. Pol on the 21st of October. Charles VI., though for thirty years in a state of hopeless idiotcy, had never ceased to be regarded by the nation with the same feelings of attachment which had procured for him in his early days the epithet of "le Bien-aimé." He was borne to his grave amid the lamentations of the Parisians. Henry VI. was proclaimed his successor, at Paris; a similar claim was made at the same moment for Charles VII. in the modest chapel of the castle of Mehun near Bourges.

§ 15. An English prince of the blood, John, Duke of Bedford, now assumed the government of France in the name of his infant nephew; and his firm and vigorous regency was acknowledged at Paris and throughout the provinces north of the Loire. Bedford's main strength lay in his alliance with the Duke of Burgundy. Though various attempts were made to detach Philip from the English interest, they failed, and in 1423 the union was drawn still closer by the marriage of the Regent to one of the duke's sisters.

CHARLES VII., surnamed "Victorieux" or "the Victorious," 1422-1461.—Charles VII., having caused himself to be crowned at Poitiers, fixed his government at Bourges, and was styled in derision by the English "the little King of Bourges." His party, however, was by no means contemptible; he was supported by the princes of the house of Anjou, whose sister he had married; by the Counts of Alencon and Clermont; and by all the most powerful baronial families of Languedoc. His troops were drawn chiefly from foreign states: 1500 men were furnished by the Duke of Milan: 6000 joined him from Scotland under the Earl of Douglas, whom Charles created Duke of Touraine; commands and honours in abundance were distributed among the Scottish officers; the Earl of Buchan was named Constable of France. At first his arms were unsuccessful. He sustained the loss of two great battles in successive years. at Crevant in 1423, and at Verneuil in 1424; but a singular train of circumstances caused a diversion in his favour, by separating for a time the Duke of Burgundy from his English allies, who were thus prevented from following up their successes.

§ 16. The beautiful Jacqueline, Countess of Hainault and Holland, had married the Duke of Brabant, a cousin of the Duke of Burgundy, who was his nearest relative and heir. The union proved unhappy. In 1421 the countess fled from Hainault. persuaded the deposed pope, Pedro de Luna, to annul her marriage. and shortly afterwards married Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, a younger brother of the Regent Bedford. Philip of Burgundy at once interfered; encouraged the repudiated husband to resist; defied the Duke of Gloucester to mortal combat; gained possession of Mons. where Jacqueline was residing, and placed her in confinement at Ghent until the case should be decided by the pope, Martin V. A breach was thus made between the Duke of Burgundy and the English princes; and Bedford seems to have dreaded from this moment that Burgundy would ultimately reconcile himself to the true heir of the monarchy. The Countess Jacqueline escaped from the duke's custody; and hostilities ensued, which ended in favour of Philip. The pope pronounced a decree dissolving Jacqueline's marriage with Humphrey of Gloucester, who thereupon submitted and returned to England; the countess was

compelled to recognise her cousin of Burgundy as lawful heir to all her possessions, and bound herself not to marry again without his permission. The course of events thus suspended for a time the active prosecution of the contest for the crown of France. The advantage, however, was ill improved by the indolent Charles, who neglected the affairs of state, and trifled away his time among intriguing favourites and mistresses. Yet his cause was strengthened during this interval, by at least one wise step, the appointment of the brave and able Count de Richemont, brother of the Duke of Brittany, as Constable of France. Richemont induced his powerful brother to acknowledge Charles's claims, and place at his disposal the whole forces of his duchy. The constable, however, soon made enemies among the royal favourites; two of them, De Giac and Beaulieu, were assassinated by his orders; a third, La Trémoille, succeeded in forming a strong coalition against him, and, banished from Charles's presence, he retired into Brittany. The king now rapidly lost all the ground that he had gained; and through the weakness of his own character and the jealous cabals of his adherents, his situation became every day more critical.

§ 17. Freed at length from the apprehension excited by the movements of the Duke of Burgundy, the Regent Bedford resolved to commence a decisive campaign; and on the 12th of October, 1428, the English army, commanded by the Earl of Salisbury, formed the siege of Orleans. This city, the key of the provinces beyond the Loire, was defended by a garrison of 2000 men, headed by Dunois, called the bastard of Orleans, and other brave captains, who fully understood that the final fate of Charles and his kingdom was to be determined under the walls or Orleans.

Salisbury was killed by a cannon-shot early in the siege, and was succeeded by the Earl of Suffolk. In February, 1429, the besieged, receiving intelligence of a large convoy despatched by the Regent from Paris, resolved to sally in force with the hope of intercepting it; a column of 6000 men advanced to Rouvray, where they encountered the English under Sir John Fastolfe. The French attacked hastily and without judgment, and were easily thrown into confusion and dispersed. Dunois escaped with a severe wound; the Scottish Constable Stewart, his brother, and many other valiant knights, perished on the spot. This disaster, known as the "Journée des Harengs," from the salt fish of which the convoy chiefly consisted, for the use of the army during Lent, spread consternation among the royalists; it seemed doubtful whether it would be possible to prolong the struggle in the north, and many advised that the king should at once retreat, while he was able, into Languedoc. The Count of Clermont, taking with him 2000 soldiers, abandoned Orleans in despair; and the inhabitants,

thus left without resource or hope, communicated with the Duke of Burgundy, and offered to surrender the city into his hands, provided the Regent would consent upon these terms to withdraw from the siege. The duke accepted the proposal, but the Regent refused to entertain it; Philip retired to Flanders in great irritation, and ordered all his vassals to quit the English army.

The cause of Charles seemed desperate, and with it that of French nationality. Orleans was more and more hardly pressed, and became day by day less capable of defence; the king remained in helpless perplexity at Chinon, debating projects of escape from France to Spain or Scotland. But at this crisis a sudden change

came over the fortunes of the French king.

§ 18. In the village of Domremy on the Meuse, on the frontiers of Burgundy and Lorraine, there lived at this time a peasant maiden named Joan d'Arc, the daughter of respectable parents. Nurtured from childhood in loyal attachment to the throne, Jeanne had learned to identify the cause of her sovereign with that of Heaven. France was "the realm of Jesus;" the earthly monarch was the visible lieutenant of the King of kings. Her soul burned within her on witnessing the misery and degradation of her country under the English voke; its deliverance became the centre of her most ardent hopes—the cherished day-dream of her life. Fastening with the eager tenacity of a romantic imagination upon a current tradition derived from the prophecies of Merlin, to the effect that France should be saved by a virgin from the borders of Lorraine, Jeanne conceived from an early age a devout conviction that she herself was this predestined instrument of Providence; and the idea. thus interwoven with her religion, soon took the form of a direct and irresistible inspiration from above.

Shortly before the commencement of the siege of Orleans the enthusiastic Jeanne sought an interview with Robert de Baudricourt, governor of the neighbouring town of Vaucouleurs, and related to him a strange tale of ecstatic visions and supernatural "voices," -communications from the Archangel Michael, St. Catherine, St. Marguerite-by whom she was charged to rescue the distressed monarch from his enemies, and conduct him in triumph to be crowned at Reims. Baudricourt at first treated her with ridicule as an impostor; but at length, impressed by her simple earnestness. modesty, and importunity, applied to the king for instructions, and despatched the Maid with a sufficient escort to Chinon. Supporting manfully the hardships and fatigues of the long journey, Jeanne reached the court early in March, 1429, and on the fourth day after her arrival was admitted to the presence of Charles. Charles took her apart; and in the conversation which followed Jeanne is said to have given him satisfactory proof of her commission. The king no

longer doubted; but in order to dispel all suspicion from the public mind, the personal character of Jeanne was subjected to strict examination by the clergy at Poitiers, and pronounced on all points unimpeachable. Her fame spread rapidly through the country, and she became the object of universal reverence, admiration, and confidence, as an inspired messenger from above. It was resolved to despatch her, according to her earnest entreaties, to the relief of Orleans. She was furnished with a complete suit of armour, mounted on a war-horse, and girt with a mysterious sword brought by her desire from the church of St. Catherine de Fierbois; a page bore her banner, a white field "fleur-de-lisé," blazoned with a figure . of the Saviour, and the motto "Jesus Maria." On the 27th of April the Maid, after sending a formal summons to the Duke of Bedford, requiring him and his lieutenants to surrender all their fortresses and retire from France, advanced from Blois towards Orleans, attended by several officers. On the 29th she crossed the Loire, and entered the city without opposition from the enemy; and such was the magic effect of her presence both on besiegers and besieged, that on the first sortie one of the English "bastides" was captured and demolished, and its defenders slain to a man. At daybreak on the 7th of May Jeanne headed a concentrated attack on the fort of the Tourelles, the strongest point of the English position. Here, in the hottest of the fight, the heroine received a severe wound in the neck, but, quickly recovering, she hurried again to the front. The troops returned impetuously to the charge; the enemy, panic-struck, gave way after a brief struggle; their leader, (iladsdale, fell into the Loire, and the fortress was won.

The fall of the Tourelles completed the discomfiture of the English. On the very next day they broke up their camp and

retreated, abandoning their baggage and artillery.

§ 19. The victorious "Maid of Orleans" (Pucelle d'Orléans) now urged the king to march without delay upon Reims: "I shall not last," she said, "more than a year; I must employ the time well." After some hesitation her bold counsel was adopted. On the 10th of June the French stormed Jargeau, where the Earl of Suffolk was taken prisoner; on the 18th the same fate befell the gallant Lord Talbot at Patay. Charles's army met with a check at Troyes, which closed its gates and prepared for a siege; but the energy of Jeanne overcame all obstacles; she led the troops undauntedly to the assault, and the garrison, paralyzed by sudden terror, threw down their arms and yielded entrance to the invincible Maid and her train. On the 16th of July the king arrived in sight of Reims, and on the next day Charles received the sacred unction, with all accustomed rites, in its superb cathedral.

Jeanne at once demanded an advance on Paris, but her

movements were hampered by a series of complicated intrigues. The Regent Bedford, alarmed at her rapid success, sought anxiously to renew his alliance with the Duke of Burgundy. That prince was persuaded to come to Paris, and by his exertions, aided by a reinforcement from England under the Cardinal-Bishop of Winchester, a considerable force was collected for the defence of the capital. The Maid of Orleans laboured to infuse vigour into the counsels of Charles, but she found her efforts constantly thwarted by the iealousy of La Trémoille, who spent his time trying to effect a reconciliation with Burgundy. At length she succeeded in bringing the royal army face to face with the English under Bedford at Senlis; but the Regent declined a battle, and retreated towards Paris. Losing all patience, on the 23rd of August Jeanne put the army in motion for Paris, and took possession of St. Denis unopposed. Such, however, was the apathy and incapacity of Charles, and such the bitter ill-will cherished against Jeanne by his chief counsellors, that this advance upon the capital was feebly supported, and ended in failure. The French, betrayed by the inactivity of La Trémoille, were repulsed on the 8th of September in an attack on the Porte St. Honoré; it was determined to retreat; and the Maid, with a heavy heart and deep forebodings of evil, followed the king beyond the Loire. During the winter, which passed in inactivity, Charles granted letters of nobility to the family of Jeanne, and all their posterity both in the male and female line.

In the spring of 1430 the Maid, leaving Charles at the Castle of Sully, again took the field in the north. She threw herself into Compiègne, where she was besieged by Philip of Burgundy. On the 23rd of May she led a vigorous sally; but, encountered by the Burgundians with overpowering numbers, was driven back under the walls of the town, surrounded, and cut off. She surrendered at length to a knight in the service of John of Luxemburg, and was

carried off prisoner to the Burgundian camp at Margni.

§ 20. The prisoner was at once claimed by the University and the Inquisition, as suspected of heresy, sorcery, and other crimes within the cognizance of the Church. After a detention of near six months in various prisons, Jeanne was basely sold to the Duke of Bedford, at the instigation of Philip of Burgundy, for the sum of ten thousand francs. Early in November she was delivered up to the duke's officers at Crotoy, and was taken to Rouen. Bedford and his party thirsted for her blood no less eagerly than the ecclesiastical authorities; and a process in the spiritual courts being deemed the easiest and surest means of effecting her ruin, the Maid was consigned to the hands of one of the most unscrupulous partisans of the English, Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, in whose diocese she had been taken prisoner.

On the 21st of February, 1431, the trial commenced in the chapel of the castle at Rouen, before Cauchon and the vicar of the Inquisitor-General of France, with fifty doctors of the Sorbonne as assessors. For sixteen days did this infamous tribunal exhaust every artifice of legal and theological ingenuity in order to embarrass and entrap a simple uneducated girl, whose only crime was an enthusiastic and unbounded patriotism. Though denied the assistance of an advocate. Jeanne baffled the practised subtlety of her judges, maintained immovably the Divine origin of her visions and "voices," and made no single admission which could justify conviction. In May a special court was constituted to hear the opinions of the University of Paris on the case. Twelve articles



Jeanne d'Arc, the Maid of Orleans. From an ancient MS.

were at length drawn up and read to Jeanne on May 23rd, and the following day was fixed for judgment and execution. On May 24th, she was again brought before the judges, and required to sign an act of recantation, with threats of instant death by fire in case of refusal. Overcome by terror. she set her hand to a paper in which she confessed herself a deliberate deceiver: and was thereupon condemned to the penance of perpetual imprisonment upon bread and water. It is alleged that scandalous means were now resorted to to induce her to with-

draw her confession; and this end was attained in the course of a few days, by her resuming her male attire, and asserting that she had received fresh communications from her attendant saints and angels. Upon this the unhappy girl was handed over as a relapsed penitent to the secular arm; and on the 30th of May, 1431, being brought out upon the market-place of Rouen, she was burnt to death at the stake, affirming with her last breath that her "voices" had not deceived her, and that all she had done had been in accordance with the command of God. Never was there a truer martyrdom than that of the Maid of Orleans.

It is difficult to apportion the amount of guilt among the several actors in this miserable drama. To charge it undividedly upon the

English were a palpable injustice. The fortune of war had thrown into their power an enemy whose unexampled successes threatened the utter ruin of their cause, and who was popularly regarded by their party as no better than an instrument of Satan. The Regent and his council shamefully abused this advantage; but others must at least share the disgrace—the Duke of Burgundy, the heads of the Inquisition, the stern bigots of the Sorbonne, the bloodthirsty Cauchon of Beauvais. And perhaps the blackest part of all, in some respects, must be assigned to Charles VII. Charles made not the slightest effort of intervention to save the life of one to whom he owed all his recent successes, his coronation, and his fair prospect of recovering the whole realm of France. Lord Talbot, who was in the hands of the French, could have been exchanged for her, but, swayed by the counsels of La Trémoille and the Archbishop of Reims, sworn enemies of Jeanne, the king seems to have banished from his mind every sentiment of common gratitude, generosity, and humanity. Twenty years later the sentence was publicly reversed and cancelled; and two solemn processions in honour of the Pucelle were ordained to take place annually at Rouen: one on the Place St. Ouen, where the judgment had been delivered; the other on the old market-place, the scene of the execution.

§ 21. The death of Jeanne d'Arc at first checked the uprising of French nationality, and Bedford was enabled to crown Henry VI. on December 10, 1431, at Notre Dame. After a few weeks, however, Henry left Paris, and retired to Normandy; Chartres capitulated to Dunois; the Regent was defeated in person at Lagny. Still more important was the death of the Duchess of Bedford, sister of Philip of Burgundy, in November, 1432. The tie between them being thus broken, a coolness ensued between the two dukes, which was soon increased by the remarriage of Bedford to Jacquette of Luxemburg, without consultation or communication with Philip: an open rupture was the consequence. Wearied of the English alliance, the Duke of Burgundy had been for some time meditating a reconciliation with Charles VII., which might lead to a general pacification. The wisest of the king's advisers laboured anxiously for the same object; and by the joint agency of the Constable of Richemont and the House of Anjou, the unworthy favourite La Trémoille, who for his own selfish ends opposed this patriotic project, was arrested and imprisoned; a step of which Charles was compelled, after some resistance, to signify his approval. The faithful Richemont and Charles of Anjou, brother of the queen, now held supreme influence at the courts. A general congress for a definite peace met at Arras in August, 1435, and was attended by Philip of Burgundy in person, by numerous and splendid embassies representing the kings of France and England, and by envoys from

the pope, the Council of Basle, the emperor, the kings of Castille and Aragon, and various other powers. The English commissioners, unable to obtain the terms they desired, quitted Arras on the 6th of September. A few days afterwards intelligence arrived of the death of the Regent Bedford, on September the 15th, at Rouen; and the Duke of Burgundy, considering his engagements with the English to be thus at an end, no longer hesitated to follow the line which became him as a prince of the blood royal of France. He offered Charles sincere, though somewhat expensive, terms of reconciliation, and the treaty of Arras was signed on the 21st of September. The king made ample satisfaction to the duke for the assassination of Jean sans Peur, and pleaded his extreme youth as the only excuse for the part he had acted in the tragedy. He also yielded up to Philip the counties of Macon and Auxerre, and other towns and territories on the Somme and in Ponthieu, exempting him from all homage to the crown, and thus recognising him as an independent sovereign. Upon these conditions the duke agreed to forget the past, to support Charles against the English and all other enemies, and observe towards him relations of strict and perpetual amity. Thus ended the feud of the Burgundians and Armagnacs which had convulsed France for upwards of twenty-five years.

§ 22. The peace of Arras was followed on April 13, 1436, by the submission of Paris to the troops of the Duke of Burgundy and the Constable de Richemont. The English, being outnumbered, made good their retreat to the fortress of the Bastille; they soon, however, saw that all was lost, and on April 17th, quitted the city amid the exulting shouts and taunts of the populace. Richemont made a wise and generous use of his victory, by publishing a general amnesty; but for some years, however, the country remained in an unsettled state. The royalist soldiery, uniting with the dregs of the Cabochiens of Paris, threw off all discipline, formed themselves into predatory bands, and pillaged and plundered in all directions. Under the terrible name of "écorcheurs," they renewed all the wildest excesses of the late civil war; and as they were countenanced by officers of reputation, such as La Hire and Santrailles, the constable found it necessary to oppose them resolutely with all the force he could collect. Several hundreds of the brigands were captured and executed. In thus suppressing the "Flavers," the constable was aided by the provost-marshal Tristan l'Hermite, afterwards the dreaded confidential agent of the tyranny of Louis XI.

On the 12th of November, 1437, Charles made his triumphal entry into the capital. He had not visited Paris since that fatal night when he had been carried off from the palace by Tanneguy Duchâtel, on the outbreak of the Burgundian insurrection, nineteen

years before. The king, however, made but a brief sojourn in the city, which suffered fearfully during the winter from a destructive epidemic; nor did he ever reside in Paris for more than a few weeks together during the remainder of his reign.

Charles, who now suddenly displayed an amount of energy, intelligence, and talent for which no one had hitherto given him credit,* convoked the States-General at Orleans in October, 1439, and published in this assembly an ordinance of vast national importance, establishing a permanent military force for the defence of the kingdom. This measure—the true remedy for the destructive ravages of the "écorcheurs"—was unanimously ratified by the three orders. All the officers were to be nominated by the king; and the nobles were forbidden, upon pain of incurring the penalties of high treason, to enrol soldiers henceforth, upon any pretence, without the royal permission. This was a direct attack upon the system of feudalism, abolishing at a stroke one of its most important privileges.

§ 23. It was not to be expected that a change of this nature. however manifestly for the public advantage, could be carried out without determined opposition; and, accordingly, several of the discontented nobility leagued with the leaders of the "écorcheurs" to resist the royal decree. This insurrection, which was called the "Praguerie," in allusion to the Hussite war in Bohemia, which then fixed the attention of Europe, was headed by the dukes of Bourbon and Alencon, the Count of Vendôme, and even by the loyal and valiant Dunois; the disgraced favourite, La Trémoille, embarked in it with zeal; and by their persuasions the restless and ambitious Dauphin Louis was induced to join the movement. The insurgents, however, met with little or no sympathy; the Duke of Burgundy refused them his support, and the Duke of Bourbon found himself unable to command the adherence even of his own immediate vassals. The king, vigorously seconded by the Constable Richemont, dislodged the rebels without difficulty from all their positions, and soon reduced them to submission.

Further successes of the royal arms in Gascony and Normandy disposed the English, in 1444, to negotiate for peace; and the Earl of Suffolk, being despatched as plenipotentiary, a conference was held at Tours, when Charles consented to an armistice of twenty-two months, each side to retain the territories of which they were actually in possession. This treaty also stipulated a marriage between Henry of England and the youthful and beautiful Marguerite of Anjou, daughter of Réné, titular king of Sicily, and niece of the Queen of France. The marriage was celebrated at Nancy in the spring of 1445.

^{*} This remarkable change in the king's conduct is ascribed by Brantôme and others to the influence of his mistress, Agnes Sorel.

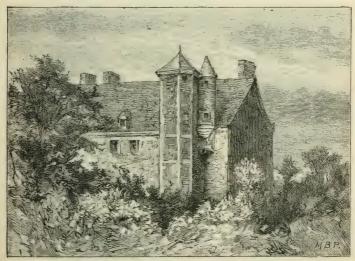
§ 24. This great obstacle to the re-establishment of order being now removed, Charles found himself in a position to carry out the statute passed at Orleans for the constitution of a regular standing army. The military force in the pay of the crown was reduced, according to the terms of the edict, to fifteen "compagnies d'ordonnance" of one hundred lances each. To each of these lances were attached three archers, a page, and a "coutiller;" so that the entire strength amounted to 9000 men-at-arms. The "compagnies" were now distributed in the various towns throughout the kingdom. the largest garrisons consisting of not more than twenty "lances;" and disorder was everywhere replaced by discipline and a general sense of security. The military organization was completed, three years later, by the creation of an infantry force, called the "free archers," because these soldiers were exempted from payment of the taille. Each of the 16,000 parishes of France was bound to furnish one bowman, fully armed and equipped, to be ready to serve when called upon, at a pay of four livres per month. It is scarcely necessary to remark the enormous increase of power which was thus thrown into the hands of the sovereign.

§ 25. The truce with England, which had been several times prolonged, was suddenly broken in the spring of 1449, when the town of Fougères, belonging to the Duke of Brittany, was attacked and plundered by a band of adventurers in the English service. Satisfaction having been demanded without result, the royal army entered Normandy under the orders of Dunois. In the course of two years the English were driven out of Normandy; and in 1451 the French recovered Gascony, which, for the space of three centuries, had acknowledged the English rule. In the 1, wing year (1452) the Gascons rose against the French, and an armament under the command of Talbot, now Earl of Shrewsbury, and nearly eighty years of age, appeared before Bordeaux and entered the city without resistance, the garrison having previously retired. But in 1453 the English were defeated, and the noble Talbot was mortally wounded. The broken remnant of his army repassed the Channel, and no further effort was made by the English government to renew the struggle. The dream of Anglo-Saxon domination on the Continent was at length finally dispelled. Of all the conquests in a war of one hundred and twenty years' duration, nothing now remained except the towns of Calais and Guines, with the narrow strip of adjacent territory.

§ 26. Charles had fairly earned the epithet of "LeVictorieux," and had become one of the most powerful sovereigns of Europe. Nevertheless, his latter years were perhaps the most unhappy of his reign; they were constantly embittered by domestic feud, and especially by the factious conduct of the dauphin. Ever since the affair of the

Praguerie the king and his son had lived in mutual suspicion and estrangement. The court of Louis in Dauphiné became the centre of intrigues against the government; he married a princess of Savoy in direct opposition to his father's wishes; he maintained a close intimacy with the Duke of Burgundy, the great rival of the French monarchy, and he at length took refuge at the Flemish court at Brussels.

Relapsing into his constitutional indolence, Charles surrendered himself more and more to the dominion of selfish and unworthy ministers and mistresses. Agnes Sorel had died in 1450, and had been succeeded in the king's affections by Antoinette de Maignelais. whose influence was uniformly bad. Tormented by morbid apprehensions of all kinds, and especially by the idea that the dauphin was constantly plotting against his life, the wretched king sunk gradually into a state bordering on insanity, a tendency to which he is said to have inherited from his father. He died on the 22nd of July, 1461, at Méhun-sur-Yèvre. He had reached the age of fifty-eight, and had reigned nearly thirty-nine years.



Plessis-les-Tours, residence of Louis XI., near Tours.



Louis XI. From a very rare medal preserved at Paris.

CHAPTER X.

LOUIS XI. AND CHARLES VIII. A.D. 1461-1498.

§ 1. Accession of Louis XI.; his character. § 2. Revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction; territorial acquisitions of Louis; the "League of the Public Good; "battle of Montl'hery; treaty of Conflans. § 3. Normandy resumed by Louis; the king excites rebellion against the Duke of Burgundy; accession of Charles the Bold; enmity between Louis and Charles. § 4. Louis XI. at Peronne. § 5. Cardinal de Balue. § 6. Interference of Louis in the affairs of England; death of the Duke of Guienne; hostilities against Charles of Burgundy. § 7. Severities of Louis against the great nobles; intrigues of the Duke of Burgundy; treaties of Pequigny and Soleure; execution of the Constable St. Pol. § 8. War of Charles the Bold against the Swiss; battle of Nancy and death of Charles; Louis seizes the duchy of Burgundy. § 9. Louis foments insurrection against Mary of Burgundy; her marriage with Maximilian of Austria; execution of the Duke of Nemours. § 10. War with Maximilian; death of Mary of Burgundy; treaty of Arras. § 11. Annexation of Anjou, Maine, and Provence. Success and power of Louis; bis latter years; the castle of Plessis-les-Tours; death of Louis. § 12. Accession of CHARLES VIII.; Anne of Beaujeu; Louis of Orleans; the States-General at Tours. § 13. Revolt of the Duke of Orleans; death of Francis Duke of Brittany; intrigues for the possession of Brittany; Anne betrothed to the Emperor Maximilian; her marriage with

Charles VIII. of France; peace of Senlis; peace of Etaples. § 14. Expedition of Charles VIII. to Italy; he enters Naples; coalition against him; his retreat; battle of Fornovo. § 15. Battle of Seminara; capitulation of Atella; the French expelled from Italy. § 16. Death of Charles VIII.

§ 1. Louis XI., 1461-1483.—Louis, who was still in Flanders when he received the news of his accession, immediately set out for France, accompanied by Philip of Burgundy, who assembled for his escort an immense multitude of nobles and knights, approaching in numbers to an army. Louis, distrusting this splendid demonstration, persuaded the duke to dismiss the greater part of his armed followers, retaining only his ordinary suite, and, thus reassured, he proceeded without delay to celebrate his coronation at Reims. Louis entered the capital, and at once removed from their offices the ministers of the late reign, replacing them by men who would consent to be the mere agents of the royal will.

The new king ascended the throne in the full vigour of manhood and matured experience. Gifted by nature with a good understanding, keen sagacity, and a resolute will, he had early proposed to himself a definite policy, namely, the overthrow of feudalism, the reduction of the great nobles to comparative insignificance, and the concentration of the government in the hands of the Crown. No man was ever better qualified to succeed in such an enterprise. Government was with him a science: he had studied it profoundly, and had learned how to profit to the utmost by the weakness, the vices, and the passions of mankind. A consummate master of the arts of dissimulation and duplicity, he made it the main business of his life to overreach and circumvent others, and accounted successful fraud the most conspicuous proof of talent. Where his predecessors would have employed violence, Louis trusted to cajolery, corruption, and perfidy. He always preferred a tortuous to a straightforward path. He understood to perfection how to play off one class or interest against another; how to scatter the seeds of division and estrangement so as to profit afterwards by the discord he had fomented. At the same time his history is full of strange contrasts and anomalies. Louis realized his objects as a sovereign by sacrificing without scruple all his obligations as a man; and the consequence is that he will be estimated very differently according as we regard him in his public or in his private capacity. Few princes have done more to extend the power and exalt the dignity of France: few have left upon the page of history a personal portrait of darker colouring.

§ 2. One of the first steps of Louis was to revoke the celebrated enactment of his father called the Pragmatic Sanction, which was

regarded as the main charter of the liberties of the Gallican Church. This was at once an insult to the memory of Charles VII., a sore offence to the nobility, who were thus deprived of considerable ecclesiastical patronage and influence, and a source of discontent and irritation among the clergy of all ranks. The parlement refused to ratify the decree of abolition; the king, however, anxious to gratify the Holy See, declined to interfere further, and the question remained in dispute during his whole reign. The court of Rome, treating the Pragmatic Sanction as null and void, assumed the nomination to benefices throughout the kingdom. The parlement denied this right, and encouraged and supported all who showed themselves disposed to contest it. The king, without coming to an open rupture either with one party or the other, sided by turns with both according to the dictates of his interest.

In 1462 Louis acquired possession of the territories of Roussillon and Cerdagne, which were pledged to him by Juan II. of Aragon in security for the payment of a large sum lent by Louis for the prosecution of the war against the revolted Catalans. While thus extending his frontier towards the south, the king, in October, 1463, concluded a negotiation with the Duke of Burgundy, by which he redeemed, for the sum of 400,000 crowns, the towns of Amiens, Abbeville, Corbeil, Peronne, Roie, Montdidier, and St. Quentin, ceded by the treaty of Arras. This transaction drew upon Louis the bitter and mortal enmity of the duke's eldest son, Charles Count of Charolois, afterwards so celebrated under the name of Charles le Téméraire, or the Bold.

Before Louis had been four years on the throne he had excited against himself a deep spirit of hostility, which extended through all classes of society. Nobles, clergy, bourgeoisie, had been alike alienated by various acts of provocation, while at the head of the malcontents were several feudal princes. Francis II., Duke of Brittany, anxious to secure the independence of his duchy, now entered into a strict alliance with the Count of Charolois against the King of France; and towards the close of 1454 the conspiracy was fully organized by the adhesion of the Dukes of Bourbon, Lorraine, Alençon, and Nemours. The Duke of Berry suddenly made his escape from court, joined the confederates at Nantes, and placed himself at the head of the league.

· The coalition, which assumed the name of the "League of the Public Good," published a manifesto (1465) setting forth the views of its members for the reformation of the state, and commenced hostilities. Louis, cool and undismayed, issued a reply to the statement of the princes, in which he pointedly observed that, if he had been willing to augment their revenues and permit them to trample upon their vassals as in times gone by, they would never have

concerned themselves about the "public good." An indecisive battle was fought on the 16th of July at Montl'héry between the king and the Count of Charolois; but Louis secured his real object, which was to gain possession of the capital. He entered Paris two days after the battle, and laboured to win the confidence and support of the citizens. The success of these efforts placed him in a position of so much advantage, that, when the army of the confederate princes approached Paris, they gladly accepted the king's first overtures of pacification. A private interview took place between Louis and the Count of Charolois; and by the treaty of Conflans, Louis, who was determined to dissolve the hostile combination at whatever price, agreed to conditions of peace deeply humiliating to his crown, and conceded all the demands of his rebellious vassals without exception or reserve. Every one of them carried off his share of the spoil. The towns on the Somme were once more relinquished to the Duke of Burgundy; the Duke of Berry was invested with the hereditary appanage of Normandy; the Duke of Brittany was presented with the counties of Etampes and Montfort; the constable's sword was delivered to the Count of St. Pol. The only article at all relating to the "public good" was one inserted for form's sake, appointing a council for the investigation of alleged abuses, with the power of applying a remedy under the sanction of the king.

§ 3. But Louis, although compelled to yield by the pressing necessities of the moment, never intended to execute in good faith an engagement which must have resulted in the ruin of the monarchy. His object was to gain time, to disunite the confederates, to enfeeble them by jealousy and rivalry, and, by some of those stratagems, to strip them of their acquisitions and lay them helpless at his feet. That article of the treaty by which the duchy of Normandy was ceded to the king's brother was at once rejected by the parlement as an illegal dismemberment of the kingdom; and Louis soon found means to reannex the province to the crown. Dissensions were excited between the young duke and his neighbour, the Duke of Brittany, and the latter withdrew to his estates in deep displeasure. The king now adroitly opened a correspondence with him, and purchased by a large bribe his tacit acquiescence in his design for the seizure of Normandy. The Count of Charolois was in no condition to interfere, being occupied at the moment in reducing an insurrection of the citizens of Liége, which was the secret work of Louis; and other principal members of the league were skilfully won over to the royal interests. Before the close of the year 1465 Louis entered Normandy at the head of his army, appeared before Rouen, and gained possession of that capital without a struggle; and in January, 1466, the king formally

resumed the government of the duchy of Normandy, as being a province inalienable from the crown according to the constitution of the realm.

The death of Philip of Burgundy occurred at Bruges in the following year (June 15, 1467), and Charles the Bold succeeded to his vast inheritance. The whole of his reign of ten years was a continued struggle against his antagonist, Louis of France, to whom in character and policy he presented a most singular contrast.

§ 4. Louis, anxious to strengthen himself by some expression of popular approbation and sympathy, convoked the States-General at Tours in the spring of 1468. That assembly, subservient to the last degree to the royal will, declared Normandy inseparable from the crown, warned the Duke of Berry to content himself with his annual pension of 60,000 livres, and rebuked the Duke of Brittany for having risen in arms against his suzerain, and entered into alliance with the English, those inveterate enemies of France. The States were dismissed after a session of eight days; and the king, assembling two formidable armies, poured them into Lower Normandy and Brittany, quickly recovered several towns which had been seized by the Bretons, and forced his brother and the Duke of Brittany to sign a peace at Ancenis (Sept.), by which they abandoned the alliance of the Duke of Burgundy, and engaged to support the king against all opponents. The news of this treaty reached Charles at Peronne, where he had ordered his forces to assemble with the purpose of joining his allies in a combined attack upon France. Furious at their defection, the duke demanded of Louis the full execution of the treaty of Conflans, with immediate war as the alternative. Had Louis accepted the challenge, and commenced hostilities forthwith, it is more than probable that, in the state of isolation to which Charles was then reduced, his arms would have been crowned with decisive success. But this was a course too bold and direct for his peculiar disposition; he preferred the crooked paths of subtlety and cunning; and resolved at this critical moment on the hazardous step of seeking a personal conference with his rival at Peronne. In vain was the king's purpose combated by Dammartin and other experienced officers—he suffered himself to be swaved by the counsel of the Cardinal de Balue; and early in October, 1468, having obtained a written safe-conduct from the duke, set out with a slender escort for Peronne. Louis relied on his diplomatic skill; but on this occasion he narrowly escaped paying for his rashness with his life. On reaching Peronne he was received by the duke with all outward respect and honour, and lodged, by his own desire, in the ancient castle, in order to secure himself from treachery on the part of Charles's followers. Negotiations commenced, and proceeded amicably for some days,

when suddenly messengers arrived with tidings of a fresh outbreak at Liége, in which (so it was falsely reported) the bishop had been foully assassinated, together with the principal members of the chapter, his counsellors, and a Burgundian nobleman named Humbercourt. It was added that well-known envoys of the King of France were present at the massacre.

Charles burst forth into an ungovernable transport of rage. He ordered the gates of the fortress to be closed and trebly guarded. so that Louis found himself a prisoner in his apartments, which looked out on an ill-omened tower where one of his predecessors. Charles the Simple, had met his death from the hands of his vassal. Herbert of Vermandois. The duke at first meditated nothing short of shedding the blood of his royal captive, who was to be replaced on the throne by his brother the Duke of Berry; and messengers were on the point of being despatched to summon that young prince to Peronne. As the storm of passion gradually subsided. Charles was persuaded, chiefly, it is believed, by the historian Philip de Comines, to listen to more reasonable counsels; but the struggle lasted for three days, and during one whole night the duke never undressed, but continued to pace his chamber in restless agitation. Recovering some degree of calmness, he released Louis from personal constraint, exacting, however, as the price of his liberty, several conditions of the most mortifying kind. The king bound himself by oath, upon a celebrated relic called the cross of St. Laud, which he was known to hold in the deepest veneration, to give complete execution to the treaty of Conflans, and to resign to his brother the government of Champagne and Brie in exchange for Normandy. But that which galled him most was a promise extorted from him to march in company with the Duke of Burgundy against Liége and witness the merciless punishment inflicted on that city for a rebellion which he had himself suggested and supported. The Burgundian army was immediately put in motion: Liége. surprised in a defenceless state, was stormed and captured, after a fierce struggle, on the 30th of October; and the town was afterwards consigned to the same atrocities which had been enacted the year before at Dinant. Louis was spared the horrors of the closing scene, and retired to hide his shame, vexation, and resentment at Tours. The Parisians did not spare their raillery upon the notable expedition to Peronne.

§ 5. Having escaped from this perilous predicament, the king lost no time in repairing, as far as possible, the effects of his strange imprudence. The possession of Champagne would have placed his brother in too close proximity to Charles of Burgundy; he therefore proposed to him as a substitute the remote duchy of Aquitaine or Guienne. This project was betrayed to the Duke of Burgundy.

by the Cardinal de Balue; and letters having been intercepted which compromised the cardinal, that faithless minister was arrested, stripped of his property, and confined in a dungeon at Loches, in a cage of iron, the idea of which is said to have been suggested by himself to Louis on a former occasion. Prince Charles was now easily persuaded to accept Guienne, and, at an interview with the king in April, 1469, concluded a treaty by which he separated himself entirely from the Duke of Burgundy, and even declined a proffered alliance with that prince's only daughter and

heiress, afterwards the celebrated Mary of Burgundy.

§ 6. In the long struggle between the houses of Lancaster and York, Louis and Charles, as might be expected, took opposite sides. The king, naturally inclined towards his kinswoman Marguerite of Anjou, supported the Lancastrians; the duke, who had lately received the hand of the Princess Margaret, sister of Edward, was a zealous partisan of the reigning monarch, and took a pride in displaying on all public occasions the order of the Garter and the red cross of St. George. Louis assisted the "king-making" Earl of Warwick and Queen Marguerite in an expedition for the purpose of reinstating the unfortunate Henry on the throne of England. This expedition was for a time crowned with success, and Edward embarked for Flanders; but the decisive battle of Barnet, fought shortly afterwards (April 14, 1471), again placed Edward on the throne, and extinguished the hopes of the Lancastrians. Their champion Warwick was no more, Prince Edward was murdered at Tewkesbury, Marguerite became a prisoner, Henry perished in the Tower. This change of affairs in England, while it greatly encouraged the Burgundians, damaged the prospects of Louis. The malcontent princes renewed their intrigues; the Duke of Guienne, in alliance with Charles of Burgundy and Francis of Brittany, levied his forces under the command of the Count of Armagnac; and although Louis offered to treat upon terms of almost abject concession, everything seemed to threaten a great explosion. But fortune once more favoured Louis at this crisis; the Duke of Guienne expired at Bordeaux in May, 1472, after a lingering illness. His death, so manifestly advantageous to the king, was not unnaturally attributed to poison administered by his means; but although the circumstances were suspicious, there is no direct evidence to prove Louis guilty of the crime.

The Duke of Burgundy, though disconcerted by the loss of his most important ally, formally declared war against France in June, 1472, and having barbarously pillaged and sacked the town of Nesle in Picardy, besieged Beauvais, which made a desperate and memorable defence. The city owed its safety, in great measure, to the heroic bravery of its female inhabitants, among whom a young girl,

called Jeanne la Hachette, was especially distinguished. After a furious struggle, in which the assailants were repulsed with fearful carnage, the siege was raised on the 22nd of July. This event is still commemorated by an annual procession instituted by Louis, in which women take the precedence over men. Charles agreed to an armistice for five months, which was prolonged for upwards of two years.

It was about this time that the celebrated Philip de Comines quitted the service of Charles, and attached himself to that of his rival, a prince far better qualified to appreciate his character, in some points not unlike his own. De Comines spent the rest of his life at the French court, and wrote his "Memoirs" during the reign of Charles VIII.

§ 7. Louis had now leisure to avenge himself on several of the feudal nobles who had hitherto refused to submit to his arbitrary rule. The Duke of Alençon was deprived of his possessions, and imprisoned for life; the Count of Armagnac was cruelly murdered in the presence of his wife; while a third prince, Nicholas, Duke of Lorraine, a stanch ally of the Duke of Burgundy, died so suddenly about the same period, that the usual explanation of poison was freely circulated, and common report accused Louis of having instigated the deed.

In 1475 Louis was menaced by a fresh confederacy formed by the Duke of Burgundy with Edward IV. of England and the Duke of Brittany, by which Edward engaged to reassert the ancient claims of his predecessors to the throne of France, and to cede Picardy and Champagne to Burgundy when those provinces should have been won by force of arms. The King of England landed at Calais in the summer, with an army of 30,000 men, well provided with artillery and all the munitions of war. But instead of being joined immediately, according to stipulation, by the Burgundian forces, Edward found that his ally, who had lately sacrificed a large part of his army in an ill-advised invasion of the territory of Cologne, was in no condition to take the field. The English began to murmur, and complained of treachery; misunderstandings ensued between Edward and the duke, and the plan of the campaign was ruined. Charles retired to his dominions, and the invading army, on advancing to St. Quentin, where Edward had reckoned on the aid of the Constable St. Pol. found the gates closed, and was assailed by a vigorous cannonade. During all this time no hostile demonstration whatever was made on the part of Louis; he had no intention of repelling the invasion by force, but used the more congenial policy of crafty negotiation. He plied Edward with personal flattery and alluring promises; he scattered large bribes among his nobles and officers; and at length it was agreed that

an interview should take place between the two monarchs for the purpose of arranging conditions of peace. They met at Pecquigny, near Amiens, August 29, 1475, on a bridge over the Somme, where Louis, mindful of the catastrophe of Montereau, had taken all pessible precautions against treacherous surprise. The princes were separated by a solid wooden framework, without doorway or any means of passage; they conversed through a lattice, and thus ratified the treaty, the provisions of which had been arranged beforehand. Louis agreed to pay the expenses of the expedition, and an annual sum of 50,000 crowns during the joint lives of himself and Edward; he further betrothed his son, the Dauphin Charles, to Edward's eldest daughter, engaging that the marriage should take place as soon as the parties attained the proper age. A truce was proclaimed for seven years, and Edward subsequently

concluded at Soleure a peace with Louis for nine years.

It was one of the stipulations between Charles and Louis that the Constable St. Pol, whose multiplied treasons to both princes were notorious, should be given up to the justice of the king. Louis wrote to command the constable's attendance, observing that weighty questions were pending, in which such a head as his would be of great advantage to him.* St. Pol, at once seizing the drift of this ominous piece of irony, fled to Mons, where he threw himself on the protection of Charles. Louis, however, insisted on the duke's fulfilling his engagement, and the unhappy constable was delivered over to the French authorities, and conducted to the Bastille. His guilt was so manifest, that the parlement had little more to do than to pronounce his sentence; on the 10th of December, 1475, he was executed on the Place de Grève. This was perhaps the boldest blow that had yet been struck against the feudal aristocracy. St. Pol, independently of his vast possessions and personal influence, was a member of the imperial family of Luxemburg, had been married to a sister of the Queen of France. and was connected with several of the sovereign houses of Europe.

§ 8. In return for abandoning the constable, Charles was permitted, without opposition from Louis, to take possession of Lorraine; and, to the great satisfaction of his rival, he plunged immediately afterwards into war with the Swiss, from whom, with the secret encouragement of Louis, he had received several affronts. The king seems to have had an instinctive conviction that this conflict with "les hautes Allemaignes," as Switzerland was then called, would prove the ruin of his enemy. While at Lyons he

^{*} The king added, in conversation with those around him, that it was only the Constable's head that he desired; his body might remain where it was.

received intelligence of the battle of Granson, fought March 2, 1476, in which the army of Charles was ignominiously routed by the mountaineers, who afterwards enriched themselves with the spoil of the Burgundian camp. Within three months after the defeat of Granson, Charles was again in the field, and a second and far more bloody battle ensued at Morat, when 10,000 of the Burgundians were slain. The duke's fortunes now seemed desperate. Symptoms of disaffection began to appear among his subjects; Lorraine was instantly lost, and the young Duke Réné re-entered Nancy in triumph. Braving his fate, Charles gathered the relics of his shattered host and laid siege to that city in October, 1476. Réné succeeded in levying, by the aid of French gold, an army of 20,000 mercenaries from Switzerland, Alsace, and other quarters, and early in January, 1477, advanced to the relief of his capital. The duke's officers in vain implored him to retire before this vastly superior force; Charles was obstinately resolved to run the hazard of a decisive battle. In the engagement which ensued, the Burgundians, deserted and betrayed by the Count of Campobasso, an Italian soldier of fortune to whom Charles had rashly given his confidence, were totally overwhelmed. The unfortunate duke, desperately wounded, disappeared in the thick of the fight, and his body was not discovered till two days afterwards, half immersed in a frozen pond, and grievously mutilated. He was honourably buried at Nancy by the generous conqueror, Réné of Lorraine.*

Thus perished the last Duke of Burgundy of the house of Valois. Louis was clated by the news of an event which swept from his path the most formidable of his enemies, and seemed to ensure to him the undisputed dominion which had been his constant aim. The hand of the young heiress of Burgundy was eagerly sought by several of the reigning houses of Europe, and Louis was no less anxious than the rest to secure the prize, but the dauphin was at this time scarcely seven years old, and there were obvious impediments in the way of his union with a princess of twenty, even

* The following is the inscription on the "Croix de Bourgogne," near Nancy, marking the spot where the corpse of Charles was found:—

"L'an de l'Incarnation
Mille quatre cent septante six,
Veille de l'Apparition,'
Fut le Duc de Bourgogne occis,
Et en bataille ici tanscé
Où croix fut mise pour mémoire,
Réné Duc de Lorraine merci
Rendant à Dieu pour la victoire."

¹ Feast of the Epiphany, Jan. 6.

supposing her own consent to be obtained. The king therefore, without abandoning the project of the marriage, resolved to support his pretensions by decisive measures of a very different kind. No sooner did he receive certain intelligence of the death of Charles, than he sent directions to the Sire de Craon to take possession, with 700 lances, of the duchy of Burgundy and the Franche-Comté, and despatched a second force under the Bastard of Bourbon and Philip de Comines to occupy Picardy and Artois. As a pretext for this violence, Louis insisted that the fiefs of Burgundy and Artois had reverted to the crown by the death of Charles without male heirs; while with the same breath he protested that he would watch over the rights of Mary, his kinswoman and god-daughter, as over his own, and that he purposed to complete in due time the matrimonial alliance between the two houses which had already been arranged with the late duke. The states of Burgundy in vain declared that female heirs were not excluded by the tenure of that appanage, and that King John, by whom it had been granted to the ancestor of Charles, had himself derived it through the female line; moreover, that the house of Burgundy still possessed a male representative in the person of the Count de Nevers, grandson of Duke Jean-sans-Peur. These arguments availed nothing against the legions of France, which had already seized all the military posts and chief towns of the duchy. The states had no alternative but to submit; and Louis, after renewing his promise to respect the rights of Mary, and engaging to maintain all the ancient privileges of the province. was recognised as sovereign of Burgundy, and reunited that important territory to his crown. The king's officers were no less successful in Picardy and Artois, which submitted by the beginning of April, 1477.

§ 9. Meanwhile another of Louis's agents, Olivier le Daim, was labouring secretly to stir up disaffection and revolt against Mary at Ghent and other towns of Flanders. The turbulent citizens rose. refused to pay the taxes, clamoured loudly for the restitution of their popular liberties, and exacted from the helpless duchess a promise to dismiss her father's counsellors, and to do nothing without the advice and sanction of the people in their national assembly. Mary, in extreme perplexity, sent two of her confidential servants, the Chancellor Hugonet and the Sire d'Imbercourt, as ambassadors to Louis, then at Peronne. They were charged to offer the restoration of the towns and territory ceded by the peace of Arras, with other concessions, on condition of his maintaining the truce and desisting from further claims. Louis returned an evasive answer; and deputies arriving soon afterwards from the Flemish parliament, the king had the baseness to place in their hands the letter he had just received from Mary, as a proof that she had no sincere purpose

to abide by the engagement just contracted with her people. The indignant burgesses returned to Ghent, and at a public audience reproached Mary in insulting terms with her duplicity. A violent explosion of popular fury was the consequence. The unfortunate ministers, Hugonet and Imbercourt, were arrested, put to the torture, condemned to death after a hurried trial, and, in spite of the entreaties of their mistress, beheaded almost in her presence. From this moment the princess conceived a profound abhorrence of Louis, and resolved that nothing should ever induce her to ally herself with his family. Her subjects seem to fully have shared her feelings, and it was with their entire approval that Mary determined to bestow her hand on the Archduke Maximilian of Austria. The archduke arrived at Ghent on the 18th of August, and the marriage, destined to produce results even more momentous and lasting than were contemplated at the time, was solemnized two days afterwards. Thus did the tortuous cunning of Louis once more overshoot its mark. This celebrated marriage laid the foundation of the greatness of the house of Austria, and became the origin of a fierce rivalry between France and Austria which lasted for near two hundred years.

It was during the progress of these events that Louis sacrificed another victim to his merciless jealousy of the great nobles, in the person of Jacques d'Armagnac, Duke of Nemours, a grandson of the famous Constable d'Armagnac. The duke had been a prominent actor in the League of the Public Good, as well as in other plots against the king, and at different times had thrown himself upon the royal mercy and received a pardon. In August, 1476, he

was arrested, and, a year later, executed at Paris.

§ 10. Although a truce had been made with Maximilian, desultory hostilities continued for several years between him and Louis, and in August, 1479, the undecisive battle of Guinegate was fought. The French king, however, at length became convinced that he was not likely to succeed further in his projects against the house of Burgundy, and turned his thoughts seriously towards a definitive peace. The premature death of the Duchess Mary, in March, 1482, contributed to hasten this result, since Maximilian, after her decease, was no longer regarded by the Flemings as their sovereign, and the council of regency, scarcely consulting him, opened direct communications with Louis. The conditions of the treaty of Arras, signed December 23, 1482, were far more favourable to France than could have been expected from the recent course of events. Margaret, the infant daughter of Maximilian and Mary, was affianced to the Dauphin Charles, and placed in the hands of Louis to be educated as the future Queen of France. A rich dowry was annexed to the contemplated union;

the counties of Artois, Burgundy, Macon, and Auxerre,-which were to revert, however, to the young Duke Philip, brother of Margaret, in case of the failure of issue of the marriage, or of its never taking place. The king abandoned his claims upon French Flanders, exempted the Netherlands from the contested jurisdiction of the parlement of Paris, and engaged never again to countenance the turbulent burghers of Liége, Utrecht, and other districts in revolt against their sovereign. No mention was made in the treaty of the ducky of Burgundy, and that great province was thus tacitly and irrevocably abandoned to the royal house of France. The new arrangement was a direct violation of the treaty of Pecquigny, by which the dauphin had been betrothed to the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV.; that princess had even assumed the title of Dauphiness of France. Furious at this outrage, Edward resolved to demand prompt satisfaction at the point of the sword, and began to make serious preparations for an invasion of France; but his sudden death, in April, 1483, cut short his plans of vengeance; and Louis, by another stroke of that good fortune which so strangely befriended him, was thus relieved of the only enemy whom he had cause to fear.

§ 11. Notwithstanding manifold checks and reverses, Louis had now good reason to congratulate himself on the substantial success of his schemes of self-aggrandisement. Besides the wide territories acquired by the spoliation of the house of Burgundy, the death of Réné of Anjou, in July, 1480, had restored to the crown that appanage, and Louis took the opportunity of seizing Bar. counties of Maine and Provence, bequeathed to the king by Réné, after the decease of his nephew Charles of Anjou, came into his possession in the course of the following year. By this last addition the boundaries of France were extended to the Alps. The district of Roussillon and Cerdagne, the counties of Alencon and Perche, and the long-contested duchy of Guienne, were also annexed to the monarchy during the reign. Of the great feudal principalities only one now remained that was at all considerable, that of Brittany. The factious nobles had been cowed into abject submission; and by the terror of his name, by statecraft, and by systematic corruption, Louis had acquired a widespread influence and ascendency among foreign powers.

But scarcely was the success of his policy assured, when an attack of apoplexy, by which he was visited in March, 1480, warned Louis that he was approaching the close of his strange career. He rallied from this first stroke, and, although greatly enfeebled, resumed his usual habits; but a second fit, in 1481, reduced his powers still further, and from this period his existence became precarious from day to day, and his condition, both physical and moral, pitiable in

the extreme. Conscious that his cruelties had made him the object of universal detestation, he was haunted by suspicions of treachery and violence; and, to escape this peril, immured himself in his gloomy fortress-like palace of Plessis-les-Tours, close to the town of Tours. The castle of Plessis was encircled by a broad fosse and solid ramparts, flanked by towers, in each of which a guard of archers was posted night and day. No one passed into the interior without an express order from the king; and the sentinels were charged to fire indiscriminately upon any one who should venture within range of their weapons after nightfall. Living in isolation from his family. Louis received only the occasional visits of his daughter Anne and her husband the Sire de Beaujeu; and even they were distrusted and closely watched. The king's confidential attendants were his "gossip" Tristan l'Hermite, the unscrupulous instrument of his vindictive crimes, and his physician, Jacques Coittier, a man of rude and brutal manners, who had completely enslaved his patient by practising on his fears and superstition, and wrung from him during the last few months of his life no less a sum than eighty thousand crowns.

It was in vain that the dying monarch heaped costly offerings upon the shrines of the Virgin and the saints for the boon of restored health. His situation became daily more alarming, and on the 25th of August, 1483, he experienced a third stroke of apoplexy, which deprived him of speech and consciousness. Recovering his senses, he feebly demanded the Sire de Beaujeu, and sent him with his last injunctions to his son the dauphin at Amboise. Louis languished some days longer, during which he retained possession of his faculties, and continued to discourse with his attendants on the business and interests of the kingdom. He expired on the

30th of August, 1483, in the sixty-first year of his age.

§ 12. CHARLES VIII., surnamed "l'Affable," 1483-1498.—The crimes and severities of Louis had far more deeply impressed the public mind than the solid advantages which he had conferred on France; and his death was hailed as a welcome deliverance from the yoke of insupportable tyranny. A reaction was natural and inevitable. The successor to the throne, Charles VIII., was a youth scarcely more than thirteen years of age, feeble and even deformed in person, lamentably ignorant, and with no promise of mental ability. He had attained his legal majority, but it was evident that for some years at least the government must be administered by others; and a contest followed for the chief authority between the Princess Anne, called the "Dame de Beaujeu," to whom Louis on his death-bed had confided the charge and education of his son, and Louis, Duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood, and legic presumptive to the crown, whom

the late king had married to his younger daughter Jeanne. It was agreed to refer the question to the States-General, and that body accordingly met at Tours in January, 1484. After long debates, a decree was framed, by which the executive Council of State was to consist of the princes of the blood, the principal minister of the late king, and twelve other members, to be chosen by the existing council from the states themselves. Over this council the king was to preside in person, his right and competency to exercise his functions being expressly recognised; in his absence the chief place was assigned to the Duke of Orleans; and next in order were named the Duke of Bourbon, Constable of France, and the Sire de Beaujeu. The assembly then proceeded to the discussion of public grievances, in which they displayed considerable boldness. The representatives of the clergy demanded the formal re-establishment and exact observance of the Pragmatic Sanction. The nobles complained of the too frequent military levies, and required that the command of frontier fortresses, and other places of high trust, should not, as in the late reign, be bestowed on foreigners. The deputies of the tiers état protested against the exactions of the pope, the clergy, and the monasteries, petitioned for a remission of taxes, and praved that the army might be reduced to the footing on which it had been placed by Charles VII. Lastly, the three orders concurred in representing to the king the urgent duty of convoking the legislative body regularly once in two years, agreeably to ancient custom. To this spirited manifesto the court returned an evasive reply; and a moderate subsidy having been voted, not without some difficulty, the States-General were dissolved, after a session of something more than two months. No further attention was paid to their demands; and the constitutional legislature thus failed once more to assert its authority in the state.

§ 13. The Duke of Orleans now imagined himself sure of the chief place in the administration of affairs; but he was dexterously defeated by Anne of Beaujeu, who, being confirmed in the guardianship of the king's person, exercised over him such a paramount influence that he spoke and acted solely by her dictation. The baffled duke took up arms, and was supported by the Duke of Brittany and other nobles. The royal forces were, however, victorious, and the Duke of Orleans was taken prisoner and confined in the castle of Bourges. The Duke of Brittany, who had been the soul of the coalition, died shortly afterwards (Sept. 9, 1488), leaving his estates to his elder daughter, Anne of Brittany, then in her thirteenth year.

The opportunity thus offered for annexing the duchy of Brittany to the French crown was not lost upon Anne, who had lately become, by the death of her husband's elder brother, Duchess

of Bourbon. Charles, by her instigation, immediately claimed the guardianship of the young duchess, and required that she should not assume her title until the question of succession had been judicially determined between herself and the king. These demands being rejected, a French army invaded the duchy, and quickly reduced Brest and other important towns, with the evident purpose of forcing the duchess to an unconditional submission. But these movements excited the fears of rival powers: and a league was rapidly formed between Maximilian, King of the Romans, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and Henry VII. of England, to preserve the independence of Brittany, and prevent the further aggrandisement of the French monarchy. Both a Spanish and an English force landed on the coast of Brittany in the spring of 1489. No general engagement took place, but the country was plundered and wasted alike by friend and foe; and the King of England showed so little warmth in the cause he had undertaken, that after an inactive and fruitless campaign he recalled his troops. The young duchess, anxiously looking round for succour, and besieged by contending suitors for her hand, was at length induced, by the counsels of Dunois, to decide in favour of Maximilian of Austria; and a marriage between them was secretly solemnized by proxy in the summer of 1490-all forms being carefully observed on the occasion which could tend to make the contract binding and irrevocable. Anne now assumed the title of Queen of the Romans, but to her great disappointment received no assistance whatever from her betrothed spouse, who was occupied by a distant war in Hungary. The absence of Maximilian, the parsimony and apathy of Henry VII., the extreme distress and confusion that prevailed in Brittany, all favoured the schemes of the French court. The king had now attained the age of twenty, and, apparently with the full consent of his sister, took the reins into his own hands. His first act of power was to liberate from prison his cousin the Duke of Orleans, for whom he had always entertained sincere regard. This step produced an immediate reconciliation between that prince and Anne of Bourbon; and, as a further consequence, the zealous adhesion of the powerful Count of Dunois to the king's interests. Louis and Dunois now joined in soliciting the Duchess of Brittany to extricate herself from her difficulties by consenting to a marriage with the King of France; while at the same moment Charles advanced at the head of his army to besiege her at Rennes, where she had taken refuge with the scanty remnant of her forces. Defenceless and despairing, Anne yielded at length, though with evident reluctance, to this strange combination of hostile menace and persuasive intrigue. An armistice was proclaimed; the gates of Rennes were thrown

open to the French; and three days afterwards Charles and Anne were affianced, with the utmost secresy, in the chapel of the castle. The king quitted Rennes at once, and every precaution was taken to conceal what had passed; it was even given out that the duchess was about to traverse France in her way to join Maximilian in Germany. The king, however, met her on her arrival at the château of Langeais in Touraine, and here their marriage was solemnly celebrated on the 16th of December, 1491. This alliance was an event of no common importance. It was stipulated by the contract that, in case of Charles's decease without issue, the queen should marry his successor if unmarried, or otherwise the next heir to the crown. Brittany was thus incorporated indissolubly with the French empire; a great additional barrier was secured against the danger of invasion from England, and the last stronghold of feudal independence and disaffection was destroyed.

These advantages were not to be obtained without some risk; and Charles must have been well aware that by offering so outrageous an affront to the King of the Romans he hazarded the outbreak of a general war. Not only had he robbed Maximilian of his bride, but he had also grossly injured him in the person of his daughter Margaret, who, betrothed to Charles in infancy, had ever since resided in France, and actually bore the title of queen; but the embarrassments of the war in Hungary, and continued troubles in Flanders, tended to avert a rupture, which under other circumstances would have been inevitable. Maximilian controlled his resentment, and accepted terms; the young princess was restored to her father, and with her the counties of Artois, Franche-Conté, and Charolais, which had been ceded as her dowry by the treaty of Arras. On these conditions peace was signed at Senlis in May, 1493.

Henry VII., after a hostile demonstration at Boulogne, had gladly consented to the treaty of Etaples (Nov., 1492), by which a large sum of money was paid to England, and Charles agreed not to support Perkin Warbeck. And lastly, Charles purchased, by the treaty of Barcelona (Jan., 1493), a reconciliation with the sovereigns of Castille and Aragon by no less a sacrifice than that of Roussillon and Cerdagne, which his father had acquired by way of mortgage thirty years before. These provinces were now restored, without any demand for repayment of the sums advanced by Louis XI.

§ 14. Charles had weighty reasons for concluding a pacification, though at so costly a price, with the powers with which he had been hitherto at variance. Though of feeble bodily health, his turn of mind was chivalrous, romantic, and adventurous. Disdaining the more ordinary duties of his domestic government, he

abandoned himself to dreams of glory and dominion to be won by distant enterprise, and hoped to achieve for himself a name like that of Alexander or Charlemagne. The rights of the Angevin princes to the kingdom of Naples had descended to him from his father, to whom they had been transmitted by the last direct heir of that house, Charles, Count of Maine and Provence. The cautious and clear-sighted Louis had forborne to assert his claim, and studiously kept himself aloof from the maze of Italian politics. His son, yielding to impetuous temper, pursued an opposite policy, altogether inconsistent with the true interests of France. He not only determined to vindicate his pretensions to the Neapolitan throne, but cherished the extravagant project of expelling the Turks from Constantinople, re-establishing a Christian empire in the East, and restoring in Jerusalem itself the monarchy founded by his crusading ancestors.

It is not likely, however, that these wild schemes would ever have been seriously prosecuted, had not the peculiar circumstances of Italy furnished at this moment a fair pretext, not to say a strong temptation, for the armed interference of a foreign power. The government of Milan was in the hands of Ludovico Sforza, called the Moor, who had usurped it from his nephew Gian Galeazzo Sforza, a young prince of no capacity. The Duchess of Milan, a granddaughter of the reigning King of Naples, had begged the assistance of her family to restore her husband's authority, and Ludovico, alarmed by the powerful league which was formed against him, urged Charles VIII. to make good his undoubted title to the throne of Naples, engaging to support him with all the resources at his command. The Duchess of Savoy, the Marquis of Saluzzo, and the republic of Genoa, offered him every facility for the passage of the Alps; and it was represented that the central Italian states, and especially the court of Rome, were ready to range themselves on the side of the French against the usurping house of Aragon. These proposals found a prompt response in the mind of Charles, already fully determined on the expedition. The Duchess of Bourbon, and other experienced counsellors, in vain laboured to deter him from his headstrong project. He gave his final orders for the concentration of his army at Lyons; and advancing from that city to Grenoble, crossed the Mont Genèvre on the 2nd of September, 1494, and arrived on the 5th at Turin. The army of invasion consisted of more than 50,000 men, with a numerous train of excellent artillery. At Asti Charles was joined by Ludovico Sforza, who conducted him to the frontiers of Tuscany. He was received at Pisa with general acclamations; but on reaching Florence on the 17th of November he soon gave offence to the high-spirited magistrates of that city by affecting to treat them as

a conqueror, and insisting on conditions derogatory to their honour. "If such be your demands," exclaimed the Gonfalonier Capponi, "sound your trumpets, and we will ring our bells!" Charles, intimidated by this boldness, at once consented to more moderate terms; and by the intervention of the celebrated reformer Savonarela, a treaty of strict alliance was concluded between the Republic and France. The French quitted Florence on the 28th of November, and after a long detention before the walls of Rome, occasioned by the vacillation and duplicity of the reigning pontiff, the infamous Alexander VI., they triumphantly entered the eternal city on the 31st of December. The pope now found himself compelled to promise to Charles the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, with a saving clause respecting the rights of others. He also placed in his hands certain fortresses and important hostages including his own son Cæsar Borgia) until the completion of the conquest. The same uniform success attended the further progress of the invaders; the Neapolitans scarcely attempted resistance. Alphonso II., who had but lately succeeded his father. Ferdinand I., abdicated the throne as soon as the French approached his capital, and fled to Sicily, where he shortly afterwards died. His son. Ferdinand II., finding himself deserted by his troops and threatened by the insurgent populace, withdrew in his turn precipitately from Naples; and on the next day (February 22, 1495) Charles and his army entered the city amid universal demonstrations

Intoxicated by this rapid, easy, and brilliant triumph, Charles gave himself up to every kind of enjoyment, totally neglected business, and took no pains to secure and consolidate his authority in his newly-acquired dominions. Public offices and dignities were distributed exclusively among his French subjects, while the native aristocracy, treated with coldness and disdain, rapidly grew more and more hostile to their supplanters. Two months of frivolity and misgovernment had scarcely passed when the king received notice of a coalition formed against him in Northern Italy. Ludovico Sforza, alarmed at the extraordinary success of his royal ally, had induced the chief powers of Europe to join him in a league for cutting off the retreat of the French from Italy, and forcing them either to unconditional surrender or to total destruction. This compact was signed at Venice on the 31st of March; and timely information of it was forwarded to Charles by Philip de Comines, his envoy at that place. The king instantly determined to leave Naples. Having gratified his vanity by the gorgeous pageant of a coronation, in which he assumed the insignia of an imaginary empire of the East, he took his departure from the city on the 30th of May, leaving one-half of his army as a garrison under his cousin the Count

of Montpensier, whom he appointed viceroy of the kingdom. Rapidly traversing the Roman states, the French gained the Tuscan border; and finding that Florence was in a state of revolutionary commotion, turned aside to Pisa, in which city they left a garrison, With the least possible delay they then pressed forward to the passes of the Apennines, hoping to reach Lombardy before the confederates could assemble in sufficient force to oppose their descent. On issuing, however, from the mountains, they found the allied forces, under Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, strongly posted on the river Taro, and blocking the road to Parma. The enemy's numbers exceeded 35,000, while the French could scarcely muster 10,000. Charles, recoiling before this immense superiority, endeavoured to negotiate, but in vain; and on the 6th of July the two armies encountered at the village of Fornovo. The French gained a brilliant victory: 3500 Italians fell beneath the swords of the victors, or perished in the Taro. The loss on the side of the French is said to have barely reached 200. The retreat of Charles into Lombardy was now secure. On reaching Vercelli he was rejoined by the Duke of Orleans, and immediately negotiated a peace with Ludovico Sforza, who was left in quiet possession of Milan. Hastily repassing the Alps by the same route by which he had entered Italy fourteen months before, the French monarch arrived safely at Lyons on the 9th of November, 1495.

§ 15. Meanwhile the French generals left at Naples maintained a brief but gallant contest with King Ferdinand, whose forces, mostly Spanish, were commanded by Gonsalvo de Cordova, afterwards so justly celebrated throughout Europe as "the Great Captain." The Neapolitans sustained a severe defeat at Seminara in Calabria, and Ferdinand and Gonsalvo were compelled to seek safety by crossing into Sicily. But the French neglected to improve their victory; and when, a few weeks later, the Spanish fleet, with Ferdinand on board, appeared off Naples, the fickle populace rose against the French, and restored Ferdinand to his palace amid general acclamations. Montpensier, the French viceroy, signed a capitulation, and marched out of Naples with the remains of his army; but the struggle was prolonged for some time in other parts of the country, until at last Montpensier, blockaded in the small town of Atella, was reduced to extremity by want of provisions, and surrendered a second time, on condition that he and his troops should be permitted to return immediately to France. An epidemic fever broke out in the seaports where they were about to embark, and the brave Montpensier, with the greater part of his officers and soldiers, was carried off by the distemper. A mere fragment of the army of occupation landed towards the close of autumn on the shores of France.

Although the immediate results of this memorable invasion were superficial and transient, it marks an era in the history of France and of Europe. With Charles VIII.'s invasion of Italy the Middle Ages came to an end, and the history of Modern Europe begins. The system of feudalism being now finally overthrown, the resources of the French crown were no longer wasted in petty conflicts with turbulent vassals, but were concentrated for efforts on a grand scale at a distance from home. The energies of the nation were once more directed towards foreign conquest; and this change produced new relations between the powers of Europe; they began to act as members of one great commonwealth, all alike interested in preventing the preponderance of any one state over the rest. Hence arose new combinations and a new system of policy, distinctly separating mediæval from modern times. Problems now presented themselves in quick succession, problems to which the experience and wisdom of more than three centuries have not sufficed to give a final solution. And it will be found that their complications are traceable in very great measure to that thirst for Italian domination which was excited in France by the expedition of Charles VIII.

§ 16. No event of importance remains to be noticed during this reign. After his return to France the king relapsed into his usual habits of indolence, and neglect of all the great concerns of state. Rousing himself for a moment from his apathy, in the summer of 1497 he fitted out an expedition under Trivulzio against Ludovico Sforza, and made a fruitless and inglorious attack upon Genoa; this was followed by a truce with the emperor and the other powers which had signed the league of Venice, and a separate treaty was soon afterwards concluded between France and Spain. It is said that on this occasion Ferdinand the Catholic gave the first intimation of his design for the subjugation of Naples, by means of a combination between the French and Spanish governments, which was carried into execution some years later.

Charles, though scarcely twenty-eight years of age, had impaired his health by luxurious excess. Finding his strength declining, he seems during the last year of his life to have changed his conduct—devoting careful attention to various measures of public reformation, ecclesiastical, financial, and judicial. Death surprised him in the midst of these duties. Passing through a dark and gloomy gallery in the château of Amboise, his favourite residence, Charles struck his forehead with such violence against the low doorway, that, although he apparently recovered from the shock, he was attacked some hours afterwards by a fit of apoplexy which proved mortal. He expired on the 7th of April, 1498. His loss was deeply regretted by his family and immediate attendants, to whom he had much endeared himself by the uniform gentleness and

kindness of his character. Charles left no posterity; his children by Anne of Brittany, four in number, all died in infancy; and the crown passed in consequence from the direct line of the family of Valois to the collateral branch of Valois-Orleans.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE STATES-GENERAL.

The first convocation of the States-General—the constitutional representative assembly in France under the ancient monarchy—dates from the reign of Philip IV., in the year 1302. The king's object in taking this step was to fortify opinion at the commencement of his formidable contest with Pope Boniface VIII., and to obtain the funds necessary for the enterprise. No other business was transacted on this occasion; the session was very brief, and the deputies exhibited a spirit of compliance with the royal will. But the epoch is one of immense importance, since it marks the first recognition of the tiers état, or commons, as one of the three orders of the state. It was then first associated in the national legislature with the two privileged orders-the noblesse and the clergy. The popular element thus introduced into the constitution was found constantly on the side of royalty, in opposition to the great feudal aristocracy.

The harmony originally subsisting between the crown and the commons was dissolved by the troubles which broke out during the English wars of the fourteenth century and the regency of Charles V. In the States-General of 1357 we find the tiers état in direct conflict with the the States-General signalized themselves, getic demands, protests, and remonineffectual, but were occasionally taken the representations urged by the different lieu had recourse to a different kind of

orders in their cahiers contained many wise and salutary counsels, and were to some extent approved and acted upon by the government.

Nevertheless these national assemblies failed to secure permanently and systematically the power of legislation, and exercised no controlling influence over the himself by a strong expression of public general administration. In circumstances of difficulty they betrayed a want of tact, judgment, and practical ability, which was fatal to the success of their proceedings. After a struggle of three centuries they found themselves still altogether dependent on the arbitrary will of the sovereign, both as to the period of their convocation, and as to the amount of attention paid to their requests and decisions. Above all, they never acquired the exclusive power of imposing taxes, and thus of supplying or withholding the necessary means of government. The States - General of Orleans, in 1439, granted to Charles VII. the right of levying in perpetuity a taille nominally amounting to twelve hundred thousand livres, to be applied to the maintenance of a standing army. This precedent gradually enabled the French monarchs to raise the revenue by their own prerogative, without recourse to the national representatives. Theoretically it continued to be maintained that no tax could be lawfully imposed but by the three orders assembled in the Statesroyal authority. From this time forward | General; but this was totally disregarded in practice. The sovereign summoned the whenever they were summoned, by ener- States-General only when it happened to suit his pleasure or convenience; and strances, which in most instances were when they were permitted to meet, their deliberations were seldom attended by any into favourable consideration by the crown, practical advantage to the state. In 1614 and resulted in advantageous measures. the deputies of the tiers état assumed a The States-General of 1484 demanded that bolder tone than on any former occasion: they should be assembled at regular they presented a long list of searching reperiods, and that the taxes should be forms required in all branches of the adlevied equally upon all classes without ministration-financial, judicial, military distinction. In other celebrated instances, and commercial; but from this date, 1614, as at Orleans in 1561, and at Blois in 1577, their meetings were discontinued. Richecouncil, called the Assembly of Notables, consisting of noblemen, prelates, judges, magistrates, and a small number of the principal citizens, all named by the king himself. The constitutional legislature remained in abeyance for more than a contury and a half, until it once more met at the memorable crisis of 1789.

The right of summoning the states belonged, as already stated, to the king alone, in spire of all efforts that had been made to establish regular meetings at fixed intervals. Letters patent were addressed for this purpose to the royal baillis and governors of provinces, specifying the cause, time, and place of the proposed meeting. The baillis and governors gave notice to the nobility and clergy, who thereupon at once elected their representatives by a direct nomination. The deputies of the commons, however, were chosen in a different manner. The peasants, assembled in their villages under the presidency of the prévôts and other government officials, named the electors, to whom they intrusted their cahiers, or lists of grievances. The electors met afterwards at the chief town of each buillinge, examined the cahiers of the peasantry, and drew up from them one general cahier for the whole electoral district. They then proceeded to name the deputies who were to form the tiers état in the States-General. Their number varied from time to time, and was of little import mee, inasmuch as in all cases of a division the votes of the assembly were taken by orders, and not individually. Besides the members thus elected, the ministers of the crown had seats in the States-General by virtue of their office; the same privilege was also claimed by the municipality (commune) of Paris, the university of Paris, and the judges of the parliament. When the king held a lit de justice, the princes of the blood, the peers of France, and all the grand functionaries of the court, were likewise entitle I to be present.

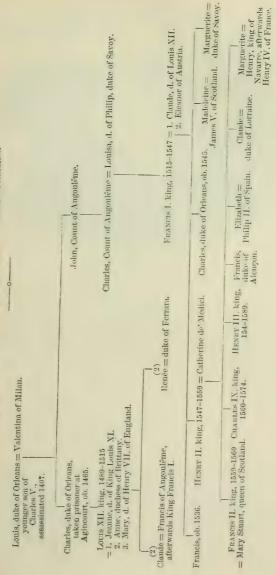
At the first sitting of the assembled states the sovereign generally appeared d'élection in person, and opened the proceedings with a few formal words, after which the Chancellor of France made a harangue setting forth at length the purposes of the meeting. The president of each order replied, the nobles and clergy remaining France.

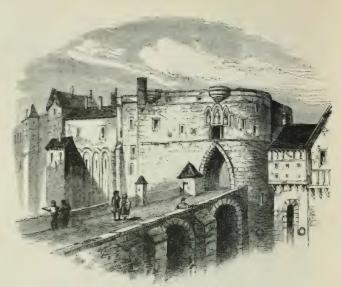
scated and covered during his speech, while the commons stood up and bared their heads. The three orders then retired to their separate chambers, and commenced the composition of their cahiers de doléances. The memorials forwarded by the bailliages were reduced to twelve, being the number of the great governments of the kingdom, viz., the Isle of France, Normandy, Picardy, Champagne, Brittany, Burgundy, Lyonnais, Dauphiné, Provence, Auvergne, Languedoc, and Guienne; and out of these twelve one cahier was ultimately formed by each of the estates, to convey to the king the joint expression of their wishes, complaints, and counsels. A second royal sitting was next held for the presentation of these cahiers; after which the assembly separated, without waiting for any reply from the crown to its demands. A pecuniary vote was usually obtained from the deputies before their dismissal. Hence it appears that the States-General never exercised in any real sense the functions of a deliberative and legislative body; they simply offered suggestions to the monarch, which he accepted or rejected as he thought proper. Legislation proceeded from the crown alone; if any regard was paid to the voice of popular opinion, this was a matter of condescension, or of expediency and policy, on the part of the supreme power.

It is thought probable that in primitive times each separate province of France possessed its local states, which were held regularly every year, and voted the taxes and subsidies required for the public service. In process of time the greater part of these provincial assemblies were superseded by the States-General; some of them, however, continued to subsist, and were not abolished till the outbreak of the Revolution. The provinces which preserved their states were those of Languedoc, Brittany, Burgundy, Provence, Dauphiné, Artois, Flanders, and Béarn. These were styled in consequence pays d'états, the other parts of the kingdom being called, in contradistinction, pays d'élection.

On the subject of the States-General see M. Rathery, Histoire des Etats Généraux; Rambaud, Histoire de la Civilisation Française; Gasquet, Prêcis des Institutions Politiques et Sociales de l'Ancienne France.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF VALOIS-ORLEANS.





Le Petit Châtelet at Paris.

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Julius II.; the "Holy League." § 7. Gaston de Foix; battle of

Ravenna; the French evacuate Italy; death of Julius II. § 8. Treaty between France and Venice; battle of La Riotta; the English invade Picardy; battle of the Spurs. § 9. Peace with Spain and the Empire; marriage of Louis to the Princess Mary of England; his death.

§ 1. THE Duke of Orleans, who succeeded Charles VIII. under the title of Louis XII., was grandson of the duke assassinated by Jean sans Peur in 1407, and great-grandson of King Charles V. The new king possessed considerable talent and energy of character; he ascended the throne in the prime of life, and soon rendered himself popular among all classes by his singular moderation, tact, and judgment. His former rival, Anne of Bourbon, was at once distinguished by special marks of his favour and regard: La Trémoille. the general by whom Louis had been taken prisoner (see p. 230). was confirmed in all his dignities, and preferred to commands of the highest trust and importance. The magistrates of Orleans, who sent a deputation to ask pardon of the king for indignities which he had suffered when a prisoner in that city, were dismissed with the generous and celebrated answer, that "it did not become the King of France to resent the injuries of the Duke of Orleans." Louis appointed as his principal minister, immediately on his accession, George d'Amboise, Cardinal Archbishop of Rouen, who had been the attached friend of his early years; the other chief officers of the crown were retained in their posts.

The widowed Queen Anne, who had always shown herself jealous of her ancestral inheritance as Duchess of Brittany, retired to Nantes soon after the death of her husband, and resumed the independent government of the duchy. By the terms of her marriage contract she was bound to espouse the successor of Charles, supposing his hand to be free; but Louis was in no condition to demand the fulfilment of the promise. Jeanne, his wife, to whom he had been united by the crafty policy of Louis XI., was still alive, and, though unfortunately deformed in person, was a princess of great merit and stainless reputation. They were without children; and it therefore became absolutely necessary, if Brittany was to be preserved to the French crown, to procure a dissolution of the marriage. Application for a divorce was made to Pope Alexander VI., who readily agreed to pronounce the desired sentence, in return for certain honours and rewards to be conferred upon his son, Casar Borgia. That young prince, who had just renounced his place in the college of cardinals, was immediately created Duke of Valentinois in Dauphiné, with a munificent pension; and after a scandalous trial before three papal commissioners, the decree annulling the king's marriage was published on the 17th of December. On the

6th of January, 1499, Louis wedded Anne of Brittany in the chapel of the castle at Nantes. Anne, ever firmly tenacious of her hereditary rights, stipulated on this occasion that the second child of the marriage, whether male or female, should succeed to the duchy of Brittany; that, in case of the queen's dying without heirs before the king. Louis should retain the duchy during his life, but that afterwards it should revert to the descendants of its ancient line of native princes. The whole patronage and administration of the duchy were to remain exclusively in the hands of the queen.

§ 2. No sooner was this important affair concluded than Louis began to make preparations for prosecuting the supposed rights of his house in Italy, bequeathed to him by his predecessor. He laid claim not only to the throne of Naples, but also to the duchy of Milan, as the representative of his grandmother Valentina Visconti, only daughter of the last duke of that family—a title more than questionable, since Milan had been originally granted to the Visconti with an express provision excluding the succession through females. Warned by the example of Charles VIII., Louis took his preliminary measures with prudence. He had already purchased the concurrence of the pope; and by negotiations he secured either the co-operation or the neutrality of the Emperor Maximilian, of Ferdinand of Spain, of Venice, Florence, and Savoy. Matters being in this promising train, the French army, led by Stuart d'Aubigny and Trivulzio, crossed the Alps in August, 1499, and descended on the plains of Lombardy without opposition. Ludovico Sforza, isolated and defenceless, was totally unable to arrest their progress; and finding himself hemmed in between the Venetians and the French, had no resource but flight. He retreated precipitately to the Tyrol, and claimed the protection of Maximilian, with whom he was connected by marriage. The French generals entered Milan in triumph on the 14th of September, without having fired a shot.

Louis, charmed with this brilliant success, made his appearance in Milan on the 6th of October, and remained there several weeks, exercising all the rights of sovereignty, and doing all in his power to consolidate his conquest. But he had scarcely returned to France when symptoms of irritation appeared among the Milanese, occasioned by the conduct of Trivulzio, whom the king had appointed vicercy of the duchy. A revolt was quickly organized: the population of Milan rose in a body on the 25th of January, 1500, and expelled Trivulzio from the city. Ludovico Sforza, at the head of a large force of Swiss mercenaries, reappeared in the field at the same moment, and recovered his capital. Louis displayed remarkable vigour in this emergency. The Cardinal d'Amboise and La Trémoille were despatched instantly to

Lombardy with strong reinforcements, including a body of 10.000 Swiss, and Ludovico and his troops were blockaded in Novara. The Swiss, at this time accounted the best foot-soldiers in Europe, composed more than the half of both the hostile armies. On finding themselves arrayed against each other, they showed great reluctance to engage; and the leaders of the contingent in the service of Ludovico gained over by bribes from the French generals, at length consented, to their deep dishonour, to betray the unfortunate Ludovico to his enemies, and then retire under a safe-conduct to their own country. Ludovico was arrested and sent into France, where he was imprisoned in the castle of Loches. He remained fourteen years in captivity, and on being informed of his restoration to freedom at the end of that time, expired from the effects of the sudden shock on his worn and shattered frame. Milan was now tranquillized under the rule of a more prudent viceroy,

and became a province of the French empire.

§ 3. But the ambitious views of Louis were directed to a further object of more difficult achievement—the annexation of Naples to his crown. The main obstacles to this enterprise were the power, ability, and strong counter-pretensions of Ferdinand the Catholic, by whom this splendid acquisition had already been torn from the feeble grasp of Charles VIII. Fearing to place himself in open antagonism to this formidable potentate, Louis conceived the design of securing his friendship and co-operation by arranging with him an equal partition of the contemplated spoil. By a singular coincidence, the same idea had suggested itself at the same moment to the mind of Ferdinand. The two monarchs were not long in coming to an understanding; and by the treaty of Granada (signed November 11, 1500) it was covenanted that Naples should be invaded simultaneously by the armies of France and Spain, and that the kingdom, when subdued, should be divided between the conquerors-Louis taking possession of the northern provinces, with the title of King of Naples and Jerusalem, while the southern part of the peninsula, Apulia and Calabria, was to fall to the lot of Ferdinand. In pursuance of this compact, the French army, under Stuart d'Aubigny, marched from Lombardy in the end of May, 1501, and without encountering any obstacle, reached Rome on the 25th of June. Here the pope, whom the two monarchs had induced to become an accomplice in their iniquitous scheme, announced by a bull the deprivation of Frederic of Naples, and transferred his dominions, as a fief of the Holy See, to the sovereigns of France and Spain. Gonsalvo of Cordova, who commanded the Spanish forces, threw off the mask at the same moment, and acquainted the prince, who had received him unsuspectingly as an ally, with the real object of his presence in Italy. Frederic saw at once that resistance was

useless, and resigned himself to his fate. Preferring to surrender to an open fee than to a perjured kinsman and perfidious ally, he opened communications with D'Aubigny, and made an arrangement by which he ceded all his sovereign rights at Naples to the royal house of France. Frederic, having delivered up his capital and the chief fortresses of the kingdom, was permitted to embark with his family for France, where Louis conferred upon him the county of Maine, with a yearly pension of 30,000 livres. Here he resided in obscurity for nearly three years, and died at Tours in 1504.

The kingdom of Naples now lay at the feet of the confederates; but disputes soon arose about the division of the spoil. These disputes led to open hostilities in the summer of 1502; and in the following year Gonsalvo gained two decisive victories over the French. He followed up his success by marching at once upon Naples, and, after a brief resistance, took possession of that capital on the 14th of May. The fortresses of Venosa and Gaeta, together with a few other towns of less importance, were all that now remained in the hands of the French.

Louis, not disheartened by these sudden reverses, used every exertion to provide the means of renewing the contest. He raised, within a few months, no less than three new armies, one of which was destined to invade Spain by Fuenterabia, the second attacked Roussillon, while the third, commanded by the veteran La Trémoille, was despatched across the Alps to effect a junction with the broken remnant of the army of Naples. At this crisis occurred the death of Pope Alexander VI. La Trémoille and his forces were now detained for several weeks in the Roman States by the ambitious intrigues of the Cardinal d'Amboise, who strove by intimidation and bribery to obtain his elevation to the pontifical chair. This delay proved fatal to the French expedition. La Trémoille was attacked by malaria, and resigned his command; the Marquis of Mantua, who succeeded him, though a brave soldier, was a poor general. He relieved the garrison at Gaeta, but having lost much time afterwards, through hesitation and the setting in of the rainy season, was attacked at a disadvantage by Gonsalvo on the banks of the Garigliano, on the 27th of December, 1503-a day memorable for one of the most terrible disasters that ever befell the French arms. The fugitives were pursued to Gaeta, which place surrendered on the 1st of January, 1504, on condition that all the French remaining in the Neapolitan States, including the prisoners, should be allowed to return freely to France with their arms and baggage. Few, however, of these gallant soldiers regained their native land: the greater part, including many superior officers, perished either of their wounds or from the effects of fatigue and privation.

§ 4. Still hankering after his lost ascendency in Italy, Louis concluded at Blois, in September, 1504, a triple treaty with the emperor and the Archduke Philip, the provisions of which, though designed to remain secret, were quickly known. By its first article the contracting parties formed a coalition against Venice, which was to be stripped of large territories in Northern Italy and the Romagna; by the second, the emperor granted to Louis, for a payment of 200,000 francs, the investiture of the duchy of Milan, to descend, in default of male heirs, to the Princess Claude, already affianced to the young Prince Charles; lastly, it was covenanted that the dowry of the French princess should consist of Brittany, Genoa, Asti, the county of Blois, and, in case of the death of Louis without heirs male, of the duchy of Burgundy in addition.

The only explanation to be offered of a compact so manifestly prejudicial to the interests of France is the weak state of Louis's health. The queen, whose mind was set upon marrying her daughter to one evidently destined to become the most powerful monarch of his age, availed herself of her husband's feeble condition to urge, with extreme earnestness, the conclusion of the Austrian match; but the popular voice, strongly opposed to that arrangement, made itself heard effectually on this occasion; and Louis was prevailed on by the Cardinal d'Amboise to execute a will, directing that, in accordance with the wishes of the nation, his daughter should be united to Francis of Angoulême, the heir presumptive to the throne. Upon the king's recovery from his illness this act was publicly proclaimed and renewed. The States-General (assembled at Tours in May, 1506) petitioned the king. whom they saluted as "Father of his People," to give effect to a policy approved by the nation; and, in spite of the queen's remonstrances, the betrothal of the youthful pair was immediately celebrated at the château of Plessis.

By thus breaking with Austria, Louis paved the way to reconciliation with his successful opponent, Ferdinand of Spain, who cherished a jealousy of his son-in-law Philip, the heir of his dominions. Ferdinand, now a widower, proposed a marriage between himself and a niece of the King of France, Germaine de Foix; the offer was accepted, and Louis agreed to cede in favour of the young princess all his claims to the sovereignty of Naples, which crown was to descend to the children of the marriage. Thus, by a singular revolution of policy, France and Spain found themselves united in strict alliance, while the Emperor Maximilian, indignant at the rupture of the treaties of Blois, intrigued against Louis whenever an opportunity occurred.

§ 5. Maximilian convoked a diet at Constance, and demanded subsidies for the purpose of expelling the French from Milan and

re-establishing the dynasty of the Sforzas; he laboured to inflame the Venetians against Louis, by revealing to the senate the terms of the treaty concluded against them at Blois; and although that body steadily refused to join him in attacking a monarch with whom they were on terms of strict amity, they were induced to conclude, in June, 1508, a general truce, to which the King of France was not

invited to become a party.

This slight irritated Louis, and is said to have been his motive for engaging in the series of obscure negotiations which followed, and which produced, towards the close of the same year, the celebrated LEAGUE OF CAMBRAI. But it is evident that Louis had long before conceived hostile projects against Venice, since a combination for the purpose of humbling that proud republic had formed one of the principal stipulations of the treaty of Blois; and there is no doubt that the real feeling which actuated all the parties to the league of Cambrai was a jealousy of the extraordinary wealth, power, and grandeur enjoyed by the "Queen of the Adriatic," and a determination to arrest her progress towards a more extended authority in Italy. The policy of Louis in this instance, as in so many others, was most mistaken and unwise. The power of Venice, to the possessor of the Milanese, was highly advantageous as a barrier against Austria. Moreover, the Venetians had on various occasions furnished Louis with effective support in his wars in Lombardy. But his shortsighted eagerness to enlarge his Italian territories by the acquisition of Brescia, Bergamo, and Cremona, blinded the French monarch to these larger views of his true interest. The league against Venice was signed by the Cardinal d'Amboise and the Archduchess Marguerite, on behalf of Louis and Maximilian, on the 10th of December, 1508; and was joined immediately by the pope, by Ferdinand the Catholic, and by the minor Italian states. In the beginning of April, 1509, Louis once more descended upon Lombardy, at the head of a formidable army, led by his ablest captains, among whom the most conspicuous was the heroic Bayard, the "chevalier sans peur et sans reproche." The Venetians were completely defeated on the 14th of May at the village of Agnadel, leaving 6000 men slain on the field. This single battle decided the campaign; Brescia. Bergamo, Crema, Cremona, surrendered in succession: Peschiera, which offered some resistance, was taken by assault, and all the garrison put to the sword. Before the end of May Louis had reconquered all the ancient dependencies of the duchy of Milan, and even enlarged its limits; he immediately afterwards recrossed the Alps.

Meanwhile the Imperialists gained considerable advantages in the eastern part of the Venetian territory; the pope recovered the towns he coveted in the Romagna, and all the confederates attained the

objects for which they had taken up arms. The Republic, bending before the storm, now recalled her garrisons from the continent, negotiated with the conquerors, and fortified herself on her inaccessible lagunes, awaiting the turn of events.

§ 6. The current of affairs soon changed. Pope Julius II., having gained all that he desired and expected from the League of Cambrai, gradually drew off from the French alliance, removed the interdict which he had laid upon Venice, and recurred to his long-cherished project of driving the barbarians, as he termed the inhabitants of the countries beyond the Alps, from Italy. Intriguing, with restless activity, with Ferdinand of Spain, with Maximilian, with Henry VIII. of England, with the Venetians and the Swiss, the pope succeeded at length in arraying all these powers in combined hostility to France, and in the summer of 1510 informed Louis of his danger by suddenly dismissing his ambassadors from Rome. The military operations of Julius, however, were of no great importance; and the French commander, Marshal Trivulzio, who attacked the papal forces under the Duke of Urbino near Bologna, obtained a brilliant victory. Julius fled in consternation to Rome; but Louis, instead of vigorously following up his advantage, forbade his generals to enter the Roman territory, and contented himself with referring his grievances against the pope to an irregular council chiefly composed of French bishops, which met at Pisa, and was afterwards transferred to Milan. Julius replied to these feeble proceedings by announcing the "Holy League" (October 9, 1511) between himself. Ferdinand the Catholic, and the Venetian Republic—a movement made ostensibly in order to maintain the supremacy of the See of Rome against the schismatical council of Pisa, but in reality for the purpose of recovering Bologna, and expelling the French definitively from Italy.

§ 7. Louis met this new danger with vigour, giving the command of his forces to his nephew Gaston de Foix, Duke of Nemours, a young officer of distinguished promise and ability, then only in the twenty-third year of his age. The new general opened the campaign in February, 1512, by relieving Bologna, which was invested by the Spaniards. He next attacked the Venetians at Brescia, took the city by storm on the 19th of February, and, after a fearful massacre of the inhabitants, gave it up to wholesale pillage for seven days; the plunder is said to have been valued at three millions of crowns. The rapidity and importance of these exploits spread the fame of the youthful commander throughout Italy. The princes of the league, now strengthened by the adhesion of Henry VIII. of England, redoubled their efforts, and laboured, not without effect, to draw over the Emperor Maximilian from the French alliance to their own. Louis, perceiving that it was necessary to strike a great and

decisive blow, instructed his nephew to invade the Romagna, a step which must inevitably bring on a general engagement. Gaston's army, however, was so demoralized by the sack of Brescia that several weeks clapsed before it could take the field. Early in April the impetuous Gaston advanced upon Ravenna, at the head of 1600 lances and 18,000 infantry. The Spanish viceroy, Don Ramon de Cardona, hastened to the succour of that important city; and the French general, finding himself hemmed in between the fortress and the camp of the enemy, abandoned the siege, and challenged the allies to a pitched battle in the great plains surrounding Ravenna. Here, on Easter Sunday, April 11, 1512, was fought a desperate and memorable action, which, although it shed additional lustre on the arms of France, secured to Louis no permanent advantage in his struggle for Italian dominion. The battle opened with a murderous cannonade, sustained with equal vigour on both sides; the Spanish and Italian cavalry then made a gallant charge against the French infantry, but were repulsed with tremendous slaughter; many prisoners of rank, including the celebrated Pedro Navarro, the Marquis of Pescara, and the Cardinal de' Medici, afterwards Pope Leo X., remained in the hands of the French. The allies, having lost 12,000 of their number, at length commenced a retreat; and a large body of Spanish infantry retired in perfect order along the road to Ravenna. The heroic Gaston de Foix, resolved if possible to intercept their escape, attacked them with a slender following. Surrounded, thrown from his horse, pierced by twenty wounds from sword and lance, he met his death gloriously in the very moment of victory.

"With him," says Guicciardini, "disappeared all the vigour of the French army;" and in truth it soon appeared that victory, purchased at such a price, was equivalent to a defeat. La Palisse, who succeeded to the command, was altogether unable to make head against the leaguers, who were now openly joined by the vacillating Maximilian. 20,000 Swiss, hired by the emperor, descended suddenly upon the Milanese, and Maximilian Sforza, son of the unfortunate Ludovico il Moro, was immediately proclaimed as sovereign of the duchy. La Palisse evacuated the Romagna in all haste, and fell back to defend the invaded province; but he found himself pursued by misfortune; his ranks were thinned by disaffection and desertion; and after fighting an action in the streets of Pavia, he placed garrisons in the fortresses of Milan, Cremona, and Novara, and with the remainder of his troops made the best of his way through Savoy into France.

Italy was now once more wrested from the hands of her Transalpine spoilers. The papal troops easily reconquered the Romagna; the dynasty of the Medici was re-established at Florence by the

Spaniards under Cardona; Genoa recovered her independence; Maximilian Sforza was recognised as Duke of Milan. The "Holy League" had achieved a signal triumph; and Julius II. had the rare gratification of witnessing before his death the realization of the one supreme object to which he had devoted his reign. The

pope expired on the 21st of February, 1513.

§ 8. Notwithstanding these humiliating reverses, the pride and ambition of Louis impelled him to renewed efforts for the recovery of his ascendency in Northern Italy. He reconciled himself with the Venetians, against whom he had formed the league of Cambrai four years before; a treaty, offensive and defensive, between France and the Republic, was signed on the 24th of March, 1513; the duchy of Milan was guaranteed to Louis; and an auxiliary force of 14,000 Venetians was to join his army as soon as it appeared in Italy. No sooner did the marshals Trivulzio and La Trémoille approach Milan than the whole city declared by acclamation for the French, and expelled Maximilian Sforza, who, protected by a body of Swiss mercenaries, took refuge at Novara. The Venetians advanced from Verona, the towns in their line of march submitted in succession on the first summons, and the whole of the revolted duchy was recovered without firing a shot. La Trémoille, greatly elated, pressed forward to besiege the Swiss at Novara, and wrote boastfully to Louis that he would send Maximilian Sforza in chains to France, as he had sent his father Ludovico thirteen years before. But the sturdy mountaineers, actuated on this occasion either by sentiments of national honour or by resentment against the French, made an obstinate and successful defence. Having been strongly reinforced, they surprised the enemy's camp at La Riotta before daybreak on the 6th of June, 1513; and though unprovided either with cavalry or artillery, gained a brilliant victory. The French fled from the field in disorder. The discomfited marshals hastily abandoned Lombardy, with the loss of their cannon and more than half their army; and the duchy of Milan, with the exception of two or three fortresses, was again lost to France in a shorter space than it had taken to regain it.

These disasters emboldened the enemies of France to make simultaneous demonstrations against her from various quarters. The treacherous Ferdinand threatened the frontier of Aragon; Henry VIII. landed with 20,000 men at Calais; the Swiss, flushed with their recent triumphs, invaded Franche-Comté. The English army advanced in August 1513, and sat down before the walls of Térouenne. They were here joined by the eccentric Emperor Maximilian, who, after contracting to serve in the ranks as a volunteer at the rate of 100 crowns a-day, soon contrived to gratify his vanity by assuming the direction of the operations of

the siege. A French force was despatched to relieve Térouenne, under the orders of the Duke of Longueville, grandson of the gallant Dunois, and the illustrious Bayard. The two armies met on the 16th of August, between Térouenne and Blangis. The encounter was brief. The French fled so hurriedly that the day is known in history as the "Battle of the Spurs." Longueville, Bayard, La Palisse, and other officers, who vainly strove to arrest the panic-struck fugitives, were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Térouenne capitulated, and Tournay fell almost without resistance. But a dispute with Maximilian now determined Henry to return to England, and the campaign abruptly terminated. It was in the course of this same summer that the faithful and almost the only ally of Louis, James IV. of Scotland, was totally defeated and slain on the fatal field of Flodden.

§ 9. The king was now thoroughly wearied of the harassing wars which had filled up his whole reign. Early in the year 1514, upon the death of his consort Anne of Brittany, to whom he was sincerely attached, he became anxious for a general pacification; and, as a first step, reconciled himself with the new pope, Leo X., upon condition of repudiating the irregular council of Pisa, and acknowledging the title of Maximilian Sforza at Milan. This was soon followed by a treaty of peace with Spain and with the Empire. Henry of England, who had at first declined to be a party to the treaty. vielded to the personal solicitations of the pope; a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between the two sovereigns was signed on the 7th of August. The young Princess Mary, the sister of the English king, was married to the widowed Louis. But this hasty match was followed by unforeseen consequences. The king, whose health was declining, had for some time restricted himself to the simplest and most regular habits of life, dining early, and retiring to rest at sunset. In the society of his beautiful and lighthearted bride, he engaged in a round of exciting festivities, ill suited to his years and infirmities; his strength rapidly failed during the autumn, and he expired at the palace of the Tournelles, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, on the 1st of January, 1515.

In spite of his ill-advised wars and unsuccessful foreign policy, Louis XII. enjoyed great popularity among his subjects, and his loss was universally regretted. His internal administration entitles him to the praise of justice, elemency, a wise economy, and enlightened generosity in the patronage of the arts. His collection of the judicial customs of France ('Code Coutumier') is one of the most important legislative monuments of the ancient monarchy. Notwithstanding so many costly wars, the taille was diminished during this reign by nearly one-third; and the strictest integrity and regularity were enforced in every department of the public revenue. Agriculture

and commerce received at the same time a great impulse; and the general increase of the wealth of the nation became apparent in the superior elegance and luxury of domestic architecture, furniture and dress.

This was the period of the so-called Renaissance of the arts, especially of architecture. Both Louis himself and his minister the Cardinal d'Amboise had become acquainted in Italy with the masterpieces of Leonardo da Vinci, Brunelleschi, and Bramante; and encouraged to the utmost the spread of artistic taste, and the practical imitation of these admirable models throughout France. Many of the most beautiful public edifices in the kingdom date from this epoch. Among them may be specified the Hotels de Ville of Compiègne, Arras, and St. Quentin; the Hotel de Cluni at Paris; and, above all, the Château de Gaillon in Normandy, and the exquisite Palais de Justice at Rouen, both the work of Fra Giocondo, an architect of Verona, who, at the invitation of the Cardinal d'Amboise, resided several years in France. The monument of the cardinal, still to be seen in the cathedral of Rouen, was executed by Roullant le Roux, a pupil of Giocondo.



Francis I. (From medal in the British Museum.)

CHAPTER XII.

FRANCIS I. 1515-1547.

- 1. Accession of Francis I. § 2. Invades the Milanese; battle of Marignano. § 3. Treaty with the Swiss; "Paix Perpetuelle;" concordat with Leo X. § 4. Accession of Charles V. to the Spanish throne; treaty of Novon; Francis and Charles candidates for the Empire; election of Charles. § 5. Interview between Francis and Henry VIII. of England; "Field of the Cloth of Gold;" war with Spain: invasion of Navarre by the French; the French driven out of the Milanese. § 6. Revolt of the Constable Bourbon. § 7. He defeats the French in Italy; death of Bayard; invasion of France by the Constable; his repulse. § 8. Francis invades Italy; his defeat and capture at the battle of Pavia. § 9. Treaty of Madrid; release of Francis. § 10. He evades the execution of the treaty; renewal of the war; capture of Rome by the Constable Bourbon; death of the Constable; disasters of the French in Italy. § 11. Peace of Cambrai between Francis and Charles. § 12. Reformation in France; persecution of the Reformers. § 13. Rupture of the peace of Cambrai; Charles invades Provence; his retreat; death of the Dauphin; conclusion of peace. § 14. Visit of Charles to France. § 15. Alliance between Francis and the Turks; success of the French in Piedmont; invasion of France by Henry VIII. of England and Charles; treaty of peace. § 16. Persecution of the Protestants of Provence; death of Francis.
- § 1. As Louis XII. left no male issue, he was succeeded on the throne by Francis of Angoulême, Duke of Valois, a prince descended.

like himself, but collaterally, from the house of Valois-Orleans. The father of Francis, Charles, Count of Angoulême, was first-cousin to the late king, and grandson of Louis of Orleans, assassinated by Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy. (See Genealogical Table, p. 239.) His mother was the celebrated Princess Louisa, daughter of Philip, Duke of Savoy. His hereditary claims were strengthened by his union with the Princess Claude, eldest daughter of Louis XII. and Anne of Brittany; and his personal gifts and accomplishments -his noble stature, his bravery, his skill in all chivalrous exercises, his affable manners—were precisely such as captivate the popular mind. His accession was in consequence not only undisputed, but hailed with satisfaction and enthusiasm by all.

Although the new king had reached his twenty-first year, he was still in complete subjection to his mother, a woman of decided talent, but licentious in conduct, and ungovernable in temper. She was immediately created Duchess of Angoulême and Anjou, and the first appointments of the new reign were made by her direction. Charles, Duke of Bourbon, received the constable's sword: Antoine Duprat, Louisa's confidential friend and counsellor, was made chancellor of the realm; La Palisse was advanced to the dignity of marshal; the management of the finances was given to Gouffier Boisy, formerly the king's preceptor. Marshal Lautrec, of a younger branch of the house of Foix, was named governor of Guienne; and his sister, the talented and fascinating Countess de Châteaubriand. became the mistress of the young monarch,

§ 2. The first thoughts of Francis were turned to the reconquest of the duchy of Milan, where the ancient claim of the Orleans family gave a convenient excuse for warlike enterprise. Having renewed his amicable relations with Henry of England and the Venetian Republic, and named his mother regent of the kingdom during his absence, Francis, in July, 1515, concentrated his army in Dauphiné for the invasion of Lombardy. Sixty thousand men, with an immense train of artillery, were soon assembled under the ablest commanders of the day—the Constable Bourbon, Marshals Trivulzio and Lautrec, La Trémoille, and the immortal Bayard. The cause of Maximilian Sforza was defended by 20,000 Swiss under the orders of the Roman general, Prosper Colonna, who occupied the defiles of Mont Cenis and Mont Génèvre, then considered the only approaches to that part of Italy practicable for an army. But the French, with skill and perseverance, forced a new passage by Barcelonette and the rugged gorges of the Monte Viso, and, descending on the friendly territories of the Marquis of Saluces, completely turned the left of the enemy's position. Prosper Colonna, with a considerable body of cavalry, was surprised and taken prisoner on the 15th of August; the Swiss fell back upon Novara;

and the invaders pressed forward without opposition to Turin. Negotiations were now opened with the Swiss, who engaged, in consideration of a large indemnity to themselves and the grant of favourable terms to Sforza, to evacuate Piedmont and sign a treaty of alliance with France. But the arrangement was scarcely concluded when suddenly a second Swiss army made its appearance from the side of Bellinzona; the convention was broken off; and he Swiss commanders, uniting their forces, took possession of Milan. Marching from that city on the 13th of September, they





Buttle of Marignano. (From bas-relief on the tomb of Francis I. at Saint-Denis.)

encountered the French army at the village of Marignano, ten miles from the capital, and a desperate battle raged from four in the afternoon till near midnight without decisive result. The conflict was renewed at break of day. After repeated efforts, the right wing of the Swiss was at length broken through and put to the rout by the constable and Pedro Navarro, in consequence of which their whole line was compelled to retreat. At this moment the arrival of the Venetian contingent decided the issue of the battle. The Swiss gave up the contest, and precipitately abandoned

the field, which was heaped with 14,000 of their dead. The victors lost 6000 men, among whom were several members of the noblest families of France. The veteran Trivulzio, who had fought in eighteen pitched battles, declared that all the rest were child's play in comparison with Marignano, which he called "a combat of giants." The young king, who had displayed the utmost gallantry, received knighthood on the field of battle from the honoured hands of Bayard.

The fall of Milan was the immediate result of this great victory. The city surrendered on the 4th of October. Maximilian Sforza renounced his claims to the dukedom; and having accepted from Francis the offer of a liberal pension, retired peacefully into the French dominions, where he had stipulated for permission to reside. He died in obscurity at Paris, fifteen years afterwards.

§ 3. Other important consequences followed. Francis, who during the recent operations had learnt to appreciate the soldierly qualities of the Swiss, resolved to spare no pains to secure their alliance, and offered them the same reasonable terms as before his victory. The Swiss, smarting under their losses, and struck by the brilliant qualities and extraordinary success of the young conqueror, gladly responded to his overtures; and by the treaties of Geneva (Nov. 7, 1515) and of Fribourg (Nov. 29, 1516) the Helvetian republic, hitherto one of the most formidable opponents of France, was converted into her faithful ally and powerful bulwark. The latter treaty, known by the name of the "Paix perpetuelle," lasted without interruption from that day forward down to the overthrow of the French monarchy at the Revolution.

Pope Leo X. showed himself no less anxious to conciliate the friendship of the sovereign of France. Conditions of peace were soon agreed upon. Leo guaranteed to Francis the possession of the Milanese, and surrendered Parma and Piacenzia, after which he invited the king to a personal interview at Bologna. Here they fully discussed the delicate topic of the relations between the Gallican Church and the Papal See-relations which had remained in an unsettled state ever since the commencement of the reign of Louis XI. Francis left the details of the arrangement to be adjusted between the Pope and the Chancellor Duprat; and the result was, that in the course of the year 1516 the celebrated "Concordat" was signed between the courts of France and Rome. By this treaty the Pragmatic Sanction was formally abolished, and the king acquired the right of presentation to all bishoprics and other ecclesiastical dignities, including even the papal reserves and reversions, the pope, however, retaining a veto upon any nominee who might be disqualified according to the canons. On the other hand. Francis surrendered to Leo and his successors the

"annates," or first-fruits, being one year's revenue of every benefice to which he presented. He also made some important concessions as to the authority and convocation of national and provincial councils.

This compact—by which the pope abandoned to the civil power a purely spiritual privilege, and received in return a temporal advantage -was a serious abridgment of the popular liberties in France, and an immense step towards the absolute despotism of the crown. For this reason, it was received by the French people with general indignation. The parlement of Paris, though commanded to register it by the king in person, refused compliance, and appealed to a future council of the Church, to which alone the cognizance of such matters belonged. It was only after lengthened delays that the decree was accepted (March 22, 1518), and then under protest, and with a distinct statement that it was done by the positive command of the king. Notwithstanding this forced submission, the operation of the concordat was for many years successfully cluded: chapters and convents continued to fill up vacant sees and abbeys by free election; and on appeal to the courts of law their nominees were confirmed, in opposition to those of the sovereign. At length, in 1527, a royal edict appeared, by which the cognizance of all ecclesiastical causes was summarily withdrawn from the parlement and transferred to the council of state. This produced a sullen acquiescence in the new law; but it remained none the less distasteful to the mass of the nation, and was the object of repeated protests and remonstrances during several successive reigns.

§ 4. On his return to France the king received intelligence of the death of Ferdinand the Catholic (January 23, 1516), and the accession of Charles of Austria to the Spanish throne. The unsettled state of his dominions made Charles eager for peace, and a treaty of alliance with Francis was signed at Noyon, August 13, 1516. This treaty was quickly followed by pacific arrangements with the emperor and the King of England; and a final period was thus put to the destructive wars engendered by the League of Cambrai.

The close of the year 1516 presented the rare spectacle of profound tranquillity throughout the western states of Europe. For something more than two years no event occurred to disturb the general repose; but the death of the Emperor Maximilian, in January, 1519, stirred up afresh the elements of discord; for the ambitious Francis, who had cherished for some time the vision of a restoration of the empire of Charlemagne, now announced himself a candidate for the imperial diadem, in opposition to Charles of Spain. Francis made unscrupulous use of every means

of influencing the electors: "I will spend three millions of crowns," he wrote to his ambassador at the Diet, "to gain my object." At first his prospects seemed extremely favourable; he received the absolute promise of four votes, a majority of the college. But on the day of election different views and interests prevailed. The crown was first tendered to the Elector Frederick of Saxony; that prudent prince, however, declined the dangerous honour, and gave his vote, accompanied by a speech of warm recommendation, to Charles of Austria. The rival of Francis was accordingly declared successor to the empire, and was styled thenceforward Charles the Fifth (July 5, 1519).

Previously to the election Francis had expressed himself in the most courteous terms to the ambassadors of Charles, observing that their master and himself were two lovers contending for the hand of the same mistress, and that, as only one candidate could be successful, the loser must by no means bear malice against his fortunate competitor. Yet it is certain that, as soon as the event was known, the French king assumed from that day forward a hostile attitude towards the new emperor and the house of Austria. Indeed, apart from his recent personal mortification, the enormous power thus suddenly concentrated in the hands of a single foreign potentate, was a legitimate ground of jealousy and apprehension to one in the position held by Francis. He could not but see that France must sooner or later enter the lists against this gigantic adversary, and either successfully hold her own in the contest, or sink, in her humiliation, to a very secondary place among the nations of Europe.

§ 5. The two rivals, for such they soon became undisguisedly. courted at the same moment the alliance of the King of England. Here Francis was forestalled by the superior promptitude of Charles; the emperor landed at Dover, without invitation, on the 26th of May, 1520, and held confidential interviews both with Henry and with his minister Wolsey, then in the height of his favour and authority. The cardinal had hitherto inclined towards the cause of France: but Charles contrived, during this brief visit, to win him over to his own. Wolsey aspired to the chair of St. Peter; the emperor promised to assist him, by exerting all his vast influence and resources towards the gratification of his ambition. He also treated him with flattering distinction, and loaded him with magnificent presents. Immediately after the emperor's departure, Henry and his favourite proceeded to hold a conference with Francis, at an appointed spot between the towns of Ardres and Guines, which has received, from the gorgeous scene there enacted, the title of the "Field of the Cloth of Gold." The series of fêtes which ensued, extending over eighteen days, were on a scale of

unprecedented splendour; but the English monarch, although Francis exhausted every art to captivate him, seems rather to have been piqued and offended by a display of wealth and luxury, which eclipsed that of his own court; and in spite of much exhibition of jovial good-fellowship, and profession of fraternal regard and confidence, the interview proved abortive as a means of political advantage. Before he re-crossed the Channel, Henry a second time met the emperor at Gravelines; and with such address did Charles improve the opportunity, that he won from the English king a promise to conclude no public engagement hostile to the imperial interests. At the same time he flattered him by proposing, that, in case of a rupture between himself and Francis, the points in dispute should be referred to the decision of England; thus placing Henry in the proud position of arbiter of the peace of Europe.

The storm so closely foreseen on both sides burst forth in the spring of 1521; when a French army passed the Pyrenees, and invaded Navarre, for the purpose of aiding Henry d'Albret to recover the throne of that kingdom, of which he had been deprived some years before by Ferdinand the Catholic. It was during the siege of Pampeluna by the French in this campaign that a young officer of Guipuzcoa, actively engaged in conducting the defence, received a severe wound which confined him for many weeks to his bed; an occurrence which proved the turning-point of his subsequent extraordinary career. This soldier was none other than

Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Order of Jesus.

Hostilities had broken out in the course of the same year in the Milanese, the most valuable and precarious of the possessions of Francis. Marshal Lautrec, the French governor, had made himself odious to the inhabitants by his exactions and severities; he was moreover without the means of paying his Swiss mercenaries, the only force upon which he could rely. The remittances destined for this purpose were seized by Louisa of Savoy, who had conceived a spite against Lautrec, and were appropriated to her own use. Meanwhile a secret compact had been entered into by the pope and the emperor, for the purpose of once more expelling the French from the soil of Italy. Their combined forces took the field in October, 1521, and obtained possession of Milan; but the death of Leo X. on the 1st of December disconcerted for a time the movements of the confederates. The campaign of the following year was disastrous to the French. Lautrec was defeated with great loss, and the French obliged to surrender all their places in the Milanese, except Novara and Cremona. Thus the long-contested duchy of Milan was, for the third time within twenty years, severed from the crown of France.

Henry of England now openly espoused the cause of the em-

peror, and declared war against France in May, 1522.

§ 6. Affairs were in this position when an event occurred, which proved in its consequences more injurious to the cause of Francis than any defeats hitherto inflicted on him by the united efforts of his enemies. The constable, Charles, Duke of Bourbon, at this time the most powerful subject in France, had acquired his vast possessions and exalted rank by his marriage with Susanna, the heiress of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon. His great talents and courage made him an object of admiration to Louisa of Savoy; and upon the death of the Duchess Susanna, the former princess, although considerably older than the constable, made him a proposal of marriage. Her overtures being repelled, Louisa vowed from that moment to effect his ruin. In concert with her creature the Chancellor Duprat, she laid claim, in June, 1523, to the entire patrimony of the house of Bourbon, as being the nearest surviving relative of the late duke : she was, in fact, the daughter of his sister, Margaret, Duchess of Savov. The king at the same time demanded certain appanages which had reverted to the crown by the death of the late Duchess Susanna; and a royal edict stripped the constable of all the revenues belonging to his office. Bourbon, thus driven to extremity, suddenly executed a desperate design which he seems for some time to have meditated in secret. Renouncing his allegiance to his lawful prince, he abandoned his service, and made common cause with the enemies of France. By a treaty concluded with the agents of the emperor, it was agreed that the constable should take the command of an army destined to invade France from the side of Germany, while at the same moment a Spanish force was to cross the Pyrenean frontier, and the King of England, to whom the scheme had been communicated, was to make a descent upon Normandy and Picardy. Further stipulations assured to Bourbon an independent sovereignty formed out of Dauphiné and Provence, together with the hand of the emperor's sister Eleanora in marriage.

§ 7. The defection of the constable, and the advance of the English under the Duke of Suffolk to St. Omer (August, 1523), determined Francis not to quit his kingdom; he would not, however, relinquish his designs upon the Milanese, and intrusted the army of invasion to the Admiral Bonnivet, a man who owed his favour with the king to his graceful person and insinuating manners. Bonnivet trifled away the autumn in false manœuvres, and his army suffered dreadfully from cold and hunger during an unusually severe winter. With the return of spring he found himself opposed to the redoubtable Charles of Bourbon, who had made his escape from France, and was now lieutenant-general of the emperor in Italy. Crossing the Ticino with a superior force, Bourbon forced the French to fall back upon Novara; Bonnivet continued his retreat towards Gattinara,

and in a combat on the Sesia received a severe wound, which compelled him to resign the command to the Chevalier Bayard and the Count de St. Pol. A desperate struggle followed, in the course of which the noble Bayard, having resisted for some time the whole strength of the enemy, and thus secured the retreat of the French army, was mortally wounded by a musket-shot in the loins. He caused himself to be placed at the foot of a tree, with his face still turned towards the enemy, and in this position calmly prepared himself for death. The Constable Bourbon rode up soon afterwards, in hot pursuit of his flying countrymen, and addressed the expiring hero in words of respectful sympathy. "I am no object of compassion," returned Bayard; "I die as becomes a soldier and a man of honour; it is yourself who are to be pitied-you who have the misfortune to be fighting against your king, your country, and your oath." Three hours afterwards he breathed his last, honoured and deeply lamented alike by friend and foe (April 30, 1524).

The French now hastily abandoned Lombardy, and regained their

own territory by the pass of Mont Genèvre.

The Constable Bourbon, whose vengeance made him the soul of the coalition against Francis, obtained permission of the emperor, in the course of the same summer, to attack France on the frontier of Provence. His army crossed the Var early in July, and having reduced Fréjus, Toulon, Aix, and other towns, on the 19th of August commenced the siege of Marseilles. This attempt proved signally unsuccessful; the place was obstinately defended, and amply supplied with provisions by the fleet. Francis assembled a powerful army at Avignon; and an assault having been repulsed with severe loss, the Imperialists raised the siege of Marseilles on the 28th of September, and made a hurried retreat across the

border, closely pursued by the French.

§ 8. Francis, instead of following the enemy along the coast, now resolved, with excellent judgment, to attempt by forced marches to gain Milan by the route of Piedmont before Bourbon could arrive to relieve it. So rapid were his movements, that he appeared before Milan on the 26th of October, and entered the city at one gate while the Spanish garrison marched out at the opposite side. But unfortunately, instead of vigorously following up his advantage, the French monarch was induced to form the siege of Pavia, which was defended by the famous Spanish general Antonio de Leyva. Three months were fruitlessly consumed before this fortress—an interval which the imperial commanders employed in rallying and reorganizing their army. Bourbon obtained reinforcements from Germany, with which he joined Lannoy and Pescara at Lodi; and their concentrated forces, marching from that place on the 25th of January, 1525, advanced towards the French camp at Pavia. La Trémoille,

La Palisse, and other veteran captains, now counselled Francis to raise the siege, and take up a strong position so as to give battle with advantage in the open plain: but this advice was overruled by the king's favourite. Bonnivet, and it was resolved to await the enemy's onset in front of PAVIA. For three weeks the two armies remained in presence without movement on either side. At length, on the 24th of February, 1525, the imperial leaders, having ascertained that the French had been considerably weakened by the desertion of a corps of Swiss mercenaries, made an attack upon the line of Francis. The battle which ensued was hotly contested, but ended in the total defeat of the French. Francis himself, when he saw that all was lost, turned to flee; but four Spanish musketeers threw themselves upon him; his horse fell under him, and the king lay at their mercy. He was now recognised by one of the followers of the Duke of Bourbon, and compelled to surrender his sword to the Viceroy Lannoy, who presented him with his own in exchange, and treated him with the utmost respect.

Upwards of 8000 Frenchmen perished on this disastrous day. All the most distinguished generals—the Marshals La Trémoille, La Palisse, and Lescun, Louis d'Ars, the Duke of Longueville, Admiral Bonnivet, and Richard de la Pole, the last descendant of the royal house of York—were slain on the spot. Henry d'Albret, king of Navarre, the Marshal Montmorency, Fleuranges, and the Count St. Pol, remained prisoners with the king. The loss of the victors is said not to have exceeded 700.

The captive monarch was conducted to the castle of Pizzighittone, near Milan, and thence wrote a letter to his mother describing his misfortunes, though not, as it would appear, in those laconic terms which have become so widely celebrated through the narrative of the Père Daniel.

§ 9. The news of the defeat at Pavia was received in France with alarm and dismay. The Regent Louisa displayed in this emergency resolution and activity. She opened communications with Henry of England, with the pope, with Venice, with Florence, and even with the Turkish Sultan; and such were the apprehensions excited in Europe by the colossal power and recent triumph of the emperor, that these diplomatic exertions were not made in vain. Henry signed, in August, 1525, a treaty of neutrality and defensive alliance with France, engaging to use every effort to obtain the liberation of the king, but exacting of the regent that the boon should never be purchased at the price of any territorial dismemberment of France. This example was quickly followed by a secret league between England, the pope, Venice, and Francesco Sforza, having for its object the complete deliverance of Italy from the imperial yoke.

Charles, on hearing of his victory, affected at first great modesty and forbearance, and expressed the kindest sentiments towards his fallen rival. But this was mere pretence. The terms which he proposed, when at length induced to treat for peace, were beyond measure harsh and exorbitant: he demanded the restitution of Burgundy and all other possessions of Charles the Bold; the erection of a separate kingdom for Charles of Bourbon; the restoration to Henry VIII. of all territories in France rightfully enjoyed by his ancestors; and lastly, that Francis should unite with the empire in an expedition against the Turks, furnishing an army of 20,000 men. Francis indignantly declared that he would rather die in prison than accept conditions which would leave him King of France only in name. At the same time, conceiving that Charles would be more likely to listen to reason if he could confer with him in person, he expressed a desire to be transferred to Madrid. This was at once assented to, and Francis, embarking at Genoa, reached Valencia towards the end of June, and proceeded to the capital, where he was lodged in a gloomy tower of the Alcazar. Charles maintained an ominous reserve; he refused to visit his royal prisoner; and Francis. chafing with impatience and disappointment, began to yield to despondency, and was soon attacked by serious illness. The emperor now seemed to relent, and revived the hopes of the sufferer by granting him a personal interview; but he continued to insist without abatement on the conditions already signified; and the result was, that Francis, driven to despair, resolved on the extreme step of abdicating his throne in favour of his son the dauphin, and actually drew up and signed an instrument for this purpose. But his spirit becoming broken by the rigours of his lengthened confinement, he was unable to persevere in this design; and on the 14th of January, 1526, he signed, under a secret protest which permitted him to violate it at pleasure, the humiliating treaty of Madrid. By it he ceded to Charles Burgundy, Flanders, and Artois, renounced all claim to Milan and Naples, restored to the Constable all his forfeited domains, and engaged to attend the emperor with a fleet and army when he went to be crowned at Rome, or marched against the infidels. The two elder sons of Francis were to be given up as hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty; and in case Burgundy should not be transferred to Charles within four months, the king bound himself to return in person to captivity.

On the 18th of March, 1526, Francis crossed the Bidassoa, and once more set foot on the shores of his own kingdom. Springing on horseback, he exclaimed triumphantly, "I am again a king!" Then starting at full speed, he scarcely drew bridle till he reached Bayonne.

§ 10. The king's first impulse and endeavour was to evade the

execution of the recent treaty, which, in virtue of the circumstances under which it was signed, he professed to regard as null and void. Being pressed by the Viceroy Lannoy to fulfil his engagements with respect to Burgundy, Francis replied by summoning at Cognac a meeting of deputies from that duchy, who declared, in the presence of the Spanish envoys, that the king had no right to alienate the province from his crown—that his coronation-oath made such a step impossible—and that nothing should ever induce them to renounce their union with the kingdom of France. The king, however, announced himself ready to give effect to all the other stipulations, and, in lieu of the cession of Burgundy, offered the emperor an indemnity of two millions of crowns. Charles, thus finding himself duped, broke out into violent reproaches, upbraided Francis with a flagrant breach of faith and honour, and required him, if he had any value for his pledged word as a knight and a sovereign, to surrender himself once more a prisoner. Francis treated the summons with total unconcern; he hastened his alliance with the pope, the Duke of Milan, and the Venetians, which was soon published under the title of the "Clementine League." or League of Cognac; and obtained from Clement VII., as one of its provisions, a formal absolution from all oaths and engagements entered into with the emperor during his personal constraint at Madrid.

Thus it became evident that all the questions in dispute were once more to be submitted to the arbitration of the sword. Bourbon. to whom Charles had promised the investiture of the duchy of Milan, took the command of the imperial troops in Lombardy in July, 1526; and being feebly opposed by the incapable Duke of Urbino, the general of the league, soon drove Francesco Sforza out of Milan. The French king exhibited none of his wonted energy and daring; he abandoned himself to pleasure, and Bourbon did not fail to profit by this inaction to strengthen his position in Lombardy. His army was paid by the most cruel exactions from the inhabitants of Milan; and having obtained a reinforcement of 14,000 German lansquenets, he found himself far superior to any force that could be brought against him in Italy. He pushed his advantage to the utmost. His German soldiery, inflamed by the doctrines of Luther, clamoured to be led against the pope: Bourbon either could not, or would not, restrain their fanaticism; and Europe now beheld the scandalous spectacle of a direct attack upon the head of the Church made in the name and by the armies of the chief among the princes of Christendom, Marching from Milan in January, 1527, in the depth of a rigorous winter, the imperial general took the road to Florence; the Duke of Urbino concentrated his troops to defend that city; and Bourbon, turning

aside towards Bologna, crossed the Apennines and invaded the States of the Church, although Clement had already concluded a truce with the Vicerov of Naples, and disbanded the greater part of his forces. Swelled by a multitude of adventurers and bandits scarcely less barbarous than the hordes of Alaric and Attila, the army of the emperor arrived under the walls of Rome on the 5th of May, and the next morning at daybreak advanced to the assault. Bourbon insisted on planting the first ladder with his own hands; but searcely had he set his foot on it when he was struck by a musket-shot in the side, and fell back into the fosse mortally wounded. His infuriated followers terribly avenged his fall; they stormed the ramparts, slaughtered the feeble garrison, and the eternal city, abandoned to the lawless will of the bloodthirsty victors, became for the space of seven months a scene of merciless violence, pillage, and destruction. The helpless pope was treated with gross indignity, and closely imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo. Charles, with grotesque hypocrisy, professed the deepest distress at the misfortunes of Clement, and ordered public prayers

in all the churches of Spain for his deliverance.

Upon the news of the sack of Rome, which excited universal horror, the kings of France and England renewed their friendly engagements, and agreed upon a joint expedition to effect the liberation of the pope. Lautrec was despatched into Lombardy at the head of 900 lances and 20,000 infantry. Rapidly gaining possession of Alessandria, Pavia, and Genoa, he marched southwards, and on the 29th of April, 1528, made his appearance before Naples. Charles, alarmed by these energetic movements, restored the pope to liberty upon payment of a ransom of 250,000 ducats, together with a promise to do nothing contrary to the imperial interests in Italy. The French army now formed the blockade of Naples, while a Genoese fleet, commanded by a nephew of the famous Doria, engaged the Spaniards off Salerno, and inflicted on them a serious defeat. Everything promised favourably for the cause of Francis; but a fatal act of indiscretion, on this as on so many other occasions, soon stripped him of all his advantage. The great Genoese admiral, Andrea Doria, who had already in many a severe encounter proved himself the faithful ally of France, petitioned Francis to restore to his native city certain franchises and commercial privileges deeply affecting its prosperity. The king, misled by his favourites, not only refused at once his request, but even sent out a French officer to supersede him in his command, and place him under arrest. Doria, justly indignant, forthwith passed over to the service of the emperor with his whole squadron. The French were now outnumbered by the Spanish naval force, and found themselves unable to maintain the blockade of Naples.

Provisions were conveyed to the garrison by sea; while at the same time a terrible epidemic disease broke out in the camp of Lautrec, and that brave general himself fell a victim to its fury. The Marquis de Saluces, succeeding to the command of an army already half destroyed by pestilence, threw himself into Aversa, where he was soon compelled to capitulate, and he and all his officers surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Scarcely 5000 soldiers, out of 30,000 whom Lautrec had led to Naples, survived to re-enter France.

To make the disaster more complete, Doria, returning to Genoa with his victorious fleet, excited a revolutionary movement in that city, expelled the French, and restored the republican form of government, of which he himself became the head, under the protection of the emperor. French influence was never re-established at Genoa from that time till the era of the great Revolution.

§ 11. The war had now lasted with scarcely any intermission for upwards of eight years. France was exhausted by her immense losses and sacrifices; and even the king himself, reluctantly admitting the superiority of his great rival, began to feel that he had small chance of making good his pretensions on the Italian side of the Alps. Charles, on his part, threatened on one side by the growth of Protestantism among the North German princes, and harassed on the other by the aggressions of the Turks under their sultan, Solyman, was by no means indisposed to peace in the west, especially since his recent successes. In these circumstances a meeting was arranged, in July, 1529, at the imperial city of Cambrai, between Marguerite of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands, the emperor's aunt, and the Duchess of Angoulême, mother of the King of France; and, without the intervention of any other agents, these fair diplomatists signed, after a month's deliberation. the conditions of a definitive peace, which has become celebrated as the "Paix des Dames." The treaty of Madrid was taken as the basis of the new arrangement, but with one important modification: Charles forbore to insist on the cession of Burgundy, and accepted from Francis the indemnity formerly offered of two millions of crowns. In all other points the terms remained unaltered; and Francis consequently made an absolute surrender of all his rights in Italy, vielded up Flanders and Artois, bound himself to engage in no projects hostile to the emperor, whether in Italy or elsewhere, and to assist Charles, when called upon, with a fleet and a subsidy of 200,000 crowns. The young French princes, who had been kept as hostages in Spain, were to be immediately restored; and Francis was to celebrate at once his marriage with Eleanora, Queen Dowager of Portugal, sister of the emperor. These two latter articles were not carried into effect till July, 1530.

The peace of Cambrai was a severe humiliation to Francis I. Italy, the rich prize for which France had been so pertinaciously struggling during three successive reigns, was thus finally abandoned to the rival house of Austria; and remained from that day to the time of Napoleon I. either subject to the dominion, or to the pre-

dominant influence, of the emperors.

§ 12. It was during the interval of tranquillity procured by the treaty of Cambrai, that the attention of Francis was first seriously called to that movement of the human mind which resulted in the Reformation. The doctrines first broached in Germany had spread with rapidity into the neighbouring countries; and so early as the year 1521 the heresy of Luther had been condemned by a solemn sentence of the Faculty of Theology at Paris. The innovators took refuge at Meaux, where they were protected by Briconnet. bishop of that see, a prelate full of the reforming spirit, under whose influence the king's sister Marguerite, afterwards Queen of Navarre, conceived a strong attachment to the party. They also found a powerful patron in the king's favourite mistress, the Duchess of Etampes. The authorities, both lay and clerical, soon took the alarm, and resorted to extreme measures of persecution. Francis himself was by his natural disposition inclined to tolerance; but the representations and counsels of Duprat, who had been lately named a cardinal, led him to change his policy; and taking advantage of a popular commotion at Paris, caused by the profanation of an image of the Virgin, the king ordered several executions both in the capital and the provinces. Louis de Berquin, a man of station and considerable learning, who had translated some important treatises of Luther and Erasmus, was condemned at this time by the parlement of Paris, and burnt as a heretic on the Place de Grève. But in spite of these severities, the ferment still continued to increase. In 1534 the reformers, inflamed by the example of the Anabaptist insurrection at Münster, grew bolder: they covered the walls of Paris with violent tirades against the mass and transubstantiation, and one of these placards was even found posted up in the bedchamber of Francis in the castle of Blois. This insult produced fresh persecutions, which were continued during several months. At length Francis, finding it advisable to cultivate the friendship of the Lutheran princes of Germany in the prospect of a renewed conflict with the Emperor Charles, was induced to relent, and addressed a manifesto to the sovereigns of the reformed states, full of professions of moderation and clemency. In truth, the intense hatred borne by Francis to the emperor and his dynasty-the great master-spring of his conduct-involved him in continual inconsistencies. Under the impulse of this motive, he alternately negotiated with the Protestant

leaguers of Smalcalde, courted the alliance of the pope, cultivated intimate relations with Henry of England, and even concluded friendly treaties with the infidel Sultan of Constantinople. These contradictions of conduct were all prompted by the same principle of policy—the endeavour to weaken and isolate his adversary, while he strengthened himself to renew their deadly strife.

To gain the favour of the pope, Francis proposed a marriage between his second son, Henry, Duke of Orleans, and Catherine de' Medici, daughter of the late Duke of Urbino, and a relative of Clement. The pope, flattered by the offer of so splendid a family connection, showed his satisfaction by proceeding in person to France to celebrate the nuptials; and this union, fraught with such memorable consequences, took place at Marseilles on the 28th of October, 1533. The advantages, however, which Francis had expected from this alliance with the sovereign pontiff were not realized; Clement VII. died in the following year, and Paul III., his successor, was by no means disposed to join the cause of France in opposition to the emperor.

The Protestant leaders, meanwhile, had learned with horror the atrocities practised by the king's orders against their brethren at Paris. From that moment they showed themselves desirous to come to terms with the emperor; and several treaties followed, by which Charles conceded their principal demands, and the cause of the Reformation was greatly advanced in Germany. Francis perceived his error, but it was too late to repair it. He hastened to write to the German princes in approbation of the confession of Augsburg; he invited Melanchthon to take up his residence in France; he even published an edict restoring to liberty all persons imprisoned for holding the reformed doctrines; but he never regained the confidence he had forfeited by his fluctuating policy and savage intolerance.

§ 13. The first act tending to a rupture of the peace of Cambrai was committed, or at least instigated, by the emperor. The Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza, having shown a desire to cultivate the goodwill of the King of France, Francis had sent a confidential agent, named Maraviglia, to reside at Milan. The emperor, on discovering this, remonstrated with Sforza, and insisted on the dismissal of the envoy. The duke dared not disobey; Maraviglia was suddenly arrested, thrown into a dungeon, and beheaded without trial (July 6, 1533). Francis appealed to the powers of Europe against the outrage, and determined to avenge it by force of arms. War was not immediately declared; but in the summer of 1535 Francis suddenly advanced a claim, without a shadow of justice, to the duchy of Savoy, and poured his forces into that country, as a prelude to an invasion of the Milanese. At this moment Francesco

Sforza died, leaving no heirs, and the duchy of Milan reverted to Charles as an imperial fief. Francis forthwith sent to demand the investiture for his second son the Duke of Orleans; the emperor replied by offering to grant the duchy to the Duke of Angoulême, third son of Francis, but upon condition that the French troops, which had already overrun the whole of Savoy and Piedmont, should at once evacuate those territories. These terms were re-

jected, and both parties prepared for hostilities.

Charles, whose recent triumphs had inspired him with unbounded self-confidence, crossed the Var and invaded Provence, at the head of 50,000 men, on the 25th of July. The French army, led by the Constable Montmorency, took post at Avignon, which commands both the Rhone and the Durance. The population was ordered to retire into the fortified towns; property and provisions of all kinds were hastily withdrawn, and the entire district was then mercilessly laid waste by the French themselves, so that Provence presented in the course of a few days the most deplorable spectacle of desolation. Flourishing towns-Grasse, Digne, Draguignan, Antibes, Toulon-were set on fire and reduced to ashes; the inhabitants fled to the mountains, where thousands perished from exposure, privation, and hunger. The march of the invaders was unopposed; but it became every day more and more difficult to feed the troops, and on reaching Aix, the capital, where he had intended to take triumphant possession of the kingdom of Provence, Charles found it totally depopulated and abandoned; everything had been removed or destroyed that could be of the slightest use or value to a conqueror. Famine and disease soon made fearful havoc in the imperial ranks. It was attempted to besiege Arles and Marseilles; but in each case the assailants were beaten off with severe loss; and the emperor, hearing at this moment of the arrival of Francis in his entrenched camp before Avignon, and apprehending an attack with overwhelming numbers, reluctantly gave orders to commence a retreat. The army, already wasted by the pestilence, became disorganized; and before Charles reached the frontier on the 25th of September he had lost at least half his entire force.

It was during this campaign that Francis lost his eldest son, the dauphin. The young prince expired somewhat suddenly at Tournon on the 10th of August; and his father accused the emperor of having procured his removal by poison. The Imperialists, in their turn, charged the crime on the young Duchess of Orleans, Catherine de' Medici. One of the officers of his household, the Count Montecuculi, fell a victim to the king's groundless suspicions: the rack forced from him an avowal that he had been suborned by the emperor, and he was executed with cruel tortures as a traitor.

The Duke of Orleans now succeeded his brother as dauphin and heir apparent to the throne.

Hostilities were carried on during this and the following year in a desultory manner, and without results of any great importance. The exertions of Pope Paul III. at length succeeded in arranging an armistice at Nice. A definitive peace was found impracticable; but a truce for ten years was signed on the 18th of June, 1538, in virtue of which each sovereign was to retain all of which he was actually in possession. This arrangement left the emperor master of the Milanese, while Savoy and the greater part of Piedmont remained in the hands of the French. Shortly after this pacification the two monarchs held an interview, upon the invitation of the emperor, at Aigues Mortes in Provence, where they lavished on each other every mark of friendship, esteem, and confidence.

§ 14. The result of the good understanding thus established soon appeared in a change in the policy of Francis. He withdrew his support from the Protestants, broke off his relations with Henry VIII., and ceased to cultivate the alliance of the Ottoman Porte. Pertinaciously bent on his favourite object, the acquisition of the duchy of Milan, he sought in every way to conciliate and gratify the emperor; and the revolt of Ghent, in 1539, presented an opportunity of conferring an obligation on his ancient rival, which he was not slow to embrace. The rebellious burghers sent a deputation to the king, promising, in return for his support, to restore the sovereignty of France in Ghent and other cities of Flanders. Francis not only rejected the temptation, but immediately informed the emperor of the transaction, and offered him a passage through France, in case he should desire to take that route in proceeding to the Netherlands. The proposal was gladly accepted. The emperor crossed the Bidassoa; and Francis sent the dauphin and the Duke of Orleans. together with the Constable Montmorency, to meet him at Bayonne. Throughout his journey, which was made by slow stages, he was entertained with splendid festivities. Francis himself received him at Loches, and they entered Paris in company on the 1st of January, 1540. It was on this occasion that the court fool of Francis inscribed the emperor's name at the head of the members of his own fraternity-a distinction which he said that Charles had merited by his rashness in venturing into France. "And how if I should allow him to depart freely?" inquired Francis. "In that case," returned the jester, "I shall erase the emperor's name, and put yours in its place." The king was indeed urged by several confidential advisers, among others by the Duchess of Etampes, to detain his rival, now that he had him in his power, and insist upon full satisfaction for all his demands. Francis, however, acted on this occasion as became a man of honour and

generous feeling. He trusted his imperial guest, and exacted no security beyond his word; and Charles, accompanied by the king as far as St. Quentin, pursued his journey in safety to the frontier, and reached Ghent on the 6th of February. But when the ambassadors of Francis requested his imperial majesty to give effect to the engagements so lately entered into with their master, he protested that he had promised nothing. Deeply mortified, Francis seems to have resolved from that moment on renewing the war at the first

opportunity.

§ 15. A few months later, Charles, on his side, took a decisive step towards a rupture, by conferring on his son Philip the investiture of the duchy of Milan. Francis now formed an alliance with the Turkish Sultan Solyman, and in 1542 declared war against the Emperor. The celebrated Algerine corsair Barbarossa, with 110 ships of war, joined the French fleet, under the Count d'Enghien, at Marseilles, in May, 1543; and Christian Europe beheld with amazement this strange association of the lilies of France with the ensigns of the infidel. The confederates advanced in August to besiege Nice, the only remaining fortress of the Duke of Savoy. Nice surrendered, and was sacked and burnt in spite of the capitulation; and Barbarossa, after wintering at Toulon, set sail for Constantinople, carrying with him no less than 14,000 Christian slaves whom he had captured by piracy on the Italian coasts.

In Piedmont the arms of France were at length crowned with something of her ancient glory. The Count d'Enghien attacked the Imperialists at Cerisolles on the 14th of April, 1544, and gained a brilliant victory. The enemy lost upwards of 12,000 men; and their artillery, standards, stores, and baggage remained in the hands of the victors.

Unfortunately the state of affairs in other quarters was such as to prevent Francis from following up this advantage. The King of England declared for the emperor, and signed a treaty with him in February, 1543, by which it was agreed that the two sovereigns should march simultaneously upon Paris, and, after taking possession of that capital, make a partition of the kingdom of France between them. Henry VIII. landed at Calais in July, 1544, with 30,000 men, and laid siege to Montreuil and Boulogne; while the emperor, invading at the same moment the frontier of Champagne, attacked the town of St. Dizier-sur-Marne. This small town nobly resisted for six weeks the efforts of the whole imperial army, and hence gave Francis time to concentrate a powerful army, with which he covered the approaches to the capital; and although the Imperialists, after the fall of St. Dizier, advanced on the road to Paris as far as Meaux, they did not venture to hazard an attack on the

greatly superior forces which opposed them. They now abandoned their forward movement, turned northwards, and encamped at Crespy, near Compiègne. Here Charles opened negotiations with Francis, and the terms of a definitive peace were arranged between them on the 18th of September. It was agreed to make mutual restitution of whatever had been taken since the truce of Nice: and the King of France renounced once more his rights to Naples and his sovereignty in Flanders. The emperor on his side engaged to bestow in marriage on the Duke of Orleans either his own daughter Mary, with the Netherlands for dowry, or a daughter of his brother Ferdinand, with the investiture of the duchy of Milan: the choice to be determined by the emperor within four months. Savoy was to be surrendered by France at the same time that the treaty of marriage should be carried into effect. Lastly, the two sovereigns bound themselves to make strenuous and combined exertions for the suppression of heresy. This latter article contains probably the explanation of the emperor's policy in granting terms so advantageous to France. The Reformation was advancing with rapid strides; and Charles felt that, if the movement was ever to be effectually arrested, it could only be by strict union and vigorous co-operation among the Catholic powers. He had already arranged with the pope the project of convoking a general council for the restoration of peace to the Church; and now that the main obstacle to its meeting was removed by the reconciliation between himself and Francis, it was summoned to assemble at Trent in the following vear (1545).

In 1545 the Duke of Orleans died, and Charles V. at once invested his son Philip with Milan. The French never regained

their hold in Italy till the days of Napoleon I.

Henry VIII., who after a lengthened siege had succeeded in reducing Boulogne, refused to be included in the treaty of Crespy, and hostilities therefore continued between England and France. The dauphin attempted unsuccessfully to recover Boulogne, and in 1545 Francis equipped a fleet at Havre-de-Grace, with which he made a descent upon the Isle of Wight. Several naval combats took place, with indecisive result; neither energy nor skill were displayed on either side; and after another year of fruitless warfare Henry signified his willingness to treat for peace. By the terms, signed on the 7th of June, 1546, the King of England engaged to restore Boulogne within eight years, for a payment of two millions of crowns. Henry, however, did not live to execute this treaty. He expired a few months later, in January, 1547.

§ 16. Francis disgraced the concluding years of his reign by barbarous severity towards the unfortunate Protestants of Provence. The Vaudois, as they were called, a simple, inoffensive, and loyal

population, inhabited a few obscure towns and villages in the vicinity of Avignon and Aix. Orders were suddenly sent down to the purlement of Provence, in January, 1545, to exterminate these helpless peasants, who were denounced as dangerous heretics; and the sentence was at once executed with ferocious cruelty. Three towns and twenty-two hamlets were totally destroyed; 3000 of their inhabitants, among whom were numbers of women and children, unresistingly butchered in cold blood; 700 condemned for life to the galleys. Similar horrors were renewed in the following year at Meaux, where sixty of the reformed Church, all mechanics or peasants, were sentenced to various degrees of punishment, and fourteen were burnt together at the stake. Such were the first fruits of the late compact between the French king and the emperor, which inaugurated a great and vigorous reaction towards Catholicism.

Francis breathed his last at the château of Rambouillet on the 31st of March, 1547, in the fifty-third year of his age and the thirty-third of his reign. In his parting counsels to his successor he enjoined him to exclude Montmorency from all posts of authority, and, above all, to curb with a strong hand the rising power and ambition of the Guises. "Three of this monarch's deeds," says Marshal Tavannes, "have justly procured for him the title of Great: the victory of Marignano, the restoration of letters, and his single-handed resistance to the combined powers of Europe."

The besetting fault of the administration of Francis I., and that which led to his most serious reverses, was that of allowing himself to be controlled, even in the most important affairs, by female influence, and by incapable favourites. His mother, Louisa of Savoy, in the earlier part of the reign, ruled the state at her pleasure; and to her must be attributed the treason of Bourbon and the loss of the Milanese. Madame de Châteaubriand established a shameful traffic in appointments of all kinds—military, political, and civil—by which the public service became miserably corrupt. The Duchess of Etampes leagued with the Duke of Orleans against his father and the dauphin, and was base enough to reveal the king's secrets to the emperor at the most critical period of the war. The elevation of such men as Bonnivet and Montmorency, to posts for which they were manifestly unfit, produced equally pernicious results.

With regard, however, to the great leading feature of his reign, the war with the house of Austria, it must be allowed that Francis displayed a sagacious conception of the real interests of France. The enormous power and formidable projects of the emperor threatened the independence not only of France, but of all Europe. Francis struggled for near thirty years to vindicate and preserve

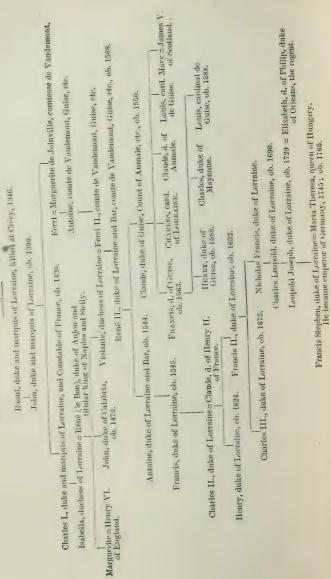
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that independence; and to have maintained a contest so severe and so protracted, leaving France at the close of it not only undiminished but even augmented in territory, resources, and renown, is no ordinary praise. Francis was an energetic and munificent promoter of that great intellectual revival which was one of the most memorable characteristics of his age. He was the friend, protector, and patron of the learned Budé, or Budæus, the first Greek scholar of his day; of Scaliger, and of the famous printer Robert Stephens; of the satirist Rabelais, and the Calvinist poet Clement Marot; of the painters Leonardo da Vinci, Andrea del Sarto, Salviati, and Primaticcio; of the sculptors Benvenuto Cellini and Jean Goujon. The public edifices of the reign are so many splendid monuments of the glories of the Renaissance. We owe to the liberality of Francis, and the skill and taste of his artists, the palaces of Fontainebleau, St. Germain, and Chambord; and the smaller but exquisitely elegant châteaux of Chenonceaux, Azay-le-Rideau, Villers-Cotterets, and Anet.

Francis was also the founder of the Royal College of France, or Trilingual College, for free instruction in languages, mathematics, philosophy, and the physical sciences. The king endeavoured, but without success, to induce the celebrated Erasmus to accept the presidency of this institution

FRANCE.

TABLE OF THE DUCAL HOUSES OF LORBAINE AND GUISE.





Fort de la Tournelle, Paris,

CHAPTER XIII.

HENRY II. A.D. 1547-1559.

- § 1. Influence of the Guises; their history. § 2. Betrothal of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin; renewal of the war with Charles V.; alliance with the Protestants of Germany. § 3. Metz, Toul, and Verdun conquered and annexed to France. § 4. Treaty of Paseau; siege of Metz; repulse of Charles. § 5. Abdication of Charles V.; expedition of the Duke of Guise into Italy; its failure; defeat of the French by the Duke of Savoy. § 6. Capture of Calais by the French. § 7. Peace of Cateau-Cambresis; death of Henry. § 8. Progress of the Reformation in France.
- § 1. Henry II., who ascended the throne in the twenty-ninth year of his age, possessed several of the defects, together with few of the merits, of his father. He was a prince of dull understanding and feeble character; his sole accomplishment consisted in a remarkable expertness in bodily exercises. Disregarding the deathbed admonitions of his father, he abruptly dismissed the ministers of the late reign, and gave his entire confidence to the Constable Montmorency and to Francis Count of Aumale, afterwards Duke of Guise. Their influence, however, was equalled, if not overbalanced,

by that of Henry's mistress, Diana of Poitiers. This lady, the widow of the Count de Brézé, Grand Seneschal of Normandy, had preserved her beauty at the mature age of forty-eight, and exercised an almost absolute ascendency over her lover. The young queen, Catherine de' Medici, remained throughout the reign neglected and without authority.

The family of Guise, which now began to occupy so prominent a position in the state, was a younger branch of the sovereign house of Lorraine, and had for its founder Claude, first Duke of Guise, the fifth son of René II., Duke of Lorraine. This prince, who married a daughter of the house of Bourbon, and served with high distinction in the wars of Francis I., left seven sons, the eldest of whom, Francis, succeeded him as Duke of Guise, while Charles, the second, became Archbishop of Reims, and afterwards Cardinal of Lorraine. His eldest daughter, Mary of Lorraine, married James V. of Scotland, and at the time of the accession of Henry II, possessed a large share in the government of that kingdom during the minority of her daughter, Mary Stuart. Being descended through females, from the princes of Anjou, the Guises maintained vain pretensions to the inheritance of their ancestors, including even the throne of the Two Sicilies and Jerusalem. In addition to these advantages of illustrious lineage, both Francis of Guise and his brother, the cardinal, were men of remarkable capacity, though of very different dispositions. The duke was an able military commander, a bold and sagacious politician, and of a frank, candid, magnanimous character: the churchman was shrewd and subtle, learned, eloquent, and insinuating, and possessed consummate powers of dissimulation. Everything concurred to place them among the foremost statesmen of the age.

§ 2. The policy of the Guises, conceived with boldness and ability, tended strongly towards a renewal of the contest with the emperor; and although Charles had now reached the summit of his prosperous fortunes, and had recently gained the decisive victory of Muhlberg over the Protestant princes, the ministers of Henry actively intrigued against him in various quarters, and made preparations which showed that they were fully determined upon war. Some time elapsed, however, before hostilities were declared; and during this interval the Guises skilfully profited by their family connection with the royal house of Scotland to establish the complete ascendency of the French alliance in that country.

The young queen, Mary Stuart, was already promised in marriage to Edward VI. of England; but when summoned to fulfil the treaty, the queen dowager and the Regent Arran, who as Catholics were strongly opposed to the Protestant connection, returned an absolute refusal. The Protector Somerset enforced his demand by marching

an army into Scotland, and the Scots were totally defeated at Pinkie. But this victory, instead of furthering the views of the English court, only determined the regent and his council to throw themselves on the protection and demand the armed assistance of France. Mary of Lorraine negotiated with her brother, and, as both parties had at heart the same object, it was soon arranged that the Queen of Scots should be affianced to the Dauphin Francis, eldest son of Henry, and should be sent to be educated in France until the period of her marriage. A French squadron entered the Frith of Forth in June, 1548, and, having landed a body of troops, sailed round the northern coasts of Scotland, took on board the young queen and her suite at Dumbarton Castle, and arrived in safety at Brest. This proceeding, which opened a direct prospect of the annexation of the crown of Scotland at some future day to that of France, was immediately followed by a rupture between Henry and the English; and the French king, invading the territory of Boulogne, made himself master of several fortresses along the sea-coast during the summer of 1549. Boulogne was threatened, and the English. feeling themselves too weak to sustain a siege, at length agreed to surrender the place for the sum of 400,000 crowns, instead of the two millions stipulated by the former treaty of 1546. Other articles having been arranged, peace was proclaimed between England, France, and Scotland, on the 24th of March, 1550, and Henry made his public entry into Boulogne amid universal joy.

Thus strengthened by an advantageous peace with England, and successful in their project with regard to the Scottish crown, the advisers of Henry judged that the moment had arrived for open and decided measures against the emperor. Charles, as we have said, was at this time at the zenith of absolute power; but in order to perpetuate this mighty despotism, he was anxious to secure the succession to the empire for his son Philip. This scheme excited fresh alarm and agitation throughout Germany, and led to the most formidable combination against the emperor that he had vet encountered during his long career. In 1551 a powerful champion of the cause of civil and religious independence appeared unexpectedly in the person of the celebrated Maurice, Elector of Saxony. He had hitherto been one of Charles's warmest supporters; but at length, disgusted by a tyranny which became more and more intolerable, and impelled likewise by strong motives of personal ambition, he resolved to place himself at the head of the great Protestant confederacy, and attempt to achieve the liberation of Germany. Maurice was at this time in command of the imperial forces which were besieging Magdeburg; and so complete were the duplicity and secrecy of his proceedings, that his fidelity to the emperor does not seem to have been in the slightest degree

suspected when he signed a treaty of alliance with the King of France, on the 5th of October, 1551. In this engagement no mention was made of the great question of religious reform; since Henry, as the "eldest son of the Church," could not with decency avow that he was about to take arms in defence of heretics. The professed object of the contracting parties (among whom were several other princes of the empire besides Maurice) was to resist the dangerous attempts made by the emperor to "reduce Germany to a state of insupportable and perpetual slavery, as he had already succeeded in doing in Spain and other countries.

Henry promised to furnish immense subsidies to his new allies, who on their part bound themselves to conclude neither truce nor peace with the emperor without the consent of the King of France. It was further agreed that Henry should make a diversion in their favour by invading Lorraine, and taking possession of the district called the "Trois Evêchés," in which were comprised the towns of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Henry had long coveted this acquistion, and now stipulated that he should retain it under the some-

what inconsistent title of "Vicar of the Holy Empire."

§ 3. The confederates took the field early in the spring of 1552. The Elector Maurice, having published a manifesto in vindication of his conduct, marched against the emperor, who at this time lay confined to his bed by illness at Innsbrück. Such was the rapidity of his movements, that Charles had barely time to save himself from being taken prisoner by a precipitate flight across the mountains into Carinthia. In the mean time, Henry, having assumed the high-sounding appellation of "Protector of the Liberties of Germany," joined his army at Châlons-sur-Marne, and took the road to Metz. The regency was intrusted to Queen Catherine; and various executions of persons condemned for heresy were ordered to take place immediately before the king's departure, as a practical proof that he by no means designed to favour the new religion by associating himself with its chief propagators in other countries. Toul opened its gates without resistance; Metz and Verdun were gained by surprise; and these three places, forming an important line of defence on the German frontier, became permanently annexed to France. Flushed with success, Henry continued his march upon Alsace, and made an attempt upon Strassburg, which, however, was decisively repulsed. Having "watered their horses in the Rhine," the French retraced their steps into Lorraine, and thence attacked the imperial province of Luxemburg. Here also their arms were successful, and several towns submitted after slight resistance.

§ 4. The firm attitude and able generalship of Maurice, seconded by the bold demonstration of the French upon the Rhine, induced

the emperor, however reluctantly, to make terms with his revolted subjects. Negotiations commenced, and the result was the famous treaty of Passau, signed the 2nd of August, 1552, by which Charles conceded to the Protestants freedom of religious worship, and complete equality between the two forms of faith until the definitive sentence of a general council. Henry refused to be included in this pacification; and the emperor, now left at liberty to concentrate his resources for a grand attack on his inveterate foe, prepared to call him to a severe account for his recent aggression. imperial army, 60,000 strong, with an immense train of artillery, crossed the Rhine in September, and towards the middle of October laid siege to Metz, the recovery of which frontier fortress was Charles's main object. But meanwhile Henry had intrusted the command of Metz to Francis Duke of Guise. Under his directions the old fortifications were thoroughly repaired; the magazines were filled with immense quantities of provisions and stores; the garrison was largely reinforced, and joined by all the best officers in France, including many noblemen of the highest rank, and even several princes of the blood royal; in short, every possible preparation was made for an obstinate defence. The siege of Metz is one of the most memorable episodes in the struggle between the rival houses of France and Austria. For two months the Imperialists. led by their most renowned generals, the Duke of Alva and the Marquis of Marignano, battered the walls with a ceaseless cannonade. and exhausted all other resources of the art of war, with a total want of success. The defenders repaired by night the breaches effected by the enemy during the day; they destroyed their mines, and harassed them by repeated and destructive sorties. Thousands were slain by the well-directed fire from the ramparts; and as the winter advanced, the besiegers suffered still greater losses from the pitiless severity of the weather, from sickness, hardship, and famine. The siege became at length evidently hopeless and Charles, bitterly observing that "Fortune, like the rest of her sex, favoured the young and neglected those advanced in years," gave orders to abandon it. His army decamped from before Metz on the 11th of January, 1553.

§ 5. The war continued during the two following years; but both parties were now growing weary of a contest in which neither achieved any decisive superiority. The emperor's fortunate star seemed to have deserted him; his bodily strength failed under the weight of years, anxiety, disappointment, and chronic disease; and at length he determined to execute a design which he had been for some time maturing in his own mind, and abdicate his vast dominions in favour of his son Philip and his brother Ferdinand. In October, 1555, Philip was declared sovereign of the Netherlands and

Franche-Comté; in January, 1556, his father transferred to him the splendid crown of Spain and the Indies.

Meantime Pope Paul IV., who detested the Spaniards and longed for the complete overthrow of their power in the Peninsula, entered into a league with the French king against Philip. Francis of Guise, encouraged in his favourite project of effecting a restoration of the crown of Naples to his own family, as the descendants of René of Anjou, in December, 1556, led an army of 16,000 men across the Alps, and, marching direct to Rome, prepared to attack the Spanish viceroy of Naples, the celebrated Duke of Alva. In April, 1557, Guise advanced into the Abruzzi, and besieged Civitella; but here he encountered a determined resistance, and, after sacrificing a great part of his troops, found it necessary to abandon the attempt. He retreated towards Rome, closely pursued by the Duke of Alva; and the result was that the expedition totally failed. Before his army could recover from the fatigues and losses of their fruitless campaign the French general was suddenly recalled by a despatch containing tidings of urgent im-

portance from the north of France.

The Spanish army in the Netherlands, commanded by the Duke of Savoy, having been joined by a body of English auxiliaries under the Earl of Pembroke, had invaded France and laid siege to St. Quentin. This place was badly fortified, and defended by a feeble garrison under the Admiral Coligny. Montmorency advanced with the main army to reinforce it; and on the 10th of August rashly attacked the Spaniards, who outnumbered his own troops in the proportion of more than two to one, and inflicted on him a fatal and irretrievable defeat. The loss of the French amounted, according to most accounts, to 4000 slain in the field, while at least an equal number remained prisoners, including the constable himself. The road to Paris lay open to the victors; and the Emperor Charles, on receiving in his retirement the news of the event, impatiently demanded of the messengers whether his son had yet reached that capital. The Duke of Savoy was eager to advance; but the cautious Philip, happily for France, rejected his advice, and ordered him to press the siege of St. Quentin. That town made a desperate resistance for more than a fortnight longer; and was captured by storm on the 27th of August, Coligny being taken prisoner while fighting sword in hand in the breach. Philip took possession of a few other neighbouring fortresses, but made no serious effort to follow up his victory; and France, thus once more saved in a moment of extreme peril, was enabled to concentrate her vast resources, and organize new means of self-defence.

§ 6. The Duke of Guise, who arrived from Italy early in October, to the great joy of the king and the nation, was immediately created

lieutenant-general of the kingdom, with powers of almost unlimited extent. He applied himself, with his utmost ability and perseverance, to repair the late disasters; and with such success, that in less than two months he was enabled to assemble a fresh and wellappointed army at Compiègne. Resolving to strike a vigorous blow before the enemy could reappear in the field, he detached a division of his army to make a feint in the direction of Luxemburg: and rapidly marching westwards with the remainder, presented himself, on the 1st of January, 1558, before the walls of Calais. The English garrison had been recently diminished, as the place was considered almost unassailable in winter by reason of the neighbouring morasses. The French attack was a complete surprise; the two advanced forts commanding the approaches to the town were bombarded, and surrendered on the 3rd of January: three days later the castle was carried by assault; and on the 8th. the governor, Lord Wentworth, was forced to capitulate, and vielded himself prisoner of war, together with fifty of the officers and principal inhabitants. The rest of the garrison and population were permitted to retire to England; but with the loss of all their property, and the arms, stores, and artillery of the fortress, which were seized by the victors. Guines, no longer tenable after the fall of Calais, shared the same fate on the 21st of January; and thus, within the short space of three weeks, were the last remnants of her ancient dominion on the continent snatched from the grasp of England—possessions which she had held for upwards of two hundred years, and from which she had so often poured forth her hosts to dispute the supremacy of her rival.

This remarkable exploit created universal enthusiasm in France, and carried to the highest pitch the reputation and popularity of Guise. From this moment his influence became paramount; and the marriage of the dauphin to the Queen of Scots, which was solemnized on the 24th of April, 1558, seemed to exalt the house of Lorraine to a still more towering pinnacle of greatness. It was stipulated by a secret article of the marriage-contract that the sovereignty of Scotland should be transferred to France, and that the two crowns should remain united for ever, in case of the decease

of Mary without issue.

§ 7. Towards the end of the year negotiations were opened with a view to peace. The main obstacle to an arrangement was the peremptory demand made by England, and supported by Philip, for the restitution of Calais and its dependencies. At this juncture, however, an event occurred, the results of which produced a solution of the difficulty. Queen Mary of England expired on the 17th of November, 1558; the conferences were immediately suspended for some months; and during this interval Philip saw

enough of the policy and tendencies of Mary's successor, Elizabeth, to convince him that no cordial alliance was henceforth probable between Spain and England. The consequence was, that when the congress re-assembled at Le Cateau-Cambresis, in February. 1559, the Spanish ministers no longer maintained the interests of England; and Elizabeth, thus abandoned, agreed to an arrangement which virtually ceded Calais to France, though with such nominal qualifications as satisfied the sensitiveness of the national honour. Calais was to be restored to the English at the end of eight years, with a penalty, in case of failure, of 500,000 crowns. At the same time, if any hostile proceeding should take place on the part of England against France within the period specified, the queen was to forego all claim to the fulfilment of the article. Upon such vague and illusory terms peace was concluded between France and England on the 2nd of April, 1559. The treaty between Henry and Philip was signed on the following day. The conditions were hard for France, and would probably not have been accepted but for the jealous intrigues of Montmorency against the predominant influence of the house of Guise. The two monarchs mutually restored their conquests in Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Picardy, and Artois: France abandoned Savov and Piedmont, with the exception of Turin and four other fortresses; she evacuated Tuscany, Corsica, and Montferrat, and yielded up no less than 189 towns or fortresses in various parts of Europe. By way of compensation, Henry preserved the district of the "Trois Evêchés,"-Toul, Metz, and Verdun, -and made the all-important acquisition of Calais.

This pacification was sealed, according to custom, by marriages. Henry's daughter Elizabeth, who had formerly been affianced to Don Carlos, Prince of Asturias, was now united to his father, Philip of Spain; while the Princess Marguerite, sister to the French king, was given to Philibert Emanuel Duke of Savoy, to whose military talents Spain had been so largely indebted during the late war. Magnificent rejoicings took place at Paris during the summer of 1559, in celebration of these royal weddings. Lists were erected in front of the palace of the Tournelles; and a splendid tournament was held, at which, on the 27th of June, the king himself, supported by the Duke of Guise and two other princes, maintained the field against all antagonists. Henry, who was an admirable cavalier, triumphantly carried off the honours of the day; but towards the close of it, while tilting with Montgomery, captain of his Scottish guards, the lance of the knight was shivered, and a piece of it entering the king's eve, penetrated to the brain. Henry lingered two days in great suffering, and expired on the 10th of July, 1559, in the forty-first year of his age.

§ 8. The Reformation made extraordinary progress in France during the latter years of the reign of Henry II. The first Protestant church was established in Paris in 1555; others were founded successively at Rouen, Blois, Tours, Angers, Bourges, and La Rochelle; and we are assured that in 1558 there were no less than 2000 places dedicated to the reformed worship, and attended by congregations numbering upwards of 400,000.* The new sect acquired extensive influence among the higher orders of society. Its acknowledged chief was the first prince of the blood, Antoine de Bourbon Duke of Vendôme, who had become King of Navarre by his marriage with Jeanne d'Albret, the heiress of that crown, His wife, who had been carefully educated in the reformed doctrines by her mother, Marguerite of Valois, induced him to embrace her faith; and his younger brother, Louis Prince of Condé, being in like manner converted by the persuasions of his wife, declared himself a zealous member of the party. With these princes were associated two nephews of the Constable Montmorency, the Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, and his brother François de Châtillon, better known as the Sire d'Andelot. A third brother, the Cardinal de Châtillon, although a prince of the Roman Church, inclined strongly towards the views of the Reformers, and encouraged them to the full extent allowed by his position. Growing bolder as they increased in numbers and credit, the Protestants began to hold meetings, and paraded the streets of the capital in bands of several hundreds and even thousands, chanting the metrical psalms of Clement Marot. These and similar demonstrations, combined with the marvellous success of the Lutheran cause in Germany, inspired the French court with extreme alarm; and it would seem that the fear of religious revolution, more than any merely political consideration, determined Henry and Philip to settle their personal differences by the peace of Cateau-Cambresis. A secret compact on this occasion, between Cardinal Granvella and the Cardinal of Lorraine, pledged the two sovereigns to extirpate heresy from their dominions. A bull had already been despatched from Rome, and sanctioned by the king, establishing in France a special tribunal, composed of three prelates, for the trial of offences against religion; but the parlements, both of Paris and the provinces, and the ordinary courts of justice, steadily resisted its execution. Henry was greatly exasperated by this daring opposition to his will, and determined to put it down with a high hand. The Protestants, undismayed. organized a regular system of combined action, and appealed for protection to the princes of Germany. An agitation spread rapidly throughout the kingdom; and it began to be clearly foreseen that the religious feud must ere long break out into a desperate and

^{*} Theod. Beza, Hist. Eccles., vol. i. p. 79

bloody struggle. The great battle between the Church of Rome and her revolted children—between traditional authority and free inquiry—was about to be fought out upon the soil of France. Henry II., however, did not live to witness the commencement of this mementous strife, which he had had so large a share in provoking.



The three Brothers Coligny.



Execution at the Castle of Amboise, 1560. (From an ancient engraving.)

(A. La Renaudie. B. Conspirators decapitated. C. Villemongis, having dipped his hands in the blood of his companions. D. Seven conspirators hanged. E. Three heads placed as a memorial. F. Conspirators led to punishment. G. Castle of Amboise.)

CHAPTER XIV.

FRANCIS II. CHARLES IX. A.D. 1559-1574.

- § 1. Accession of Francis II.; power of the Guises; persecution of the Huguenots. § 2. Conspiracy against the Guises; its failure; massacre of Amboise. § 3. Reaction in favour of the Huguenots; summoning of the States-General; death of Francis. § 4. Accession of CHARLES IX.; regency of Catherine de' Medici; reforms of the States-General; struggles between the Catholics and the Huguenots. § 5. Commencement of the Civil War. § 6. Capture of Rouen by the Catholics; assassination of the Duke of Guise; edict of Amboise. § 7. Outbreak of the second Civil War; battle of St. Denis. § 8. Battle of Jarnac; death of Condé; Henry of Navarre, general-inchief of the Huguenots. § 9. Battle of Moncontour; defeat of the Huguenots; their successes; treaty with them. § 10. Welcome of the Huguenots at court. § 11. Marriage of Henry of Navarre with Marguerite of Valois; massacre of St. Bartholomew. § 12. Siege of Rochelle; treaty with the Huguenots; death of Charles IX.
- § 1. Francis II., 1559–1560.—Henry II. left seven children, of whom the eldest, Francis, who succeeded to the throne, was scarcely sixteen years of age. The others were Charles, and Henry Duke of

Anjou (who both wore the crown in succession), the Duke of Alencen (afterwards Duke of Anjou), and three daughters, of whom the eldest was Queen of Spain, the second Duchess of Lorraine, while the youngest, the too famous Marguerite, became in the sequel Queen of Navarre.

The new king, a youth of feeble constitution and weak intellect, was completely enslaved by his wife, the fascinating Mary of Scotland: while she, in her turn, was altogether under the control of her uncles, the Guises. The government of the kingdom accordingly now rested wholly with the Duke of Guise and his brother the cardinal: Montmorency was deprived of power, and retired from court; and the King of Navarre, suspected as a heretic, and being personally unacceptable to the king, made no attempt to gain a share in the direction of affairs. The queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici, had hitherto been kept in the background, and had carefully dissembled her real character. But circumstances were now changed; and with her resolute will, talent for intrigue, and unscrupulous ambition, she was evidently destined to play a conspicuous part in the state. For the present she allied herself with the all-powerful Guises, and watched for the opportunity which might place her in a more direct position of authority.

The government proceeded vigorously with the work of suppressing heresy by measures of persecution. The Huguenots,* as they now began to be called, were denounced to the authorities. imprisoned, fined, or banished the realm. The aspect of affairs became every day more and more threatening. The tyrannical administration of the Guises, besides exasperating the Calvinists, excited deep animosity among the inferior nobility, bourgeoisie, and commercial classes. The malcontents saw in the prevailing religious agitation a convenient means of organizing a formidable resistance to the government; they opened communications for this purpose with the leaders of the Reformation; and within a short time Calvinism assumed the form not only of religious, but of political, disaffection and rebellion. From that moment the entire strength of the government was necessarily arrayed against it; and as both parties were equally resolute and prepared for extremities. civil war was the inevitable consequence.

§ 2. A widespread conspiracy was now formed among the disaffected of all classes and views, having for its object the liberation of the young king from the control of the Guises, and the total overthrow of their power. The real leader of the revolt was Louis

^{*} This word is a corruption of the German Eidgenossen, i.e. confederates. It was first transferred into the French language under the form Equenots, which subsequently became Huguenots.

Prince of Condé, brother of the King of Navarre; but his connection with it was kept a profound secret; and the enterprise was ostensibly conducted by a gentleman of Périgord named Godfrey de la Renaudie, who traversed the country in all directions, exciting the people to take arms for Condé under the name of the "dumb captain." A numerous meeting of the party was held at Nantes on the 1st of February, 1560, when it was agreed that an attempt should be made to seize the king's person, arrest and imprison the princes of Lorraine, summon the States-General, and place the government in the hands of the Bourbons.

The plot was well conceived, but failed by the treachery of one of the confederates. The Guises, warned of their danger, removed the court from Blois to Amboise; royal guards occupied every post in the vicinity; and when the first detachment of the insurgents came in sight, they were surrounded, disarmed, and led prisoners to the castle. A second party, which had seized the castle of Noysé, was captured by the Duke of Nemours. La Renaudie nevertheless advanced on the 18th of March towards Amboise, and was slain in a skirmish near Château Renault. Next day his followers made a final and desperate attempt to carry the town by assault; it was repulsed, and the insurrection was at once at an end. Guise was now appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and proceeded to execute a terrible vengeance on all who were taken with arms in their hands. The butchery of the wretched victims continued during a whole month; they were cruelly tortured, and then hung. beheaded, or drowned in the Loire; the streets of Amboise ran with blood; the river was covered with floating corpses. Upwards of 1200 are said to have been executed. The king and his brothers, with their attendants, including even the ladies of the court, were daily spectators of these barbarous scenes. The gentle-tempered Chancellor Oliver died literally from horror at the revolting exhibition.

§ 3. The atrocious cruelties perpetrated by the Guises in their hour of triumph produced a speedy reaction in favour of the persecuted sectaries. The nation regarded the massacre of Amboise with disgust; and the Calvinists, instead of being intimidated and crushed, continued to gain ground, and loudly demanded vengeance for the blood of their martyred brethren. The queen-mother Catherine now came forward as the advocate of milder counsels; and her first act of political importance was to procure the post of chancellor for the famous Michel de l'Hôpital, a man of known moderation and exemplary virtue, some of whose nearest relatives belonged to the Huguenot party. The edict of Romorantin, published at the same time, committed the persecution of all offences against religion exclusively to the bishops and clergy: a measure

which, although in appearance unfavourable to the Protestants, had in reality the effect of preventing the establishment in France of the Inquisition. It was resolved, as a further concession, to convoke the States-General, which had been in abeyance for no less

than seventy-six years.

The Huguenots, encouraged by these proceedings, now recommenced their agitation, especially in the southern provinces; and the Bourbon princes, yielding to the solicitations of the nobles and soldiers who surrounded them, engaged to take the lead in a fresh attempt to dispossess the Guises of supreme power, and establish civil and religious independence by force of arms. The Guises, on their part, displayed at least equal activity. Being now in possession of ample proofs of the complicity of Condé in the late insurrection, they resolved to take advantage of the approaching meeting of the states to strike a terrible blow which should annihilate for ever the opposition to their sway. They prepared a confession of the Catholic faith, which was to be tendered to every deputy on taking his seat; a refusal to accept this test was to be equivalent to condemnation to death. When their preparations were complete, the king commanded the attendance of the King of Navarre and his brother at Orleans, where he held his court. The princes, although repeatedly informed of the designs of their enemies, obeyed, and reached Orleans on the 31st of October. Condé was immediately arrested and placed in close confinement; the King of Navarre was separated from his suite, and strictly watched. A commission was appointed to proceed to the trial of Condé for high treason; his condemnation was decreed beforehand. and the very day fixed for his execution. But at this crisis the king fell dangerously ill from an abscess which had formed in his head; and the Chancellor l'Hôpital, who had secretly ascertained from the royal physicians that his recovery was hopeless, employed every expedient to postpone the sentence of the court, and thus save the prince's life. The Guises, desperate in their thirst of vengeance, implored the queen-mother to consent to the immediate assassination of both the Bourbon princes, and pledged themselves in that case to support her as regent with the entire strength of the Catholic interest. Catherine, however, fortified by the counsels of the chancellor, rejected this temptation; she sent for the King of Navarre, and required him to renounce all claim to the regency of the kingdom, even though it should be offered to him by the States-General; she promised him on this condition the second place in the government, and intimated that his life depended on compliance. He accepted the terms at once; and within a few days afterwards Francis breathed his last, on the 5th of December, 1560. His reign of scarcely eighteen months, the shortest in the

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French annals, was pregnant with results of incalculable moment to the future destinies of the nation.

§ 4. CHARLES IX. 1560-1574.—Francis II. died without issue, and the crown devolved on his next brother, a boy of ten years and a half old, who was immediately proclaimed king under the title of Charles IX. The King of Navarre, faithful to his engagement, advanced no pretensions to the regency; and the queen-mother at once assumed, as of right and without opposition, the exercise of sovereign power in the name of her son. Her object was to effect a fusion of parties, or rather to hold the balance evenly between them, and, by allowing neither to preponderate, to preserve the paramount authority in her own hands. In accordance with this principle, which Catherine had imbibed from her celebrated countryman Machiavelli, the King of Navarre was appointed lieutenantgeneral of the kingdom; but on the other hand, the princes of Lorraine were not deprived of their places in the council, and the Duke of Guise retained his post of master of the royal household. The Prince of Condé was released from confinement, and became a member of the council. The Constable Montmorency resumed the command of the army. The chief friend of the queen-regent, and her most influential adviser, was the Chancellor de l'Hôpital.

The session of the States-General, which was opened at Orleans on the 13th of December, 1560, and closed on the 31st of January, 1561, passed off peaceably, and was followed by several important edicts. The concordat was revoked, and freedom of ecclesiastical election re-established; sound reforms were introduced in the administration of justice; and lastly, the *parlement* was enjoined to stay all further prosecutions in matters of religion, and all who had been imprisoned or sentenced to banishment for offences of this nature were at once liberated or recalled.

But these and other well-intentioned efforts of the government were soon frustrated by the violence of party spirit, selfish ambition, and fanatical enthusiasm. The Catholic section of the council indignantly resented every concession made to their opponents; while the Huguenots, on their part, began to commit outrages against the established worship, destroyed the images, and took forcible possession of the churches wherever they found themselves in the majority. The Catholic leaders, bitterly complaining of the queen's "apostacy," soon leagued together afresh for the defence of their faith; and Montmorency, separating from his nephews Coligny and Dandelot, allied himself with the Duke of Guise and the Marshal St. André. Disturbances broke out in different parts of the country, and numbers of helpless victims were sacrificed to the fanaticism both of Catholics and Protestants. The queen, supported by Condé, the Châtillons, and the chancellor, at length

resolved, as a last resource against revolution, to try the expedient of granting complete tolerance, under certain safeguards, to the professors of the new religion. An edict was accordingly published at St. Germains in January, 1562, by which permission was given to the Huguenots throughout the kingdom to hold meetings for religious wership outside the walls of towns, and all penalties enacted against them were abolished. They were required, on the other hand, to restore to the dominant communion all churches of which they had wrongfully taken possession; to abstain from preaching against the Catholic faith; and to leave the clergy in peaceable enjoyment of their tithes and other endowments. This was the first official recognition of the principle of religious toleration in France. The parlement for a long time strenuously resisted the registration of the decree, and only yielded at last from dread of popular commotion.

§ 5. Matters, however, had now reached such a point that even this important step towards liberty of conscience and equality of religious rights only postponed for a short time the actual outbreak of hostilities. The Guises had quitted the court and retired into Lorraine, where, foreseeing the speedy approach of civil war, they were secretly collecting troops, and endeavouring to conciliate the Lutheran princes of Germany, so as to deprive the adverse party of their powerful support. During their absence Montmorency and St. André succeeded in inducing the King of Navarre to abjure the Protestant doctrines, and reconcile himself to the Church of Rome. This feeble-minded prince was won over, it is said, by a promise from Philip of Spain to restore his dominions in Navarre, with the addition of the island of Sardinia. This occurrence, together with the violent irritation excited among the Catholics by the edict of January, determined the Duke of Guise to return to the capital, where he was impatiently expected by the constable. Leaving Joinville with a retinue of 200 well-armed gentlemen, the duke halted, on Sunday, the 1st of March, 1562, at the little town of Vassy in Champagne, where the Protestants were assembled for divine service. The duke's attendants, by his orders, tried to stop the heretical worship; the sectaries resisted, and a fierce brawl ensued. The duke, followed by his officers, hurried to the spot, and was assailed by a shower of stones, one of which struck him on the cheek. His enraged soldiers now fired upon the unarmed multitude; 60 persons were slain outright, and upwards of 200 more grievously wounded. Such was the "massacre of Vassy," which, whether premeditated or accidental, was the first act of the civil and religious wars of France.

To both parties it was an object of the first importance, at this moment, to gain possession of the persons of the king and the

queen-regent. The Prince of Condé made a movement for this purpose, but was anticipated by the Catholic leaders, who transported the royal family in triumph from Fontainebleau to the Louvre on the 6th of April. The Huguenots now rushed to arms on all sides; and, as the capital was no longer tenable, Condé, accompanied by Coligny and Dandelot, at the head of 5000 men, marched to Orleans, and made himself master of that city. Here a formal "act of association" was drawn up, and signed by all the chiefs of the party, among whom were the representatives of the most ancient and illustrious families of France. They swore obedience to Condé as the head of the Protestant league, and declared themselves in arms "for the defence of the king's honour and liberty, the maintenance of the pure worship of God, and the due observance of the edicts."

Both parties applied to their natural supporters in foreign countries. Philip of Spain despatched 6000 Spanish veterans, together with a large subsidy, to reinforce the army of the Catholies; Elizabeth of England, on the demand of Condé, furnished an equal number of troops under the Earl of Warwick and Sir Edward Poynings, who

garrisoned the towns of Havre, Rouen, and Dieppe.

§ 6. The principal theatre of the earlier part of the war was the rich and populace province of Normandy. In October, 1562, the King of Navarre and the Duke of Guise, with 18,000 men, laid siege to Rouen, which was commanded by the Count of Montgomery, the same who had innocently caused the death of Henry II. Rouen made a gallant and memorable defence. Three assaults were given in succession, in one of which the fickle King of Navarre was mortally wounded by a musket-shot in the arm. The third attempt succeeded; the city was taken by storm on the 26th of October, and sacked and pillaged during eight days with implacable fury. Montgomery made good his retreat with most of his garrison: but the loss of Rouen entailed that of the greater part of Normandy. The King of Navarre's widow, Jeanne d'Albret, had remained in Béarn, where she carefully trained up her son, the future Henry IV., together with his sister Catherine, in the Protestant religion.

Condé and Coligny, hoping to avenge the catastrophe of Rouen, now made a bold movement from Orleans towards Paris. They received a severe check at Corbeil, and, having made a useless demonstration before the capital, retreated rapidly in the direction of Normandy. On the 19th of December the Huguenot leaders found themselves confronted by the royal army near the town of Dreux. Here was fought the first pitched battle of the war; it terminated, after a fierce struggle, in a hard-won victory for the Catholics. The losses on both sides were heavy; Montmorency

remained prisoner in the hands of the Protestants; Condé was a captive to the royalists; the Marshal St. André was among the slain.

The Duke of Guise now became, by the death of the King of Navarre and St. André, and the captivity of the constable, the undisputed head of the Catholic party, and was immediately appointed commander-in-chief of the royal armies. Early in February, 1563, he led his forces to the siege of Orleans. That city was vigorously defended by Dandelot; but it was evident that resistance could not be long protracted. On the evening of the day before that fixed for the general assault, the Duke of Guise was assassinated by a fanatical Huguenot named Poltrot de Méré. His death facilitated the conclusion of a pacific arrangement, which Catherine and the chancellor saw to be urgently necessary for the preservation of the royal authority, so seriously menaced throughout the kingdom. The terms were soon agreed upon. By the edict of Amboise, published March 19, 1563, the Huguenots obtained permission freely to celebrate their worship in all the houses of the nobility and gentry, and throughout their domains; the same licence was granted in the suburbs of one town in every bail-Both parties then united in expelling the English from liamp. Havre.

§ 7. The young king, meanwhile, having entered on his fourteenth year, was declared of age, and assumed, at least in name, the reins of government. In 1564 Catherine and her son, attended by the court, made a progress through the greater part of the kingdom, which occupied the whole year. At Bayonne, in June, 1565, Catherine received, according to arrangement, a visit from her daughter Elizabeth, the wife of Philip of Spain. The young queen was attended by the Duke of Alva, the minister of Philip; and a series of mysterious conferences took place between the duke and Catherine. The chief subject discussed was the extermination of heresy, both in France and in the Netherlands; and Alva used his best endeavours to persuade Catherine to abandon her temporising policy, and imitate his master Philip in the decisive and ruthless measures he was about to adopt in the Low Countries. Vague rumours soon began to circulate among the Protestants that some mischief was in agitation: they took the alarm, and from this moment prepared for a renewed appeal to arms.

The accounts which arrived in 1567 of the fierce persecution commenced by the Duke of Alva against their brethren in the Netherlands further exasperated the French Reformers. They believed that their own fate was already determined in the councils of the court; and the conspiracy of Meaux in which it was resolved to seize the person of the king was the result (September, 1567).

This attempt, however, failed; and the Huguenots, who had thus begun the second civil war, now moved upon Paris, and encamped with about 4000 men at St. Denis. The army of the Catholics, commanded by the constable, issued from Paris on the 10th of November, and the indecisive battle of St. Denis was fought. The Catholics sustained a severe loss in the death of the veteran Constable Montmorency. No successor was appointed to his office of constable, but Catherine named her favourite son, the Duke of Anjou, lieutenant-general of the royal armies, and thus confirmed the chief authority in her own hands.

§ 8. In March, 1568, the treaty of Longjumeau confirmed the treaty of Amboise; but in September the third civil war broke out. On the 13th of March, 1569, Coligny, with the rearguard only of his army, was surprised by the Duke of Anjou near Jarnac on the Charente. Condé, after brilliant efforts, was forced to surrender, and was then treacherously shot. The battle was lost for the Huguenots; but Coligny, rallying the remainder of the army, retreated in good order.

The death of Condé, though a blow to the Huguenots, did not end the war. Jeanne of Navarre repaired to the army with her son Henry and the youthful Prince of Condé, eldest son of the fallen hero, and presented the two princes to the soldiers. The troops answered with enthusiasm; and Henry of Navarre was instantly proclaimed their general-in-chief, under the experienced guidance of the veteran Coligny.

§ 9. In the autumn of the same year (3rd of October) Coligny fought a battle with Anjou not far from Moncontour, on the small river Dive. The Huguenots were inferior in number, and were drawn up in a bad position: they nevertheless maintained the contest with undaunted valour, but in the end suffered a total overthrow, with the loss of at least 6000 men slain, together with their artillery, standards, and baggage. Had Anjou at once followed up this victory, the Huguenots' cause might have been crushed. The campaign of the following year (1570) showed the Catholics that Coligny was still a dangerous foe. Disconcerted at this unexpected prolongation of the contest. Catherine now once more expressed herself willing to negotiate. By the treaty signed at St. Germain on the 8th of August, 1570, the Reformers obtained the free exercise of their religion throughout the kingdom, with the single exception of the capital; they were admitted on equal terms with Catholics to all professions and public employments; restitution was granted of all forfeited offices and confiscated property, and a general amnesty was proclaimed for the past; and lastly, as a guarantee for the due fulfilment of these articles, four specified towns-namely, La Rochelle, Cognac, Montauban, and

La Charité—were placed in the hands of the Huguenot leaders, to be garrisoned by their troops for the space of two years.

These terms were so advantageous to the party which had been so often vanquished in the field, that they called forth the strong remonstrances of the pope and Philip II., and were generally condemned as derogatory to the crown and ignominious to the Catholic Church.

Catherine had made the treaty of St. Germain in order to free herself from the Guises. She now hoped, by rousing the national hostility to Spain, to unite all parties, and to re-establish the power of the crown. With this object great efforts were made by the court to mitigate the bitterness of religious feeling, and to conciliate the confidence of the Huguenots. The king seized every opportunity of showing that he had altogether changed his line of policy. He married, in August, 1570, the Archduchess Elizabeth, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian II., a prince known to be well inclined towards the Protestants. He supported the pretensions of his brother the Duke of Anjou, who aspired to the hand of the Protestant Elizabeth of England. He despatched embassies to establish friendly relations with the Protestant courts of Germany. He even showed a disposition to interfere in behalf of the perseented defenders of the Reformation in the Netherlands. Meanwhile the excesses of the Catholics in France were restrained and punished with impartial severity; the treaty of St. Germain was scrupulously executed; and in the spring of 1571 a general synod of the Reformed Church was held, by the king's express permission, at La Rochelle, under the presidency of Theodore Beza. A still more important step in the same direction of conciliation was taken in July, 1571. when Biron, the future marshal, arrived at La Rochelle with proposals from the king for a matrimonial alliance between his sister the Princess Marguerite and the young Prince Henry of Navarre.

§ 10. The Admiral Coligny, at length overcoming his deepseated feelings of mistrust, repaired to Blois in September, on the urgent invitation of the king, and was received by Charles and his mother with the utmost distinction, and profuse assurances of veneration and affection. He was loaded with honours and rewards; and the king appeared to resign himself to his influence and direction, especially with regard to the projected expedition to the Netherlands, which the admiral warmly advocated, from motives both religious and patriotic.

A few months later the Queen of Navarre, in spite of her misgivings and prejudices, followed Coligny's example and proceeded to court, where she met with an equally cordial welcome; and was assured by the king that, whether with or without the dispensation which had been demanded from the pope, he was resolved to conclude his sister's marriage with the Prince of Béarn.

At Paris, meanwhile, the ascendency thus acquired by the Huguenots had excited general discontent and alarm, and the popular agitation increased daily. The pulpits resounded with angry appeals against the union of a daughter of France with a declared enemy of the Holy Church; the military preparations in support of the rebels in Flanders were highly unpopular; and the Guises were indefatigable in inflaming the passions of their faction against their rivals.

The crisis approached. The sudden death of the Queen of Navarre, on the 9th of July, 1572, first awakened the suspicions of the Huguenots, who imagined, probably without reason, that she had fallen a victim to the vengeance of the queen-mother. This event was taken by many as a warning, and they immediately escaped from Paris; but Coligny still maintained his confidence, and, though urgently entreated by his friends to provide for his safety before it was too late, refused to quit the capital. Under his direction the expedition to the Netherlands took place early in the summer, and the French made themselves masters of Valenciennes. Mons, and other towns; but a reverse occurring soon afterwards. the council became divided as to the course to be pursued; Coligny and his adherents demanded an immediate declaration of war with Spain; the queen-mother ranged herself on the opposite side: Charles IX, showed an evident leaning towards the counsels of the admiral.

It was now that Catherine, finding herself in direct collision with the admiral, whose paramount credit with the king threatened her with a total loss of power, finally resolved on his destruction. No doubt the idea of this crime had often been suggested to her mind before; it had now become a necessity; and she executed it with cool determination and Machiavelian subtlety. Her chief confidents were her son the Duke of Anjou (afterwards Henry III.), the Duke of Guise, the Marshal de Tavannes, the Count de Retz, and the Duke of Nevers. It was arranged that the admiral should be assassinated by some known retainer of the Guises; this would almost certainly produce an insurrection of the Huguenots to avenge the death of their leader; the populace of Paris was then to be instigated to rise in defence of the Guises; and the weaker party was to be exterminated by a wholesale massacre.

§ 11. The marriage of Henry of Navarre with Marguerite of Valois was celebrated on the 18th of August, by the Cardinal of Bourbon, on a platform erected in front of the great entrance to Notre-Dame. This event excited the popular indignation to the highest pitch; and rumours of an impending catastrophe gained

ground hourly in the capital. Three days after the wedding, on August 22nd, as the Admiral Coligny was returning home from the Louvre on foot, he was fired at from behind a window by an agent of the Duke of Guise, named Maurevert, and severely wounded in the hand and the left arm. He calmly pointed out to his attendants the house from which the shot had issued, and sent to inform the king of the occurrence. Charles was playing at tennis with the Duke of Guise. "Am I never to be left in peace?" he exclaimed passionately on hearing the news. He visited, without delay, his wounded friend, consoled him with warm expressions of affection, and swore that he would exact vengeance for the outrage. In a private conversation which followed, Coligny complained bitterly of the misgovernment and pernicious influence of the queen-mother, implored the king to deprive her of power, and offered him the services of the whole Huguenot party to effect this object. Catherine and her accomplices were now struck with consternation: their first blow had failed (for the admiral's wounds were not dangerous), and they were menaced with exposure and ruin. After an agitated consultation they proceeded in a body to the king, and, conjuring up before him dreadful visions of civil war, revolution, foreign aggression, and personal violence, urged him to consent, as a measure of necessary self-preservation, to the death of the admiral and other principal members of the Huguenot faction. The wretched monarch yielded, though not without a long struggle. Starting up suddenly in one of those transports of delirious fury to which he was subject, he ordered that, since it was necessary to shed the blood of the admiral, not a single Huguenot should be left alive in his dominions to reproach him with the murderous deed.

· On the feast of St. Bartholomew, August 24th, 1572, the great bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois rung out at the unwonted hour of two in the morning. This was the appointed signal: it was instantly repeated from all the steeples in the capital. Lights were suddenly shown in every window; the assassins, armed to the teeth, and distinguished by white crosses in their hats, swarmed forth from their lurking-places in every quarter of Paris, and the work of death began. The first victim was the illustrious Coligny. Henry of Guise proceeded in person to his house, and remained in the court below, while one of his myrmidons, a German named Besme, went up, burst open the door of the old man's chamber, and brutally plunged his sword into his heart. Guise demanded to be satisfied with his own eves of the completion of his vengeance; and the bleeding corpse of the admiral was flung down from the window at the feet of his heartless and triumphant enemy. Then ensued an indiscriminate slaughter through the whole extent of the city, which was continued without intermission until nightfall. Neither

age, sex, nor rank was spared. All the houses inhabited by Huguenots had been marked beforehand; and the unhappy inmates, taken completely by surprise, were either butchered helplessly in their beds, or overpowered and despatched after a brief and hopeless resistance. The queen and her attendants were spectators of the appalling scene from the windows of the Louvre; and it is said that Charles himself, in his bloodthirsty frenzy, repeatedly fired his arquebus upon the miserable fugitives as they attempted to escape along the quays of the Seine.

Towards evening the king gave orders to put a stop to the massacre; but the demons whom he had unchained were not to be so easily appeased, and the carnage continued with scarcely diminished fury during several days. Similar enormities were committed in all the more important provincial towns—at Orleans, Troyes, Bourges, Lyons, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Rouen. The total number of the victims was never correctly ascertained. Davila estimates it at 10,000 slain in Paris alone; 30,000, according to De Thou, were killed in different parts of the kingdom.

While the massacre was at its height, the king summoned Henry of Navarre and the Prince of Condé into his cabinet, and sternly commanded them to make their choice between death and the mass. The two princes replied at first with admirable firmness, and refused to renounce their faith; but a few weeks afterwards, overcome either by menaces, persuasions, or argument, they consented to at least an outward conformity to the Romish Church.

§ 12. On the 26th of August, while the streets of Paris were still deluged with blood, Charles held a bed of justice in the parlement of Paris, and declared that the recent events had taken place by his orders, for the suppression of a conspiracy by the Huguenots to murder himself and the royal family, and overturn the government. No other means were left him, he said, for the preservation of the safety of the state. The parlement was base enough to congratulate the king on his wisdom, energy, and zeal for the public welfare; they ordered the memory of Coligny and his accomplices to be branded with perpetual infamy by a judicial process; condemned to death two of the rebel leaders who had escaped the massacre; and instituted a solemn annual procession at Paris in commemoration of the glorious day of St. Bartholomew. At Rome the news of this great blow for the extermination of heresy was hailed with manifestations of joy; the pope and cardinals went in state to return thanks to Heaven for this signal mercy, and medals were struck in its honour. Philip II. extolled it as one of the most memorable triumphs of Christianity, compared it to the splendid victory of Lepanto, and boasted that the total ruin of Protestantism was now finally assured.

Nevertheless this great wickedness, like all state crimes, was quite ineffectual for the purpose towards which it was directed. The Huguenots had lost their ablest leaders; they were stunned, confounded, scattered, weakened; but they were by no means



Medal of Pope Gregory XIII. commemorating the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Obv.: Gregorivs . XIII . Pont . Max . an . i: bust to left. Rev.: VGONOTTORVM

STRAGES . 1572: an angel slaying the Huguenots.

wholly crushed. As soon as they recovered from their consternation they once more rushed to arms. La Rochelle, steadily faithful to the reformed cause, broke out into open revolt; and the court. after vain efforts to negotiate, was compelled to besiege the place with a powerful army, under the Duke of Anjou, in March, 1573. Every attempt of the assailants was repelled by the courage of the citizens: reinforcements arrived by sea from England; the Duke of Anjou, who during the siege received suddenly the announcement of his elevation to the throne of Poland, became impatient to terminate the struggle; and in July negotiations were opened with the brave defenders of La Rochelle, which resulted in a treaty of peace (June 24). The Reformed worship was allowed in the towns of La Rochelle, Nismes, and Montauban, liberty of conscience was acknowledged, and the Protestants recovered their sequestered estates, offices, and honours.

Thus the persecuted party once more raised their heads, and within a year from the date of the great massacre were in a position to address the king in bolder language than at any former period of the contest. A third party now rose in the state, known as the "Politiques," and formed by a coalition of the Huguenots with the more moderate Catholics, the principal of whom were the three sons of the late Constable Montmorency, and the gallant La Noue. The Duke of Alençon, youngest brother of Charles IX., was placed at the head of this new confederacy, which was also joined by Henry of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and Prince Louis of Nassau. A manifesto was issued in which toleration was demanded. In February, 1574, the fifth civil war broke out, and continued for upwards of two years. Catherine acted on the occasion with her

usual courage, vigour, and presence of mind. The Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre were arrested and confined at Vincennes, and the Marshal Montmorency was sent to the Bastille. The Prince of Condé succeeded in making his escape to Strassburg. Before any further event took place the throne became vacant. The king had been suffering for some time from a dangerous affection of the lungs, aggravated by an excessive nervous agitation, which had never left him since the fatal day of St. Bartholomew; under this complication of maladies his strength wasted daily, and it was evident that his end was approaching. Having intrusted the regency to his mother, in the absence of his next brother the King of Poland, Charles IX. expired on the 30th of May, 1574. He had scarcely completed the twenty-fourth year of his age.



Catherine de' Medici.



Henry III.

CHAPTER XV.

HENRY III. A.D 1574-1589.

§ 1. Character of Henry III. § 2. Confederacy of the Huguenots; joined by the Duke of Alençon and Henry of Navarre; treaty made with the Huguenots. § 3. Formation of the "Holy League," directed by the Duke of Guise. § 4. Vices of the king. § 5. Expedition

of the Duke of Anjou to the Netherlands; his death. § 6. Alliance between the Duke of Guise and Philip of Spain. § 7. War against the League; treaty of Nemours; the "Seize." § 8. Battle of Coutras; rebellious intrigues of the Leaguers; Guise enters Paris. § 9. Day of the Barricades; flight of the king. § 10. Guise master of Paris; edict of Union; the State of Blois. § 11. Assassination of the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine; death of Catherine de' Medici. § 12. Insurrection against the king; the Duke of Mayence head of the League. § 13. Reconciliation of the king with Henry of Navarre; they besiege Paris. § 14. Assassination of Henry III.; extinction of the House of Valois.

§ 1. The new king, Henry III. (formerly Duke of Anjou), was in Poland at the time of his brother's death; and some months elapsed before he was able to take possession of his throne. Such was his impatience to return to France, that without making any provision for the government of Poland he quitted the palace at Cracow secretly at midnight; and although pursued to the frontier by his indignant subjects, made his escape into Moravia, and thence continued his journey into Italy. Having passed some time in festivities at Venice, Henry proceeded to Turin, where he was induced by the Duke of Savoy to surrender Pignerol and other fortresses in Piedmont, the only relics which France had preserved of the conquests of Francis I. He at length entered his own dominions on the 5th of September, and was conducted by the queen-regent to Lyons, attended by the King of Navarre and the Duke of Alencon, who were now restored to liberty.

The king at once announced his determination to make no concessions to the Huguenots. They were ordered either to conform to the dominant religion, and live as peaceable and loyal subjects, or to leave the kingdom. But this peremptory language was not followed up by any vigorous acts of coercion; and the Protestants, instead of submitting, began to organize a fresh insurrection. Nothing indeed could be better calculated to serve the cause of disaffection and rebellion than the accession to power of a sovereign like Henry. He quickly lost whatever reputation he had acquired by the victories of Jarnac and Moncontour, and became an object of universal contempt. His character was frivolous, effeminate, and depraved. Totally without principle, he was at the same time slavishly superstitious, and even rigid in all the externals of religion. Though by no means destitute of talent, he soon proved incapable of conducting the affairs of state, neglecting all serious business, and secluding himself for days together in the company of a band of debauched parasites, whose infamous orgies were such as to shock society even in that age of general laxity and corruption.

The king married, immediately after his coronation, Louise de

Vaudemont, daughter of the count of that name, who represented a younger branch of the House of Lorraine. This was an imprudent match, and only served to augment the power of the Guises. The Catholies now found a leader in the celebrated Henry Duke of Guise, a young man who, though on the whole inferior to his father, possessed the advantages of brilliant courage, considerable political talent, and general popularity.

§ 2. In December, 1574, a definite alliance was made between the Huguenots of the south, under the leadership of the Prince of Condé, and the party of the "Politiques," represented by the Marshal de Damville, one of the three brothers Montmorency. The Duke of Alençon escaped from court in September, 1575, and joined the insurgents in the south, who immediately proclaimed him the supreme head of their confederacy. In the following February Henry of Navarre also escaped, under pretext of a hunting-party, crossed the Loire at Saumur with a band of faithful adherents, and threw himself actively into the struggle. When

Henry next entered the capital, it was as King of France.

The strength of the confederacy was now so great as completely to intimidate both the king and Catherine, who saw that they had no resource but in negotiation. In order to obtain peace they were compelled to make the most humiliating concessions and sacrifices. The Duke of Alencon required the cession of Anjou, Touraine, and Berri, in perpetual appanage for himself and his heirs; the government of Guienne for Henry of Navarre, that of Picardy for the Prince of Condé. The full and public exercise of the reformed religion was authorized throughout the kingdom except within two leagues of Paris; the parlements, when cases in which Protestants were concerned were tried, were to consist of an equal number of Protestant and Catholic judges; all sentences passed against the Huguenots were annulled, and the insurgents were pronounced to have acted for the good of the king and kingdom; eight towns were placed in their hands for an unlimited period; and the States-General were to be convoked within six months; Henry of Condé received the Governorship of Picardy, and Henry of Navarre that of Guienne. Such were the conditions of the "peace of Monsieur," as it was termed, which was signed on the 6th of May, 1576-less than four years after that frightful massacre by which it was hoped that the Huguenot faction would be finally extirpated from France.

§ 3. This treaty, which conceded all the demands of the heretics to their fullest extent, was regarded by the zealous Catholics as a gross insult to their religion, and a disgrace to their country. The king, they saw, had betrayed their cause, and was unworthy of their confidence; it was therefore necessary to devise new means of self-defence; and the situation of affairs naturally suggested the

idea of a general league among the Catholics, of the same character as that by means of which the Protestants had achieved such unexpected and extraordinary success. The machinery for such a movement already existed in the associations or confréries which had been formed, through the agency of the clergy and the Jesuits. in most of the towns and rural districts, for the protection and advancement of Catholic interests; and it was not difficult for the Duke of Guise, taking advantage of the daily increasing popular ferment, to combine these brotherhoods into one vast confederacy under his own direction, and thus recommence the contest with overpowering numbers and every prospect of success. A document despatched into the provinces stated the following as the objects of the League: 1. To re-establish and maintain the service of God according to the rites of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. 2. To preserve the royal authority of King Henry and his successors, and the due submission and obedience of their subjects. according to the tenor of the coronation oath and the constitutions of the States-General. 3. In case of armed opposition or rebellion. the members engaged to employ every means in their power to resist, punish, and destroy it, even to the sacrifice of property and life itself. 4. Any one who, after having taken the oath, should abandon the League, was to be treated as a public enemy, and vunished with death. 5. Each member swore to honour and implicitly obey the supreme head of the confederation, who, though not named, was universally understood to be the Duke of Guise.

This movement, directed against the Crown no less than against the Huguenots, depended for success, in great measure, on the ability of Henry of Guise, who now adopted democratic views, and relied on popular support in his antagonism to Henry III. and the

"Politiques."

When the States-General met at Blois, in December, 1576, it became plain that the new combination had exercised a decisive influence on the elections, and that the Catholics were all-powerful. The king opened the session with a speech full of dignity, good sense, and moderation; but so completely had his scandalous life deprived him of all national respect, that his words were received with indifference. The deputies, almost without exception determined Catholics, made demands which were directed not only against liberty in matters of religion, but against the authority and independence of the Crown. Henry, with considerable address and skill, endeavoured to parry this attack by suddenly declaring himself head of the Leagues, and commanding all his courtiers and officers to take the oath of federation: he hoped thus to disarm the rivalry of the Duke of Guise, and sap his power by leaving him no excuse for his meditated disloyalty. This step drove the Huguenots

once more to arms, and the sixth civil war broke out. But the states, under the influence of the Duke of Guise, refused to grant any supplies to the crown; and Henry, whose scanty resources were soon exhausted, gladly accepted overtures for a pacification. which was accordingly signed at Bergerac in September, 1577. The new treaty granted to the Protestants a somewhat more restricted exercise of their religion, but confirmed them in all civil privileges, and in the possession of the eight cautionary towns. It also contained a clause suppressing and prohibiting for the future all political confederations whatsoever-an article which proved the king's utter insincerity in embracing the Catholic Leagues. This arrangement, however, like all its predecessors, proved altogether fruitless: the violent partisans on each side remained no less irreconcilably hostile than before. In April, 1580, the seventh civil war began, caused by the quarrels between Henry III. and Henry of Navarre over the dower of Margaret. It ended in November by the peace of Fleix, which reaffirmed the treaty of Bergerac.

§ 4. During the interval of repose which followed, Henry abandoned himself without restraint to those disgraceful vices and outrageous buffooneries which were the bane of his character and his reign, and which inflicted a lasting injury on the social condition of France. The court became alternately the scene of unbridled sensuality and of fierce brawls, bloody duels, and licensed assassination. The country remained utterly disorganized, and all classes suffered from the general demoralization. Though Henry was undoubtedly anxious to escape from the yoke of the Guises, he was incapable of any energetic action; and instead of giving France a vigorous foreign policy, and enforcing internal peace, he allowed the nation to become the prey to the worst forms of misgovernment.

§ 5. In 1581 the Duke of Anjou (formerly Duke of Alençon) collected, with his brother's consent, a considerable French army in support of the Flemish patriots. The French prince crossed the frontier in August, 1581, and successfully besieged Cambrai, which was defended by the celebrated Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma. The negotiations, which had long been pending, for the marriage of the duke with Queen Elizabeth of England, seemed destined at this moment to be finally successful; the queen even went so far as the ceremony of betrothal. The people of the Netherlands, highly elated by this brilliant prospect, everywhere welcomed Anjou with the utmost enthusiasm; and he was proclaimed Duke of Brabant and Count of Flanders with great pomp at Antwerp in February, 1582. But Elizabeth, only anxious to prevent the incorporation of the Netherlands into France and to sow discord between Henry III. and Philip II., withdrew at the last moment, on the plea that the marriage would not be acceptable

to the English nation. The match was broken off; the vision of the English alliance, so vitally important to the cause of independence in the Netherlands, suddenly vanished; and the Duke of Anjou and his adherents were greatly discouraged. The ill-advised young prince, in January, 1583, seized Antwerp and Bruges, from which he forcibly expelled the Flemish garrisons, and replaced them by his French troops, with a view of making himself an absolute sovereign. The populace rose indignantly against him, and the attempted treachery signally failed; Anjou was driven from Flanders; and the Spaniards, led by the victorious Prince of Parma, recovered for the moment their superiority. The discomfitted duke returned to France, and died at Château-Thierry, on the 10th of June, 1584, a month before the assassination of William of Orange.

§ 6. These events produced an important alteration in the position of affairs. Henry III. had latterly abandoned the whole administration to two newly-promoted favourites, the Dukes of Joyeuse and Epernon. The king was not likely to be long-lived; the Duke of Anjou, his only remaining brother, was now dead, and had left no issue; and Henry of Navarre, who traced his lineage by direct succession from Robert of Clermont, a son of St. Louis, had become the heir-presumptive. But although the first prince of the blood, he was a Huguenot, an excommunicated and relapsed heretic. In opposition to his claims, it was contended that the princes of the house of Lorraine were the true heirs of Charles of Lorraine, the last of the Carlovingian dynasty: so that the Guises, in taking possession of the throne on the extinction of the line of Valois, would only be resuming their usurped inheritance.* The League accordingly began to reorganize its forces, and commenced a fresh agitation, based on the imperative duty of combating the succession of a heretic prince, and maintaining the essential union of the Crown with the ancient faith. Guise, however, judged that things were not yet ripe for the public assertion of his personal pretensions. For the present he put forward, as the legitimate successor in the case of the king's death, the Cardinal of Bourbon, uncle of Henry of Navarre, an ignorant, feeble-minded man, who might easily be shaken off at the decisive moment.

In January, 1585, a secret treaty was signed at the château of Joinville between the chiefs of the League, which had been definitely organized in the autumn of 1584, and the envoys of Philip of Spain, by which the contracting parties engaged to extirpate all heresy both in France and in the Netherlands, and to exclude from

^{*} Supposing, however, this claim to be admissible, the Duke of Lorraine would evidently have taken precedence of the Duke of Guise, who represented a younger branch of the family.

the French throne any prince who should either profess, favour, or tolerate the pernicious doctrines of the so-called Reformers. Philip bound himself to furnish a subsidy of 50,000 crowns every month for the prosecution of the war. This compact having received the approval of the pope, the League published a solemn manifesto in the name of the Cardinal of Bourbon, setting forth the national grievances, declaring that as Catholics they had taken up arms in defence of the true religion, and expressing their resolution never to lay them down until the perils by which the nation was now encompassed should have disappeared.

The explosion followed almost immediately. The Dukes of Guise and Mayenne marshalled their troops in their governments of Champagne and Burgundy; Normandy and Brittany rose under the Dukes of Elbeuf and Mercœur; the Duke of Aumale headed the revolt in Picardy. All the principal cities of the north, east, and south-east of France—Orleans, Bourges. Reims, Dijon, Lyons, Caen, Soissons, Amiens—declared enthusiastically in favour of the League.

§ 7. This new danger found the king in a state of vacillation. After the murder of William of Orange, the United Provinces, in October, 1584, had turned to France for support, and offered to Henry the sovereignty of the Netherlands. He answered the Dutch ambassadors favourably, but made no positive promise. The French Catholics discovered the negotiation, and it became one of the chief motives which impelled them to organize the Catholic League, and enter into fresh hostilities against the crown.

The king, though taken by surprise, was still not without the means of defence against this alarming confederacy. Many of the great provincial cities, including Bordeaux, remained faithful to the crown; and even Henry of Navarre, although he refused to relinquish his connection with the Huguenots, assured the king of his steadfast lovalty, and offered to prove it by joining his standard with the whole body of his adherents. A vigorous, determined, and popular sovereign might have successfully confronted and crushed the League; but Henry thought only of purchasing repose at any price. No sooner did Guise make a demonstration of advancing on the capital than the king yielded unconditionally, and signed, on the 5th of July, 1585, the treaty of Nemours, by which he engaged to revoke all edicts in favour of the Protestants, to enforce the universal profession of Catholicism, and, in short, to adopt without reservation the principles and policy of the League. All the chief posts of authority in the kingdom were now bestowed upon the Duke of Guise and the great Catholic leaders; and this reconciliation between Henry and the traitorous confederacy which so lately menaced his throne was hailed with loud and general acclamations by the citizens of Paris. On the other hand, the news

spread consternation among the outraged Huguenots, and once more lighted up the flames of civil war throughout France. Henry of Navarre, who was now formally excommunicated by Pope Sixtus V., displayed extraordinary activity, courage, and ability as a party leader. The eighth civil war, or the "war of the Henries," presented at its commencement no combined operations on an important scale, but was none the less ruinous to the country, which became a scene of general anarchy.

A new phase of this complicated struggle opened in the beginning of 1587, when the astounding tidings reached France that the Queen of England, in consequence of a detected conspiracy of the Catholics against her crown and life, had sent her unfortunate rival, Mary Stuart, to perish on the scaffold. Paris was at this time completely dominated by the League, who had established there a secret council entitled the "Seize," from its consisting of the presidents of the five sections into which the city was divided, assisted by an elective council of eleven. The horror caused by the execution of the Queen of Scots was seized by them as a means of exciting popular indignation and violence against the king, whom they accused, without the slightest proof or probability, of having counselled and abetted the crime. The sections were soon engaged in a conspiracy to surprise the Bastille and other military posts of Paris, to blockade the Louvre, put to death the principal officers of the court, and compel the king to abdicate the throne, as the sole means of preserving his life. The plot was revealed to Henry on the eve of its execution; and measures being taken to defend the threatened points, the conspirators abandoned their scheme. The agitation, however, continued to increase, and was extended, through the instrumentality of the League, throughout the country: and the king, finding more and more reason to distrust the intrigues and designs of Guise, resolved to prosecute the war with vigour, and bring it to a close, if possible, by a solid and durable peace.

§ 8. The royal army took the field in June, 1587, in three great divisions; one of which, under the Duke of Joyeuse, advanced into Poitou against Henry of Navarre; the second, commanded by the Duke of Guise, was opposed to the German auxiliaries in Lorraine; while the king himself and the Duke of Montpensier took up a position with the reserve on the Loire. The king's secret hope and object was, that both the Huguenots and the Leaguers might, in the course of this campaign, be decisively defeated and crushed, in which case he would himself remain master of the situation, and the way would be open for a complete re-establishment of the supremacy of the crown. But his calculations were destined to a signal disappointment.

The King of Navarre, after attempting in vain to effect a junction with the Germans, fell back towards Guienne, closely followed by Joyeuse, who hoped to hem in the Huguenots between himself and Marshal Matignon. The armies engaged on the 20th of October, at Coutras in Périgord; the Catholics numbered about 8000, the Protestants considerably less. "My cousins," cried Henry to the Prince of Condé and the Count of Soissons, "I have only to remind you that you belong to the blood of the Bourbons, and by the help of God I will show you to-day that mine is the elder branch!" He gained a memorable victory at the cost of only forty men slain. The revalists lost their general, the Duke of Joyeuse, and 500 gentlemen and upwards of 2000 soldiers were left dead on the field. This great success, however, had no proportionate result; for Henry hurried away into Béarn immediately after the battle, and left the German auxiliaries exposed to the combined attack of the royal armies in the north. They were beaten in two successive actions, and, after suffering heavy losses in a disastrous retreat into Burgundy, at length entered into a convention with Henry, and were permitted to evacuate the kingdom.

The king returned to Paris, where he made his triumphal entry on the 23rd of December. But he found, to his extreme mortification, that the entire credit of the campaign was assigned by the Parisians to their idol the Duke of Guise. "Saul has slain his thousands," cried the multitude, "but David his ten thousands," The Sorbonne passed a decree announcing that it was lawful to depose from power rulers who misconducted themselves, as a guardian might be removed if suspected of betraving his trust. Henry, exasperated and alarmed, interdicted Guise from coming to Paris: but the duke knew his power, and this arbitrary measure only drove him to extremities. After an anxious interval of four months, during which the Seize and other chief agents of the League intrigued incessantly to mature matters for a general insurrection in his favour. Guise entered Paris, escorted by a formidable train of nobles and gentry, and amid the rejoicings of the populace. on the 8th of May, 1588. He proceeded boldly to the Louvre. and, after an interview with the enraged king, retired unharmed. On the following day he had two audiences of the king, in which he urged him, in terms of insolent dictation, to prosecute with vigour the war against the Huguenots, and to take effectual measures to prevent the succession of a heretic prince to the throne.

§ 9. During the night of the 11th the royal troops, consisting of the regiment of French guards and a body of 4000 Swiss. entered the city, and their attempt to overawe Paris was answered by the "barricades" of the League. Henry, finding himself helpless

in the capital, first attempted to negotiate with Guise, and then fled to Chartres.

§ 10. Although the victor of the Barricades had thus let slip a great opportunity in neglecting to secure the person of the sovereign, he was nevertheless left master of Paris. Great changes followed: the city magistrates were deposed, and replaced by the most devoted members of the League; the new municipal council took possession of the Bastille, the Châtelet, the Arsenal, Vincennes, and all the posts of importance in the neighbourhood of Paris; they published a rigorous proscription of the Huguenots and the Politiques; they sent circulars to all the chief towns of France, explaining and justifying the late movement, and urging the provinces to support the good cause by sending adopted delegates to consult with the leaders in Paris.

The Duke of Guise, however, whilst thus boldly seizing the reality of the power, by no means designed, at all events for the present, to raise openly the standard of armed rebellion. He entered into communication with the fugitive monarch, and sent him a respectful deputation of the municipality of Paris, with renewed proposals of accommodation, which varied very little from those offered after the day of the Barricades. Henry, after some hesitation, gave his assent to these conditions; and on the 19th of July the treaty between the court and the League, called the Edict of Union, was published at Rouen and Paris. The king named the Duke of Guise lieutenant-general of the kingdom, pledged himself to use his utmost exertions for the suppression of heresy, dismissed Épernon from his councils, restored the towns promised to the League by the treaty of Nemours, exacted a test of Catholicism from all holders of public employments, and convoked the States-General at Blois. Other honours and preferments were bestowed on the chief partisans of the League. But this reconciliation, extorted from Henry by the exigencies of the moment, was on his part profoundly insincere, and concealed purposes of implacable vengeance.

The king, accompanied by the Duke of Guise, took up his residence in the château of Blois in September, and the session of the States was opened at that place on the 16th of September. The deputies were exclusively Catholies, and for the most part strongly in the interest of the League. The assembly soon displayed its violent, factious, intractable spirit; the king was forced to take an oath to observe and enforce the Edict of Union, and to renew the sentence of exclusion from the throne against the Bourbons. The States next demanded that all new taxes imposed since the year 1576 should be suppressed, and all offices created within the same period abolished; at the same time they obstinately refused to grant any fresh supplies, and voted the establishment of a judicial

chamber—in which three-fourths of the members were to be named by themselves—to investigate and control the financial administration. Henry, whose coffers were so completely exhausted that he was unable to defray the current expenses of his household, yielded as a matter of necessity, but only obtained in return for his compliance a niggardly subsidy, quite inadequate to his requirements.

§ 11. All these accumulated insults and humiliations were imputed by Henry to the Duke of Guise, whom he knew to be emipotent with the States. The king saw that matters had arrived at such a pass that either himself or his too-powerful subject must perish. After a severe conflict with himself, Henry resolved to employ assassination as the surest means of ridding himself for ever of this arch-disturber of the peace. The execution of the crime was entrusted to Loignac, first gentleman of the royal chamber,

with eight associates.

The king, intending to keep the festival of Christmas at Notre Dame de Cléry, had appointed a council to be held before his departure on the 23rd of December, at an early hour in the morning. Having posted the assassins in his antechamber, and distributed daggers to them with his own hands. Henry sent an officer to summon the Duke into his private cabinet, as if to confer with him apart from the council assembled. Guise, with strange infatuation, immediately obeyed. As he was in the act of raising the tapestry which covered the door of the king's chamber, one of the murderers seized his arm and struck him a violent blow on the breast; a second stabbed him in the back; and the rest threw themselves upon him, and prevented him from drawing his weapon. Such, however, was his strength that he dragged his assailants across the room, disengaged himself from them, and rushed desperately towards Loignac, the chief of the band. Loignac pushed him slightly with his scabbard, and the duke, reeling backwards, fell headlong to the ground, and expired at the foot of the king's bed. Henry now issued from an adjoining closet into which he had retired, satisfied himself that his enemy could no longer harm him. and was brutal enough to spurn the corpse with his foot. Then descending to the apartments of the queen-mother, "Madam," he cried, "congratulate me: I am once more King of France, for this morning I have put to death the King of Paris!"

The Cardinal of Lorraine was arrested the same day, and privately despatched in prison. The Archbishop of Lyons, Brissac, La Chapelle-Marteau, the Dukes of Nemours and Elbœuf, and other notabilities of the League, were also apprehended and detained in close custody. The death of the queen-mother, which occurred within a few days afterwards, January 5, 1589, though at any other moment an event of no common importance, was scarcely

noticed in the midst of the consternation excited by the murder of the Guises. This extraordinary woman, after guiding for near thirty years the destinies of France, had outlived her political influence, and died an object of general hatred.

§ 12. The news of the catastrophe at Blois produced a terrible explosion of popular fury at Paris and among the Leaguers throughout the kingdom. The capital sprang to arms; the Sorbonne released all Frenchmen from their oath of allegiance to Henry III., and authorised them to rise in arms against him; a provisional government was appointed, and the Duke of Aumale, younger brother of Henry of Guise, was named to the chief command of Paris. The parlement, after having been purged of sixty refractory members headed by the President de Harlai, confirmed the decision of the Sorbonne, pronounced the king deposed from the throne, and adhered to the revolutionary government. Henry was at the same time excommunicated by the pope for having murdered one of the princes of the Church. The insurrection spread rapidly into the provinces. The Duke of Mayenne, next brother of the murdered Guise, entered Paris on the 12th of February, 1589, and was enthusiastically saluted as supreme chief of the Catholic confederacy; the new government was now definitely constituted under his presidency at a vast assembly of nobles and military and civil authorities held at the Hôtel de Ville.

§ 13. The king was dismayed by this formidable outburst of the tempest which his crime had provoked. Gradually recovering his courage, he removed from Blois to Tours, where, after some delay, the royalist nobility rallied round him, and he was joined by 2000 men under the Duke of Epernon. A renewal of civil war was unavoidable and imminent. Henry's means of defence were miserably scanty; the Leaguers repulsed all his proposals of accommodation; and the only resources remaining to him was to effect a coalition with the opposite party, and throw himself into the arms of Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots. This singular alliance was concluded in April, 1589. Henry of Navarre, in an interview with the king, engaged to unite his forces with the royalists for the defence of the monarchy against the rebel League. An admirable manifesto, drawn up in his name by Duplessis-Mornay, was immediately issued, in which Henry assumed the tone of a mediator between the king, the States-General, and the League, and appealed to the moderate members of all parties to bury their differences, and associate for the safety of the state and the redress of national evils.

This junction between the court and the Protestants materially changed the situation of parties and the aspect of affairs. It was now the Catholic League that represented the cause of democracy

and revolution, while the Huguenots gathered round the standard of legitimate authority, loyalty, and order. The king was thus enabled to open the campaign in great force, and with fair prospect of success. The two kings made a combined movement towards the capital, driving the Leaguers before them. Crossing the Seine on the 30th of July, Henry III. established his head-quarters at St. Cloud, while the King of Navarre and the Huguenots encamped at Meudon.

§ 14. Paris was terror-struck; for the Duke of Mayenne had but 8000 men to oppose to these overpowering numbers. It was well known that, if the city were taken, the king would avenge himself without mercy upon those who had so ignominiously expelled him from his palace the year before, and who had since openly rebelled against his crown. The Duchess of Montpensier, a woman of masculine energy and resolution, spared no pains to inflame to the utmost the angry passions of the multitude against the tyrant who had shed her brother's blood; and among other expedients, strong appeals were made to the fanaticism of the priesthood and religious orders, to whom Henry was now specially odious, as an outcast from the Church and the confederate of heretics. A young and ignorant Dominican monk, named Jacques Clement, was artfully prevailed upon to regard the murder of the king in such circumstances as not only a lawful but a highly meritorious enterprise. On the 2nd of August Paris was to be assaulted by the combined armies. Three days before, Jacques Clement, having procured a pass from a royalist prisoner, and a forged letter of recommendation to the king, reached the outposts of the royal army at St. Cloud, and next morning (August 1) was conducted by an officer to the king's quarters. On entering Henry's presence he stated that he was charged with a communication of grave importance, which could only be made to his Majesty in private. The king, without suspicion, directed the attendants to retire; and while he was engaged in reading the paper presented to him, the monk suddenly drew a knife from his sleeve and stabbed him. The king drew the weapon from the wound and struck Clement on the face, crying out, "Oh, the wicked monk, he has slain me!" upon which the guards rushed in and despatched the assassin on the spot with their halberds. The king's wound was not at first considered mortal; nevertheless he summoned Henry of Navarre, acknowledged him as the lawful successor to the throne, and caused the nobles to take the oath of homage in his presence. Towards midnight fatal symptoms presented themselves, and the king, having pardoned the authors of his death and received the viaticum, breathed his last between two and three o'clock in the morning of the 2nd of August, 1589.

Such was the tragic termination of the royal dynasty of Valois, which had given thirteen sovereigns to France, and had filled the throne during a period of two hundred and sixty-one years.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

AUTHORITIES.

For the period from the beginning of the Italian wars to the death of Henry III. the following works will be found useful; Chéruel, Histoire de l'Administration de la France, Paris; Etudes de la règne de François I. ; Matthieu, Histoire de France de François I. in Louis XIII.; Mignet, Rivalitè de François I, et Charles I.; Ranke, Französiche Geschichte; Mézeray, Histoire de France.

The great original authority for the latter half of the 16th century and the commencement of the 17th is the Historia sui Temporis of Jacques Auguste de Thou, or Thuanus, one of the presidents à mortier of the Parliament of Paris. The original is in Latin, 6 vols. folio; there is a French translation, 8 vols. quarto. This work commences with the year 1545, and is carried down to 1607. The first book consists of an admirable review of the On account of certain passages the ten- also deserves to be mentioned.

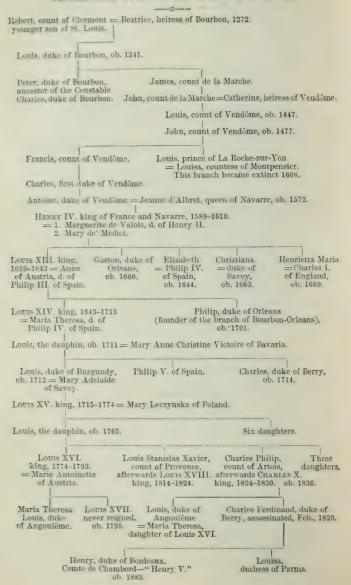
dency of which was considered injurious to the Church of Rome, this work was in 1609 inserted in the Index Expurgatorius. The author died at Paris in 1617.

Another contemporary work for this period is that of Davila, the Italian Secretary of Queen Catherine de' Medici. His History of the Civil Wars in France, composed in Italian, extends from the death of Henry II. in 1559 to the Peace of Vervins in 1598. Davila shows an evident bias of partiality towards the French court; but his great care and exactness in appreciating the character and motives of the various leaders and factions of the time render his work one of indispensable value and interest.

The contemporary Mémoires are very numerous; among them may be mentioned those of Vielleville, Marguerite de Valois, Marshal Tavannes, and Duplessis-Mornay.

The History of his own Time by the previous history of France and of Europe. | Huguenot Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné,

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF BOURBON.





Castle of Pau before 1830, birth-place of Henry IV.

BOOK V.

THE ABSOLUTE MONARCHY.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV. TO THE REVOLUTION. A.D. 1589-1789.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE HOUSE OF BOURBON. HENRY IV. A.D. 1589-1610.

§ 1. Henry of Navarre recognised as king by the nobles. § 2. Henry in Normandy; battle of Arques; attack upon Paris by the Royalists. § 3. Battle of Ivry; blockade of Paris; Paris relieved by the Duke of Parma. § 4. Suppression of the siege; combat of Aumale; the Duke of Parma in Normandy. § 5. Meeting of the States-General; conference at Suresnes. § 6. Recantation of Henry IV.; the king enters Paris. § 7. War with Spain; battle of Fontaine-Française; treaty of Folembray; dissolution of the League. § 8. The Spaniards seize Amiens; it is recaptured by the king. § 9. Peace of Vervins; Edict of Nantes. § 10. Internal state of France; financial administration of Sully. § 11. Gabrielle d'Estrées; divorce of the king; his

marriage with Mary de' Mediei; Henriette d'Entragues. § 12. Intrigues of the Duke of Savoy; treason and execution of Marshal Biron. § 13. Henry's project of a confederacy of European states. § 14. Succession of the Duchy of Cleves; treaty of Halle; Henry prepares for war with Austria; the Princess of Condé. § 15. Coronation of Mary de' Mediei; assassination of Henry V.; his character.

§ 1. The news of the assassination was received with a burst of rejoicing in the besieged capital. The Duchesses of Nemours and Montpensier paraded the streets in triumph; Jacques Clement was celebrated as a martyr and invoked as a saint; the Leaguers congratulated each other, as if the final success of their cause was already achieved. The Guises, however, although the course of events seemed now to have placed the crown within their reach, hesitated to take advantage of the opportunity. The Duke of Mayenne, inferior in genius and daring to his elder brother, shrank from causing a division of his party. He proclaimed the Cardinal of Bourbon (then a prisoner at Tours) king, by the title of Charles X., and contented himself with the appointment of "Lieutenant-general of the State and Crown of France."

In the camp of St. Cloud the confusion and perplexity were at first extreme. The Catholic nobles, notwithstanding their recent engagement, showed a strong disinclination to accept the succession of the Huguenot Henry of Bourbon; they held a meeting, and placed before him in plain terms the alternative of remaining simply King of Navarre if he persisted in his heresy, or of embracing Catholicism and becoming King of France. Henry remonstrated with dignity against this rude treatment, and pointed out that such a sudden change of profession could only be expected from a man with no fixed belief at all. At the same time he declared himself ready to submit to the instruction of a national council, and to give all necessary guarantees for the security of the Catholic religion. After some further discussion it was agreed to recognise him on these terms; and on the 4th of August Henry signed, as King of France and Navarre, a solemn declaration by which he bound himself to maintain the Catholic faith and the property and rights of the Church, to summon within six months a lawful national council and abide by its decisions, and to place in the hands of the Catholics all towns and fortresses, except those which had been assigned to the Protestants by the last treaty. This document was subscribed by the chief personages of the late court, including the Dukes of Conti, Longueville, and Montpensier, and Marshals Biron and d'Aumont. There were, however, some important exceptions. Épernon refused his concurrence, and retired, with 7000 men, to his government of Saintonge. The stern Huguenots of Poitou

and Gascony, headed by La Trémoille, Duke of Thouars, also took their departure from St. Cloud, announcing that they could no longer serve a prince who had entered into an engagement to protect idolatry. In the course of a few days the royalist army dwindled to half its former numbers. Without money or military stores, Henry could not prosecute the siege of Paris with any reasonable hope of success. In these circumstances he had thoughts of returning into the south, or, at all events, of retreating beyond the Loire. One of his most faithful friends, the historian d'Aubigné, opposed this project; and Henry, fortunately for his interests, decided on remaining in the north. It was this determination, in all probability, that eventually secured him the throne.

§ 2. Breaking up from St. Cloud on the 8th of August, Henry directed his march upon Normandy, and the ninth and last civil war began. The first omen in his favour was the spontaneous adhesion of the governor of Dieppe, who placed the town in his hands; this was an important acquisition, as Queen Elizabeth had promised to succour him with men and money, and the possession of Dieppe enabled him to secure his communications with England. Caen next declared for the Bourbon cause; and Henry, having formed a camp near Rouen, was preparing to besiege that city, when he received intelligence that Mayenne had taken the field against him with the main army of the League, which had been largely reinforced, and amounted to near 30,000 men. So



Castle of Arques.

confident of success was the general of the League, that he boasted that he would soon bring back the "Béarnois" a prisoner to Paris. Henry, on his approach, retreated from Rouen toward the coast, and fortified himself in a strong position at the village of Arques, about five miles from Dieppe. Here the royalist army sustained and repulsed, between the 13th and 28th of September, a series of vigorous attacks from the immensely superior force of Mayenne, who, greatly discouraged by the defeat, judged it prudent to refire.

In his present critical situation, this first and brilliant success was of considerable advantage to the king. Such was the confidence it inspired in his good fortune, that within a month he found himself at the head of more than 20,000 men. He now executed a rapid movement upon Paris, gained three marches on his opponent Mayenne, and on the 31st of October suddenly attacked and carried all the suburbs of the capital on the left bank of the Seine, his soldiers shouting, "Remember St. Bartholomew!" as they cut down the citizens by hundreds in the streets. But the speedy arrival of Mayenne with his army gave fresh confidence to the Parisians, who prepared for a resolute defence. Henry therefore, having gratified his troops by three days of pillage, retreated southwards, and took up his quarters at Tours, which city became for the time his capital.

The spirit, vigour, and ability displayed by the king in this campaign raised him rapidly in popular opinion and general esteem. His title was now recognised in the greater part of Normandy, Brittany, Touraine, Poitou, Saintonge, and Gascony; he had powerful adherents in Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc; he was in regular diplomatic communication with all the Protestant courts. and even with some of the Italian states; the pope himself, Sixtus V., expressed himself favourable to his claim. He profited, too, by the dissensions which soon broke out among his adversaries. Philip II. advanced pretensions to the throne on behalf of his daughter the Infanta Clara Eugenia, as niece and nearest relative of the late king; the Dukes of Lorraine and Savoy made similar claims; the former in right of his wife, a sister of Henry III.; the latter as son of the Princess Marguerite, daughter of Francis I. The embarrassments of Mayenne were greatly increased by the factious cabals of the Seize and the Council of the Union, whose views were antimonarchical and republican.

§ 3. In January, 1590, Henry was again in the field. Having reduced several places in Maine and Lower Normandy, he advanced towards Paris, and in the last days of February laid siege to Dreux. Mayenne, who had just received a strong reinforcement from the Duke of Parma, marched hastily from Paris to relieve the

town. On his approach the royalists made a movement a few miles northwards, and on the 10th of March took up an excellent position on the plain of St. André, between Nonancourt and IVRY. Henry disposed his army, which numbered 8000 infantry and 3000 cavalry. in seven battalions, commanded by himself, d'Aumont, Montpensier, and other able officers; one corps was in reserve under Marshal Biron. "My friends," cried the monarch joyously, as he fastened on his helmet, "yonder is the enemy, here is your king; and God is on our side. If you should lose your standards, rally round my white plume; you will always find it in the path of honour and of victory!" The Leaguers, whose force amounted to 16,000 men. advanced to the attack at ten in the morning on the 14th of March. The combat was severe, but brief; in less than two hours the whole army of Mayenne was in full flight. The Count of Egmont, who commanded the Spanish auxiliaries, was slain; the German reiters were cut to pieces, the royalists refusing them quarter; five pieces of cannon, and no less than a hundred standards, were the trophies of the victors. The fugitives were pursued as far as Mantes, which town, opening its gates, saved the general of the League from being

taken prisoner.

The victory of Ivry raised the fame of Henry of Bourbon to the highest pitch. The road to Paris now lay open to him; and it is highly probable that, had he marched at once upon the capital, the League, under the pressure of the recent disaster, would have been forced to surrender at a single blow. But Henry's advance was delayed by various obstacles. He spent a fortnight in reducing the towns of Vernon and Mantes; several weeks more were occupied in gaining possession of Corbeil, Melun, Lagny, and other places commanding the approaches to Paris. Meanwhile the Leaguers recovered from their panic, and 30,000 volunteers enrolled themselves under the Duke of Nemours for the defence of the city. On the 7th of May the royalists at length drew up in order of battle between the faubourgs St. Martin and St. Antoine; and a rigorous blockade was established, which after a time reduced the Parisians to the last extremity of privation and suffering. The death of the king-cardinal of Bourbon, which occurred at this moment, made little change in the situation of affairs, except to enhance, if possible. the courage of the Leaguers in the defence of Paris. On the 24th of July the royal army, which now numbered at least 25,000 men, made a general assault on the suburbs on both banks of the Seine; it was successful on all points; and since both the garrison and the population were in a deplorable condition of distress from the ravages of famine, the fall of the capital now seemed almost inevitable. But in these desperate circumstances the Parisians were at length succoured by the Spaniards under the Duke of Parma.

who by the urgent commands of Philip marched from the Netherlands to their relief. The duke reached Meaux with 14,000 men on the 23rd of August; and Henry, not venturing to await the attack of so distinguished a commander in his lines before Paris, raised the siege on the 30th, and took post with his whole force in the plain of Chelles, intending there to give battle. The Duke of Parma, however, was too consummate a tactician to be forced to fight against his will. He took up his position in front of Lagny, and on the 6th of September, by an admirable stratagem, carried that place by storm under the very eyes of the royalists, thereby securing the command of the river Marne, and the means of sending supplies to the famished capital. A numerous flotilla of boats was instantly despatched thither, conveying soldiers and abundant provisions. The king, completely foiled by the superior skill and science of his adversary, was now under the necessity of abandoning the field; he distributed his troops in various garrisons, and retired to Compiègne, with only a small corps for his personal attendance. The Dukes of Mayenne and Parma entered Paris on the 18th of September.

§ 4. Thus the great results which might have been expected from the victory of Ivry were wrested from the hands of Henry; the struggle was prolonged, and its final issue became more and more uncertain. Confusion and anarchy prevailed throughout the country. Violent discord broke out between the faction of the Seize and the Duke of Mayenne. The Seize arrested Brisson, first president of the parlement, together with two other magistrates, and had them executed at the Châtelet; they nominated a council of ten persons to take measures necessary for the safety of the state, and negotiated with Philip of Spain, with the view of settling the crown on the Infanta, who was to be united in marriage with the young Duke of Guise. Mayenne behaved with firmness and vigour, and succeeded in quelling the sedition; he put to death, without trial, four of the most dangerous members of the Seize, and thus destroyed the power of that tyrannical body, which never afterwards recovered its influence at Paris. Mayenne replaced them by functionaries sworn to respect his own authority until the legitimate election of a king, and outward order was at length re-established in the capital; but the mass of the people, thus deprived of their favourite leaders, began to murmur at the continuance of civil war, chafed under the voke of the League, and showed themselves disposed to a compromise which might be the means of restoring peace to their distracted country.

In the mean time the royalists, with the assistance of 7000 English troops under the Earl of Essex, maintained the war with unabated spirit, and in November, 1591, invested the city of Rouen. The

Duke of Parma once more led a Spanish army to the succour of the Leaguers; on his approach, Henry left Biron to press the siege of Rouen, and marched to meet him in Picardy. A sharp skirmish took place at Aumale on the 5th of February, 1592, in which the king, rashly charging a column of the enemy, was surrounded, wounded, and ran imminent risk of being captured or slain. Rouen, ably defended by the governor, Villars, held out against Biron, who lost so heavily from a sally that, when the Spaniards came up on the 21st of April, the siege was immediately raised. Henry, having with marvellous activity rallied 20,000 troops, advanced on the 25th and offered battle to Parma; but the latter, who was suffering from a severe wound, eluded an engagement. During the night of the 9th of May he contrived with extraordinary skill to pass his whole army across the Seine, with scarcely the loss of a man, and without sacrificing a single cannon. Henry, irritated at being thus a second time outgeneralled, followed hotly in pursuit; but the duke effected his retreat in safety along the left bank of the river, reached St. Cloud in four days, and regained the frontier of the Netherlands at Arras. Here this illustrious general soon afterwards died, either of his wounds, or, as it was freely asserted, from poison.

§ 5. The various contending parties were now growing alike weary of this indecisive strife; and anxious desires were expressed on all sides for the meeting of the States-General, as the most hopeful expedient for solving the questions at issue, and devising a remedy for the intestine maladies which were destroying France. The States were accordingly convoked by Mayenne, and met at the Louvre on the 26th of January, 1593. The Cardinal of Bourbon had died in 1590, and, on the question of the succession, the States were divided and distracted by conflicting intrigues. Mayenne, whose influence had been preponderant in the elections, fully hoped that the choice of the assembly would fall upon himself; a strong section favoured the nomination of the young Duke of Guise; while Philip of Spain employed all his energy to procure a majority of votes for his daughter the Infanta. The rivalry of these parties opened the way for a conference between the Royalists and the moderate Leaguers at Suresnes; in which, though nothing decisive was arranged, Henry allowed it clearly to appear that he was prepared to sacrifice his religion to the necessities of the state and the miseries of his country.

§ 6. Henry had now fully made up his mind to the important measure—the "perilous leap," as he expressed it to his mistress Gabrielle d'Estrées—which he saw to be indispensably necessary to the peaceable recognition of his rights. A conference took place at Mantes on the 23rd of July; and after a deliberation of five

hours the king declared himself satisfied of the truth of the Catholic religion. Two days later he proceeded to St. Denis, where he was met at the door of the church by the Archbishop of Bourges, with seven other prelates. Falling on his knees, Henry abjured his Calvinistic errors, made profession of the Catholic, Roman, and Apostolic faith, received provisional absolution from the archbishop, and was restored to the communion of the Church. The procession then entered the minster, where high mass and Te Deum were celebrated in the presence of the court, the royalist magistrates and officers, and an immense concourse of citizens, who testified their joy by loud acclamations.

The reconciliation of Henry IV. with the Church of Rome, whatever may be thought of it in a moral and religious point of view, was unquestionably an act of the highest political wisdom, and delivered France from a state of domestic anarchy which threatened it with the loss of independence and utter ruin. It struck a mortal blow to the League, which now became disorganized, and rapidly lost its influence throughout the kingdom. The chief provincial towns, and the great mass of the population, at once declared their adhesion to Henry; a truce was proclaimed, and the civil war was generally considered at an end. Great numbers even of the Huguenots approved, on patriotic grounds, the step which the king had taken. Some, however, of those who had hitherto been most zealously attached to him now retired into private life; among

these was the able and excellent Duplessis-Mornay.

It was not without considerable difficulty that Henry obtained possession of the capital. The Duke of Mayenne clung to power with stubborn tenacity, labouring, for merely selfish ends, to prevent the conclusion of peace; and by means of the Spanish garrison under the Duke of Feria, and a few impracticable members of the League, he still maintained the chief authority in Paris. The Count de Brissac-the same who had so ably seconded the Duke of Guise on the day of the Barricades-was now appointed governor of the city; and Mavenne took his departure for Soissons, where he hoped to find some auxiliary troops from the Low Countries. Meanwhile the king, having celebrated his coronation in the cathedral of Chartres, once more advanced towards Paris; and Brissac, gained over by the promise of high preferments and a splendid pension, surrendered the capital into the hands of the royalists. The governor dismissed, under different pretexts, certain regiments which were devoted to the League; and at four in the morning of the 22nd of March, 1594, Henry entered Paris by the Porte Neuve at the head of 5000 chosen troops, who rapidly and silently took possession of all the posts commanding the city, without encountering any serious opposition. The Spanish garrison laid down their arms, and were

permitted to leave the city with the honours of war. Henry established himself at the Louvre; and, being now master of Paris, felt himself in reality, what he had so long been only in name, King of France.

The submission of Paris was soon followed by that of the provinces. A few months later the young Duke of Guise, urged by the advice of his mother, and even of his aunt the Duchess of Montpensier, accepted the king's overtures of reconciliation, ceded to him various towns which belonged to his domains, and received in return the government of Provence, with a pension of 24,000 livres. The Duke of Lorraine was gained over in like manner by a grant of the towns of Toul and Verdun, and a payment of 900,000 crowns. Henry is said to have expended no less than thirty millions in thus purchasing the allegiance of the great nobles and recovering the

scattered portions of his royal heritage.

§ 7. The king, in proportion as he became firmly seated on the throne, felt the necessity of bringing to a decisive issue his quarrel with Philip of Spain, whom he justly regarded as the main author of all his difficulties and troubles, and of the war which for near thirty years had devastated France. The feelings of personal resentment which urged Henry to this measure were heightened at this moment by a daring attempt made upon his life by a young Jesuit named Chastel, who wounded him on the mouth with a dagger as he re-entered Paris from Amiens. This crime was imputed, with or without reason, to the instigation of the King of Spain; it furnished ground for the chastisement of the order of the Jesuits, who were sentenced to banishment from the kingdom within fifteen days by a decree of the parlement of Paris. Henry published his formal declaration of war against Spain on the 17th of January, 1595; and his troops invaded Franche-Comté. Here the royalists were once more opposed by Mayenne, the obstinate lieutenant-general of the League, who was soon joined by Velasco. Constable of Castille, with 10,000 men. An encounter took place at Fontaine-Française on the 5th of June, 1595, in which the king, with his characteristic impetuosity, attacked 3000 of the enemy with a mere handful of cavalry, repulsed and routed them. This success enabled Henry to overrun the whole of Franche-Comté, and led to negotiations with Mayenne, who agreed to acknowledge the king's title as soon as he should receive absolution from the pope. The Spaniards, however, compensated for their reverses in Burgundy by brilliant exploits in Picardy. Henry hurried from Lyons to the north, but Cambrai had already fallen before he arrived. At this moment, when his affairs seemed again to be taking an unfavourable turn, the king most opportunely received intelligence that Pope Clement VIII. had

prenounced the long-delayed absolution, and acknowledged him in due form as sovereign of France. The immediate consequence of this event was the submission of the Duke of Mayenne, and the final dissolution of the League. By a treaty signed at Folembray in January, 1596, the king made over to Mayenne three cautionary towns to be held for six years, granted a complete amnesty for the past, paid all his debts contracted during the war, and conferred on himself and his son offices of the highest trust. The Duke of Joyeuse was included in this treaty, and was named Marshal and Governor of Languedoc. Almost at the same moment the city of Marseilles surrendered to the Duke of Guise; this produced the pacification of Provence; and Épernon, who had commanded in those parts for the League, now made his submission to the royal authority.

§ 8. The war with Spain meanwhile continued, and taxed to the utmost the energies and resources of the king. The Archduke Albert, Governor of the Netherlands, marched rapidly to Calais, invested that fortress, which was feebly garrisoned and ill-provisioned, and compelled it to capitulate on the 24th of April, 1596. This disaster was followed by the fall of Ardres, which was treacherously surrendered to the Spaniards by the governor; and the Archduke then retreated unmolested to the Low Countries, for Henry's army was exhausted, and his finances reduced to the lowest ebb. Early in the next year the enemy inflicted a still more serious blow by the sudden capture of the important city of Amiens. Some Spanish soldiers, disguised as peasants, entered one of the gates while the inhabitants were at mass, overpowered the guard, and admitted 4000 of their comrades under Portocarrero, the Governor of Doullens. Henry was in consternation; but quickly recovering himself, exclaimed, "My friends, I have long enough played the King of France, it is high time for me to play the King of Navarre!" He immediately set out with Biron and 5000 men for Amiens, having committed the task of collecting and equipping the main army to Maximilian de Bethune, Baron of Rosny, afterwards the illustrious Duke of Sully. Rosny, by dint of extraordinary exertion, tact, and perseverance, assembled 28,000 men, including a contingent furnished by England; and the siege of Amiens commenced. The garrison held out gallantly for five months, during which time the archduke made several unsuccessful attempts to succour them; but the city was completely blockaded by the French lines, and the Spaniards, despairing of relief, capitulated on the 25th of September.

§ 9. The recapture of Amiens was the last operation of the war. Philip II. was now sinking under the weight of years and disease. He had expended enormous revenues in maintaining a lengthened

struggle from which he had reaped little or no permanent advantage; and he was anxious to effect a pacification before his dominions should pass into the hands of his inexperienced successor. Henry. whose state of embarrassment was extreme, longed equally for an accommodation; the pope proffered his mediation to the two monarchs, and a congress met at Vervins, in the beginning of the year 1598, to arrange the conditions of peace. The only parties adverse to an agreement were the United Provinces of Holland and the Queen of England. Henry, it seems, had bound himself never to make peace with Philip without Elizabeth's consent; this engagement he now violated, alleging that repose was absolutely required for the interests and security of France. The negotiations accordingly proceeded between France and Spain, the other powers refusing to take part. Philip surrendered Calais, Ardres, Doullens, le Catelet, and all his conquests except the citadel of Cambrai. Henry restored the county of Charolais; and upon all other points the arrangement conformed to the provisions of the treaty of Câteau-Cambresis in 1559. Such were the terms of the definitive peace of Vervins, signed on the 2nd of May, 1598.

A few days earlier (April 15, 1598) Henry IV. had signed a document even more memorable and important—the EDICT OF NANTES. Since the king's conversion the Huguenots had had considerable reason to complain of being treated with injustice, ingratitude, and neglect. Appointments and rewards had been lavished on their opponents, while they themselves had not only declined greatly in political influence, but had repeatedly suffered by the partial and rigorous administration of the laws. The decree now promulgated allowed toleration for Calvinism. The Protestants were permitted to hold their services in those towns specified in the Treaty of Bergerac (1577); * they were admitted on equal terms to all public employments and dignities, military and civil; a separate chamber to protect their interests, called the "Chambre de l'Edit," was instituted in the parlement of Paris, together with similar courts in the provinces; a complete amnesty was granted for the events of the whole course of the war. Lastly, the reformers received license to hold a general representative assembly once in three years, to deliberate on their affairs, and present to the crown reports on their condition and petitions for the redress of grievances. The Edict of Nantes was bitterly denounced and resisted by the clergy and all zealous Catholics; but was ultimately registered by the parlement of Paris on the 25th of February, 1599. This compromise worked well during the reign of Henry IV., but

^{*} These were about seventy-five in number, and included some important cities, such as La Rochelle, Montpellier, Nismes, Grenoble, Niort, Lectoure, Châtellerault, and Castres.

led to frequent disturbances under his successors, when the Huguenots, who numbered only one-tenth of the population, attempted to establish an imperium in imperio in the south of France.

The termination of those religious wars which had convulsed and desolated the nation during nearly forty years—the peaceful establishment of the house of Bourbon on the throne—the recognition of the rights of conscience—such are the striking events which close the sixteenth century, that period of universal agitation and transition. It must, however, always be remembered that the religion of Rome, notwithstanding all the zeal of the Reformers, remained the predominant faith of the great mass of the people; that the crown survived a rebellion which had menaced it with total ruin, and acquired increased power and strength by its victory; and lastly, that after such an unprecedented contest, France made little or no progress towards the establishment of a free and well-balanced constitution. Nothing was done to limit and control permanently the excesses of arbitrary power. The States-General, the national representative assembly, remained practically useless, and served only to display the incapacity of the people for the great duties of self-control and self-government.

§ 10. Having thus reconciled himself with his enemies both at home and abroad, Henry devoted his attention to the interior administration of the kingdom. The financial condition of France at this period approached nearly to national bankruptcy. The public debt was estimated at upwards of three millions of francs. equivalent, according to the relative value of money, to about thirty-two millions sterling. The gross amount of taxes paid by the people was two hundred million francs; but such were the abuses in the system of collection, that not more than thirty millions found their way annually into the treasury. The different branches of the revenue were leased out to officers called fermiersgénéraux, who only thought of enriching themselves and their underlings by extortion and malversation. The governors of provinces levied arbitrary taxes for their own individual profit, an example which was followed by numbers of the great territorial nobles. Nearly the whole of the royal domain was alienated; and the creditors of the state were suffered to pay themselves at their own pleasure, with no efficient control or investigation of the correctness of their claims. Henry was eminently fortunate in being able to nominate, for the redress of these evils, a minister so admirably qualified as the great Sully. Sully was appointed "surintendant des finances" in 1598; and by the inflexible probity of his character, he succeeded in the course of a few years in effecting a searching reform in every department of the public revenue. He began by dismissing the inferior farmers of the taxes, and compelling the fermiers-généraux to take out new leases; having first ascertained in each case the real value of the impost, he then renewed the leases at a very considerable



Medal of the Duke of Sully,

advance upon the former rents, which nearly doubled the income derived from them. He next issued a decree prohibiting all levving of taxes without a royal ordonnance registered by the parlement: a measure which suppressed the entire system of private pillage practised by provincial governors and grandees. The Duke of Epernon, who was thus shorn of a yearly revenue of 60,000 livres. attempted to resist; but Sully was not to be intimidated, and Epernon was compelled to submit. A rigorous examination was made of all claims and charges on the royal domain, which resulted in the recovery of alienated property to the yearly value of near two millions. Numbers of useless offices, fictitious titles of nobility, and illegal privileges of exemption, were abolished, and the net receipts from the taxes was thus vastly increased. Another of Sully's expedients was the imposition of a tax called the paulette.* by payment of which all officers in the departments of justice and finance were enabled to secure the hereditary transmission of their appointments. To these various methods of increasing the resources of the state this great financier added a strict and persevering economy in the public expenditure. During his administration the debts of the crown were paid to the extent of one hundred and forty millions of francs, while at the same time the amount of taxation was reduced to twenty-six millions, with a net produce to the treasury of twenty millions. Besides this, Sully accumulated a reserve fund amounting to upwards of twenty millions of livres.

* From the name of the contractor, Paulet, who first suggested it to Sully.

Henry and his minister also gave a vast impulse to the productive powers of the country, by the encouragement of agriculture and every branch of industry and commerce. Enterprises were undertaken for the drainage of marshes, the preservation of forests, the cultivation of the mulberry, the rearing of cattle, the construction of roads, bridges, and navigable canals. The manufactures of silk, cloth, tapestry, and linen were specially protected, and carried to a high degree of perfection. Commercial treaties were negotiated with England, Holland, Spain, and Turkey. Communications were also opened with North America, and French colonies were now first established in Canada, where Champlain, a gentleman of Saintonge, founded, in 1608, the city of Quebec.

§ 11. The king's domestic relations were still a source of great anxiety. He had been separated for many years from his wife, Marguerite of Valois, whom he had never loved. Having no legitimate heir, Henry began to think seriously of procuring a divorce, and marrying his mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrées, by whom he had several children. He had created her Duchess of Beaufort, and had already taken measures to legitimate one of her sons, the Duke of Vendôme. Many of the leading nobles of the court were said to support strongly the pretensions of Gabrielle as the future queen; she was, however, resolutely opposed by Sully, and his influence with the king proved fatal to her. The duchess, finding the minister impracticable, unwisely sought to prejudice her lover against him, and demanded his disgrace. Meeting with a denial, she broke out into passionate reproaches, and in her rage applied the epithet of "valet" to the illustrious Sully. "Madam," said Henry with great calmness, "let me tell you that, were I compelled to choose between you and the duke, I could more easily part with ten mistresses like you than with one faithful servant like him." This decisive blow to her hopes produced a serious effect on Gabrielle. She was taken dangerously ill in April, 1599, and expired the next day. Marguerite of Valois, who had refused to consent to a divorce in order to pave the way for the advancement of her husband's mistress, now ceased to oppose the king's views; and the court of Rome pronounced the dissolution of the marriage, under the pretext of spiritual affinity, in December, 1599. After a short interval, during which Henry made Henriette d'Entragues Marchioness of Verneuil, he concluded a treaty of marriage with Mary de' Medici, daughter of the late Grand Duke of Tuscany, and niece of the reigning sovereign. The marriage was celebrated by proxy on the 5th of October, 1600; the Florentine princess, attended by a splendid train, landed at Marseilles in November, and was met by Henry at Lyons. Their union was not happy, the new queen being of a jealous temper, and little disposed to suffer patiently the habitual infidelities of her

consort; but several children were the result of the marriage, the eldest of whom, born 27th of September, 1601, became Louis XIII.

§ 12. It was in the course of the year 1600 that, through the intrigues of Charles Emmanuel Duke of Savoy, an extensive conspiracy was formed against the king, having for its object nothing less than the dismemberment of France into independent feudal states, under the protection, or rather the sovereignty, of the King of Spain. A dispute existed between Henry and the Duke of Savoy, on account of the retention of the latter of the marquisate of Saluzzo, the cession of which to France had been stipulated by the treaty of Vervins. The Duke proceeded to Paris to negotiate



Medal of Henry IV. and of Mary de' Medici.

in person with the king; and while there contrived to corrupt the fidelity of many of the superior officers and nobles, chiefly former members of the League, whose state of sullen discontent made them ready listeners to his insidious proposals. The principal of these was the Marshal de Biron, one of the most valued of Henry's companions in arms—who had fought gallantly by his side at Arques, at Ivry, at Aumale, at Fontaine Française—but who, though loaded with honours and rewards, never ceased to make bitter complaints of the ingratitude of his royal master. Biron was a man of intolerable presumption, vanity and pride; his self-love had been deeply wounded by a disparaging speech of Henry's, which was maliciously repeated to him by the Duke of Savoy; and on being offered the dukedom of Burgundy, together with a princess of Savoy in marriage, he was easily overcome by the temptation, and became a traitor to his prince.

The Duke of Savoy, though he had agreed to give Henry satisfaction, refused at the last moment to surrender the contested territory; the consequence was a declaration of war; and the king, putting himself at the head of his army, which was commanded

under him by Biron and Lesdiguières, rapidly overran the province, and on the 21st of August, 1600, entered Chambery, the capital, in triumph. Charles Emmanuel now sued for peace, which was granted on his surrendering to France the district of La Bresse, between Geneva and Lyons, in exchange for Saluzzo. On returning from this campaign in January, 1601, the king, who had received some hint of the disloval schemes of Biron, questioned him on his relations with the Duke of Savov, induced him to avow his fault, frankly pardoned him, and sent him as ambassador to England. Biron's continued treachery led, however, to his recall and arrest, together with that of the Count of Auvergne. They were conducted to the Bastille, and the trial of Biron commenced immediately before the parlement of Paris. He attempted to shelter himself under the royal pardon granted to him the year before, but the plea was disallowed, and on the 29th of July Biron was unanimously condemned to death. Two days later he was executed.

§ 13. This terrible example was widely felt both in France and in foreign countries. Other plots of the aristocracy against Henry were as promptly suppressed, and the internal tranquillity of his kingdom was henceforth secure.

Three years of universal peace succeeded, during which the active spirit of Henry was earnestly engaged in a grand project which he had conceived for the humiliation of the house of Austria in both its branches, and the rearrangement of the family of European states. This scheme is said to have consisted in the formation of a confederacy or commonwealth of nations, embracing within itself, on a perfectly equal footing, the three prevailing forms of Christianity -the Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Reformed-and guaranteeing the free enjoyment of those political institutions which each member might prefer. The association was to comprise six hereditary monarchies-France, Spain, Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, and Savoy or Northern Italy; six elective monarchies—the Empire, Poland, Hungary, Venice, Bohemia, and the Papal States; and three republics,-the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the Italian republic, containing Genoa, Lucca, and other small provinces. The success of this plan would have inflicted an immense loss of territory upon Spain by the severance of Lombardy, the Netherlands, and Franche-Comté; while the Austrian house would have lost Hungary, Bohemia, and the Tyrol. The balance thus established was to be maintained by a federal council or diet, the decisions of which were to be final in all cases of dispute between the associated states. The main drift of Henry's policy was the establishment of a sufficient counterpoise against the overgrown empire of Spain; and it was in the pursuance of this object that Henry found himself, in the last

years of his life, on the verge of engaging in a general European war.

§ 14. The Duke of Cleves, Juliers, and Berg died without heirs on the 24th of March, 1809. His dominions, though not extensive, were of importance, as lying between the Netherlands, the Rhine, and Germany; and a host of competitors appeared to dispute the succession. The emperor contended that, as a male fief of the empire, the duchy reverted to him by default; the Elector of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine of Neuberg laid claim to it in right of the late duke's sisters; other pretensions were advanced by the royal house of Saxony. Henry IV. supported the rights of the princes of Brandenburg and Neuberg; and by a treaty signed at Halle in January, 1610, he engaged to furnish them with a contingent of 10,000 men. He thus placed himself in direct antagonism to the house of Austria; and the war, if it had broken out in earnest, must have assumed the shape of a struggle for predominance between France and the Empire.

Henry's military preparations were on a vast scale. One army, of 30,000 men, was ready to march under his own orders against Juliers; a second, 14,000 strong, was to combine with the Duke of Savoy in an attack on the Milanese; while a third, of 25,000, was marshalled on the Pyrenæan frontier, and was destined to invade Spain. At this moment, while Europe was intently watching his mighty armaments, and awaiting the outbreak of the war, Henry quarrelled with the Prince of Condé, who with his wife took refuge at the viceregal court of Brussels. Henry, furious, summoned Condé, on his allegiance, to return to France, and warned the Archduke Albert not to harbour the fugitives, upon pain of provoking a declaration of war. The archduke, acting under orders from Madrid, declined to order the prince and princess to quit the Netherlands; and Henry from that time forward redoubled his warlike demonstrations. At the same time the Jesuits and other violent partisans of Rome laboured to excite the popular enmity against the king on account of his coalition with the German Protestants; a plot, they asserted, was on foot for dethroning the pope, overturning the Catholic religion, and making the Huguenots paramount in France.

§ 15. The army of the north, with which Henry proposed to invade Belgium, was ordered to concentrate at Châlons by the end of April, 1610. Before leaving Paris to take the command the king appointed Mary de' Medici regent in his absence, with a council of fifteen of the chief officers of state. The queen, who had never been crowned since her marriage, earnestly requested that this ceremony might be performed before the king's departure; and Henry altered his arrangements in order to gratify her. From

this moment he seems to have been seized with a presentment of some impending catastrophe, and repeatedly expressed his conviction that his days would be cut short before the time appointed for his quitting the capital. The coronation of the queen was celebrated with all due solemnity in the abbey church of St. Denis on the 13th of May; the 19th was the day fixed for the king's joining the army. In the afternoon of the 14th Henry proceeded in his coach to the arsenal, to pay a visit to Sully, who was slightly indisposed; he was attended by the Duke of Epernon and five other courtiers, with an escort of a few gentlemen on horseback. In the Rue de la Ferronière the progress of the royal carriage was impeded by some carts which blocked the narrow thoroughfare; and during the momentary confusion thus caused, a man named François Ravaillac, mounting upon the wheel of the carriage, struck with a knife a deadly blow at the king. Henry raised his arm, exclaiming, "I am wounded!" A second blow penetrated the king's heart. He instantly expired. : Thus perished Henry the Fourth, in the fifty-eighth year of his age; and with him vanished his elaborate and magnificent projects, whether of military enterprise or of political and social reorganization. His death was fortunate for the house of Austria, which was thus saved from a war which must have weakened, and might even have destroyed, its power. But for France it was a grave misfortune; since society, which had just begun to recover from the religious wars, was now again thrown into confusion, strife, and misery. The memory of this great sovereign has always been popular with the French nation, both on account of his many generous, attractive, and noble qualities, and for the great substantial benefits which his wise rule conferred upon the country.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

AUTHORITIES FOR REIGN OF HENRY IV.

The Memoires, or Economies Royales, reign. This celebrated work commences . France.

with the year 1570, and closes with the retirement of the author from public life in 1611. See also Martin, Histoire de France; Ranke, Französische Geschichte; of the great Duke of Sully form the Sismondi, Histoire des Français; Willert, principal authority for the history of this Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots of



Cardinal Richelieu. (From a medal in the British Museum.)

CHAPTER XVII.

LOUIS XIII. A.D. 1610-1643.

- § 1. Accession of Louis XIII.; regency of Mary de' Medici; the new favourites; retirement of Sully. § 2. The States-General of 1614; marriage of the king to Anne of Austria; arrest of the Prince of Condé; rise of Richelieu. § 3. Rise of De Luynes; murder of the Marshal d'Ancre; execution of Leonora Galigai; incapacity of De Luynes; revolt of the party of the queen-mother; reconciliation effected by Richelieu. § 4. Revolt of the Protestants of Béarn: renewal of civil war in Poitou and Languedoc; death of De Luynes. § 5. Suppression of the Huguenot revolt; Richelieu made cardinal and minister. § 6. Hostilities with Spain and Austria; Huguenot insurrection. § 7. Conspiracy against Richelieu. § 8. Siege of La Rochelle; complete submission of the Protestants. § 9. War in Piedmont; capture of Pignerol; reduction of Savoy. § 10. Intrigues against Richelieu; the Day of Dupes; execution of Marillac; exile of Mary de' Medici. § 11. Revolt of Gaston of Orleans and Marshal Montmorency; trial and execution of Montmorency. § 12. France leagues with the Protestants, and engages in the Thirty Years' War: the Imperialists invade Picardy. § 13. Capture of Brisach; Father Joseph. § 14. Private life of Louis XIII.: reconciliation with Anne of Austria; birth of Louis XIV. § 15. Alsace, Artois, and Roussillon annexed to France. § 16. Revolt of the Count of Soissons; conspiracy of Cinq-Mars; Richelieu at Narbonne; siege of Perpignan; execution of Cinq-Mars and De Thou. § 17. Death of Richelieu; death of Louis XIII.
- § 1. Measures were instantly taken, under the direction of Sully and Épernon, for placing the regency in the hands of Mary de'

Medici during the minority of Louis XIII., who at this time was scarcely nine years of age. In order to support this proceeding by legal sanction, the appointment was made by a decree of the parlement of Paris, who on the very evening of Henry's murder sent a

deputation to notify it to the queen.

The Regent made no immediate changes in the administration. The late king's ministers retained their offices; Sully, especially, was received at court with every mark of confidence and honour. It seemed at first as if the general policy of Henry was to be strictly followed out; a royal proclamation appeared, confirming and renewing the Edict of Nantes; and, in order to keep faith with the new allies of France, 10,000 men were sent to join the German princes at the siege of Juliers.

It was not long, however, before matters assumed a different aspect. The queen was a person of weak character and narrow understanding, entirely ruled by favourites, the chief of whom were an obscure Florentine adventurer named Concino Concini, and his wife Leonora Galigai, a foster sister of Mary de' Medici, and her first lady of the bedchamber. These two persons acquired an unbounded empire over the Regent's mind and counsels. Concini was rapidly promoted to the highest stations; became Marquis d'Ancre, governor of Amiens, Peronne, and Dieppe, and was ultimately created Marshal of France. An interior council, or secret cabinet, was now formed, including, besides Concini, the Jesuit Cotton, the pope's nuncio, and the Spanish ambassador. Its policy was precisely the reverse of that pursued by Henry IV., and tended to establish an intimate friendship and alliance between both branches of the houses of Austria. A project was soon announced for a double connection between the two royal houses, by the marriage of Louis XIII. to the Infanta Anne of Austria, while his eldest sister, the Princess Elizabeth, was to be united to Philip Prince of the Asturias. It was impossible for Sully to support this policy; he remonstrated with the Regent, but, as she persisted, he had no alternative but to retire from office. In January, 1611, he resigned his posts of "Superintendent of the Finances" and governor of the Bastille, retaining only his government of Poitou. He never afterwards took any active part in public affairs, though he was frequently consulted by Mary de' Medici during the subsequent troubles and disorders. Sully lived till the year 1641, when he died, at the age of eighty-two, at the château of Villebon.

§ 2. Louis XIII. attained his majority on the 27th of September, 1614, and on the following day, holding a bed of justice, assumed nominally the government of the kingdom. The States-General commenced their session at Paris on the 14th of October. The assembly was unusually numerous, including four hundred and

sixty-four deputies for the three orders. Among the representatives of the clergy was Armand Duplessis de Richelieu, at that time Bishop of Luçon.



Meeting of the States-General in the Salle Bourbon at Paris, October, 1614.

(From a print of the time.)

Louis XIII. 2. Mary de' Medici. 3. Monsieur. 4. The Chancellor. 5. Le Grand Mattre. 6. Princes of the Blood. 7. Dukes, Cardinals. 8. Secretaries of State. 9. Orator of the Clergy. 10. Orator of the Noblesse. 11. Orator of the Tiers Etat. 12. Master of the Ceremonies. 13. Deputies of the Clergy; opposite, Deputies of the Noblesse. 14. Deputies of the Tiers Etat.

The proceedings of the States on this occasion reflected faithfully the unsettled and divided feelings of the nation. The three orders wasted their time in disputes and recrimination. Many important subjects were discussed, such as the abolition of the sale of public offices, the diminution of pensions, financial reform, the publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent; but the deputies found it impossible to act cordially together, and the government, profiting by their dissensions, put them off with vague promises. After the demands of the nobility and the clergy had been elequently summed up by the Bishop of Luçon, the assembly was abruptly dissolved on the 24th of March, 1615. The spectacle of incapacity thus given by the national legislature was not lost either upon the crown or on the country at large; and the result was remarkable. The States-General were not again convoked until their evermemorable meeting in 1789—an interval of one hundred and

seventy-four years.

The marriage of the young king with Anne of Austria was solemnized towards the end of the year (1615). The Prince of Condé had violently opposed this marriage, and had twice taken up arms to break off the connection with Austria and Spain, and to renew the alliances formed by Henry IV. He was strongly supported by the parlement, who refused to register the royal decrees directed against him and his party. The court twice bought off his opposition by lavish grants to him and his friends, and the Marshal d'Ancre was compelled to surrender some of his appointments. The influence of Condé now became almost supreme. He placed himself in violent opposition to the queen-mother and Marshal d'Ancre; and the favourite, whose life seems to have been scarcely safe at Paris, found it necessary to escape into Normandy. The prince is said to have meditated the removal of Mary de' Medici from power; but at this juncture he met with a powerful antagonist in the person of Richelieu, whose fortunes had been rapidly rising ever since the meeting of the States-General. He had obtained a seat in the council of state, where he supported with great resolution and ability the interests of the queen-mother. It was by Richelieu's advice that the court now resolved on the bold step of arresting the Prince of Condé. This was carried out on the 31st of August, 1616, and Bouillon and the other princes saved themselves by timely flight. Their partisans at Paris attempted to create a popular movement, and the mob attacked the splendid mansion of Marshal d'Ancre, which was plundered and destroyed. Order, however, was soon restored. Concini reentered the capital in triumph, and appeared for a time to be more powerful than ever. Richelieu was immediately rewarded for his good services to the court in this emergency; on the 30th of November, 1616, he was advanced to the office of secretary of state.

§ 3. Louis XIII., now sixteen years of age, resolved to take the reins of government into his own hands. In this decision he was supported by his favourite Luynes. On the morning of the 24th of April, 1617, as the Marshal d'Ancre entered the court of the Louvre, he was arrested by Vitry, captain of the guard, and shot dead by several of the soldiers, who closely followed their commander. A guard was stationed at the apartment of the queenmother, who in the course of a few days was exiled to Blois. The fall of the favourite was hailed with delight by the citizens of Paris; the former ministers were recalled, and Richelieu, involved in the disgrace of his patron, Mary de' Medici, was deprived of office and dismissed to his bishopric of Luçon.

Luynes immediately assumed the chief direction of affairs: a post, however, for which he was no better fitted than his predecessor Concini. His first act was to execute the Marchioness d'Ancre, and to confiscate, for his own benefit, her property and that of her husband. His main object was to raise himself and his family as rapidly as possible by the accumulation of riches, honours. and posts of authority. He soon became a duke and peer of France, with the government of the Isle de France and Picardy, and contracted a splendid marriage with the daughter of the Duke of Montbazon. Two of his brothers were created dukes. Before he had been a year in power Luynes became universally unpopular; discontent began again to show itself; and the offended nobles flocked to the court of Mary de' Medici at Blois, which soon became the centre of rebellious intrigue. The Dukes of Guise. Bouillon, and Mayenne assured the queen of their devoted support; and at length, on the night of the 22nd of February, 1619, Mary was liberated from the château of Blois by the Duke of Épernon, who conducted her in safety to Angoulême.

Louis and his favourite were greatly alarmed. The king was for taking up arms to punish the audacity of Épernon, but De Luynes persuaded him to seek an accommodation with his mother before the chiefs of her party should break out into open revolt. The negotiation was intrusted to Richelieu, who was recalled for this purpose from his exile at Avignon. By his agency an arrangement was concluded, by which the queen-mother was set at liberty and permitted to select at pleasure her future place of residence; her revenues were restored, and she received the government of Anjou. An amnesty was proclaimed in favour of Épernon and his followers, and an interview took place shortly afterwards between Louis and his mother at Tours, which to all appearance sealed their reconciliation. This event was followed by the liberation of the Prince

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of Condé, who had been a prisoner, first in the Bastille, afterwards at Vincennes, for upwards of three years. The prince joined himself to the party of the minister, who hoped by means of his influence to hold in check the adherents of the queen-mother.

- § 4. The little Protestant province of Béarn was at this time in a state of agitation in consequence of a royal edict announcing its annexation to the crown, together with the complete re-establishment of the Catholic religion. This decree was stoutly resisted, and Louis, having now a powerful army in the field, determined to take extreme measures for enforcing it. He marched in person to Pau, caused the churches and ecclesiastical property to be restored to the Catholic bishops and clergy, strongly garrisoned the fortresses, and reduced the province to apparent obedience. But the outraged Huguenots soon recovered from their surprise, and early in 1621 held a general assembly of their party at La Rochelle, at which it was resolved, in the midst of intense excitement, once more to appeal to arms in defence of their cause against the crown. Everything betokened a renewal of the calamitous civil strife of the preceding reigns. Louis took the field in April, 1621, having first, to the astonishment and disgust of the whole kingdom, delivered the constable's sword to Luvnes, who was totally ignorant of the art of war. The royal army, after receiving the submission of the towns of Poitou, laid siege in August to the town of Montauban, the principal stronghold of the Huguenots in Languedoc; but such was the incapacity betrayed by the constable in conducting the operations, that by the beginning of November no progress whatever had been made towards reducing the fortress. The Duke of Rohan advanced to its relief, and after three months of fruitless labour, during which he had sacrificed no less than 8000 men, Louis was compelled to raise the siege. This disgraceful failure called forth a general outcry of indignation against the favourite, of whom the king himself began to weary. He was carried off by a malignant fever, which raged in the camp, on the 14th of December, 1621.
- § 5. Various intrigues were set on foot among the competitors for the post of chief minister, the main contest lying between the Prince of Condé and the queen-mother, supported by her faithful ally Richelieu, who, on the 5th of September, 1622, received a cardinal's hat. Meanwhile the war with the Huguenots continued to cause great anxiety. Hostilities continued in 1622 uniformly to the advantage of the royal arms. The Huguenots suffered a severe loss in the defection of the veteran Marshal Lesdiguières, who on his conversion to Catholicism was rewarded by the king with the appointment of Constable of France. The revolt was almost entirely put down in Guienne and Languedoc, and the campaign

concluded with the successful siege of Montpellier, where peace was signed on the 19th of October. By the peace of Montpellier the Huguenots were deprived of all the fortified towns guaranteed to them by former treaties, with the exception of La Rochelle and Montauban.

The Thirty Years' War had now begun, and the ambition of the Imperial and Spanish branches of the House of Austria was again disquieting France. Frequent changes were made in the ministry, but the situation of affairs grew more and more unsatisfactory until, through the importunity of the queen-mother, the king, on April the 26th, 1624, reluctantly summoned the Cardinal de Richelieu to his councils.

§ 6. Although it was by no means intended to bestow on Richelieu the first place in the administration, he had not been six months in office before his supremacy was fully recognized by the king, the council, the court, and the whole nation. Every department of the public service soon felt the irresistible energy of his character, and his extraordinally capacity for the great task of government.

He had long formed and matured his convictions as to the true policy and interests of France; and having propounded them to the king with admirable distinctness, he prepared to carry them out with that immovable steadiness of purpose which ever marks a genius of the first order. "I may say with truth," such are his own words to Louis in his 'Testament Politique,' "that at the time of my entrance upon office the Huguenots divided the power of the state with your majesty; that the great nobles conducted themselves as if they were not your subjects, and the governors of provinces as if they were independent sovereigns in their own dominions. Foreign alliances were depreciated and misunderstood; private interests preferred to those of the state; and, in a word, the majesty of the crown was degraded to such a depth of abasement that it was scarcely to be recognized at all." Accordingly, the main objects proposed by this great statesman-objects which he pursued with undeviating perseverance throughout his public life-were the annihilation of the Huguenots as a political party, the complete subjugation of the aristocracy to the royal authority, and the restoration of France to her predominant influence in Europe by the systematic humiliation of the House of Austria.

The first measures of Richelieu were directed against Spain and Austria. In order to check their encroachments he projected a grand alliance between France and the Protestant powers of the North; and with this view he negotiated a treaty of marriage between Charles Prince of Wales, the heir to the throne of England, and the Princess Henrietta Maria, one of the sisters of Louis XIII.

A match previously arranged between Charles and a Spanish Infanta was abruptly broken off, and in May, 1625, the Duke of Buckingham arrived at Paris for the purpose of conducting the affianced Queen of England to London. About the same time the cardinal opened friendly communications with the courts of Sweden. Denmark, and the United States of Holland; and Count Mansfeld was permitted to collect auxiliary troops in France, and raised a subsidy towards the expenses of the war. The cardinal sent an army into the Valteline, which the Spaniards and Austrians had wrested from the Grisons, and which was important as forming a communication between the Tyrol and Northern Italy. The French commander, in the course of a few weeks, expelled the Austrian garrisons and took possession of all the fortresses. The none, to whose arbitration the dispute had been referred, remonstrated with vehemence. Richelieu gave him plainly to understand that, although a prince of the Church, his first object was to maintain the dignity and advance the interests of France.

The plans of Richelieu were suddenly disarranged by a fresh rising of the Huguenots, under the Dukes of Rohan and Soubise. during the summer of 1625. The projected operations against Austria were now postponed; and the royal fleet, commanded by the Duke of Montmorency, and assisted by squadrons furnished by England and the Dutch republic, was despatched against the rebellious Rochellois. A great naval battle was fought off the coast on the 15th of September, resulting in the decisive defeat of the insurgents. Soubise with difficulty made his escape to England with the shattered remains of his fleet. La Rochelle lay at the king's mercy; but it was not the purpose of Richelieu at this time to push the Huguenots to extremities. In the midst of these vigorous enterprises at home and abroad he had discovered the existence of a formidable conspiracy against his administration and his life; and in order that he might devote himself to its suppression it was necessary that hostilities should cease or be adjourned for a time. Richelieu made peace with the Rochellois in February, 1626; and a month later the treaty of Monzon was signed with Spain upon the single stipulation that the Valteline should be replaced under the sovereignty of the Grisons.

§ 7. The first plot formed against Richelieu was extremely complicated and widely extended. Gaston Duke of Anjou, the king's only brother and presumptive heir, entered into a design for assassinating the cardinal at his country house. The plot was joined by many of the highest nobles, and the young queen was privy to it. Richelieu, however, suppressed it with terrible energy. Several of the leading conspirators were seized. The Duke of Anjou confessed his guilt, betrayed his accomplices, and threw himself upon

the king's mercy. His treachery was rewarded with the rich appanage of the duchy of Orleans, together with an enormous revenue. Richelieu wreaked his vengeance by the execution or banishment of the other conspirators. The young queen, who was summoned before the council of the state, and reprimanded for her connection with the late treasonable project, continued for many years an object of suspicion to her husband; while between her and the cardinal there reigned from this moment an irreconcilable animosity.

§ 8. A quarrel arose in 1627 between the courts of France and England, chiefly from the personal dislike of the Duke of Buckingham to Richelieu, who had thwarted his ridiculous passion for the young queen, Anne of Austria, and owing to a dispute about Henrietta Maria's marriage treaty. Buckingham promised the support of England to the Huguenots of La Rochelle, formed an alliance with the Dukes of Savoy and Lorraine, who were arming against France, and, embarking with a large army on board a fleet of a hundred sail, appeared off La Rochelle in July. The troops landed on the Isle de Rhé and besieged the fortress of St. Martin. Richelieu displayed on this occasion an almost superhuman activity and vigour. He made great preparations, both military and naval, and then repaired to La Rochelle in company with the king in the month of October. The garrison of St. Martin was now successfully reinforced by a body of 6000 men, and Buckingham, decisively repulsed in his final assault on the 6th of November, abandoned the siege and set sail for England.

The siege of La Rochelle-which was thus left to defend itself single-handed against the entire strength of the French crownwas one of the most celebrated achievements of Cardinal Richelieu. The Huguenot capital contained at this time about 30,000 inhabitants, every man of whom was determined to resist to the last extremity. The mayor, Guiton, a man of iron resolution and courage, had threatened to poniard the first citizen who should venture to speak of surrender. It was evident to Richelieu that La Rochelle was impregnable so long as it could be revictualled and reinforced from England by sea. He therefore constructed, at a sufficient distance from the town to be beyond the reach of its cannon, a gigantic dyke of stone, more than half a mile in length, across the mouth of the harbour, so as to cut off all possibility of relief by a foreign fleet. The city was strictly blockaded on the land side by lines of circumvallation and an army of 25,000 men; and it was plain that its ultimate reduction was simply a question of time.

The cardinal undertook personally the direction of the operations of the siege, and displayed in the course of it all the essential

qualities of a great military commander. Two powerful fleets arrived in succession from England to succour the beleaguered city, and each in turn desperately attacked the dyke, but without making any impression upon that stupendous barrier. The English, baffled and discouraged, retired, and the fate of La Rochelle was sealed. Its heroic defence was protracted for fifteen months, and it was not till half the population had perished from hunger, and scarcely a hundred and fifty soldiers of the garrison remained alive, that the survivors consented to capitulate on the 28th of October, 1628. The only terms they could obtain were an amnesty for past offences and the exercise of their religion in places to be hereafter specified. The king and his minister entered the city in triumph on the 1st of November; and from this moment may be dated the final overthrow of the Huguenot cause in France. La Rochelle forfeited its municipal franchises; its mayoralty was suppressed; its fortifications were razed; and the Catholic religion was reestablished. The town has never recovered its importance. memorable siege is said to have cost the state no less a sum than forty millions of francs.

The Duke of Rohan, meanwhile, maintained an obstinate conflict with the royal forces in Languedoc. Early in the following year (1629) the king entered that province at the head of 50,000 men, and after a series of severe encounters at length compelled the insurgents to lay down their arms. Hostilities ended with the capture of Privas and Alais. At the latter place a peace was signed (June 27, 1629) which left the Protestants prostrate, and quite incapable of any further organized and sustained opposition to the crown.

§ 9. While this struggle with the Huguenots was at its height, Spain endeavoured to embarrass France by a diversion on the side of Italy. A French prince, the Duke of Nevers, had just succeeded to the duchy of Mantua and the marguisate of Montferrat. The Spaniards instigated the Duke of Guastalla to contest his rights, the emperor interfered and sequestered the disputed territory, and a Spanish army invaded Montferrat and besieged Casale, the capital. Richelieu induced Louis to cross the Alps in person, with 36,000 men, in order to establish the Duke of Nevers in his new possessions. The king and the cardinal forced the pass of Susa in March, 1629, in spite of the Duke of Savoy, who was another competitor for Montferrat, and so decisive was the superiority of the French arms that the duke immediately afterwards signed a treaty of peace and alliance with Louis, by which he undertook to procure the abandonment of the siege of Casale and the retreat of the Spaniards into their own territory. This engagement was fulfilled, and the Duke of Nevers took possession of his dominions without further contest. But the triumph was too rapid and easy to be durable.

No sooner had the French army recrossed the mountains than the Emperor Ferdinand, acting in concert with Philip of Spain, poured his troops into the Grisons, while at the same moment two other strong divisions invaded the duchy of Mantua and Montferrat. Richelieu, invested with extraordinary powers under the title of "Lieutenant-general representing the king's person," assumed the supreme command of the army, having as his lieutenants the Marshals Bassompierre and Schomberg. Once more traversing the Alps, he attacked the faithless Duke of Savoy, who had entered into a secret understanding with the enemy. On the 20th of March. 1630, the French besieged the town of Pignerol, which surrendered in three days. Several other fortresses were reduced in succession. and Richelieu soon found himself master of all the principal passes commanding the approach to Italy from the side of Dauphiné. This great success was followed by the reduction of Savoy and the conquest of the marquisate of Saluzzo. By the treaty of Cherasco. concluded in April, 1631, the imperialists evacuated Mantua, the Duke of Nevers received the investiture of that duchy from the emperor, and Pignerol and two other fortresses were ceded by Savoy to France. The negotiator on this occasion was Giulio Mazarini (Mazarin), afterwards the famous cardinal, at that time a diplomatic agent of the court of Rome at Turin.

§ 10. Fresh difficulties and perils awaited Richelieu on his return from this Italian expedition, arising from the determined enmity of Mary de' Medici. The king, on his way to the army during the late campaign, fell dangerously ill at Lyons; and Mary earnestly importuned her son to dismiss Richelieu from his councils for ever. Louis was weak enough to acquiesce, only stipulating that no step should be taken against the minister until the conclusion of the war. On his recovery Louis was again beset by his mother, his wife, and a crowd of courtiers, all clamouring for the fulfilment of his promise; but restored health had now inspired him with a more just appreciation of the cardinal's services. He hesitated, expostulated, and showed the utmost repugnance to a measure so evidently injurious to the state. A scene took place in the king's presence between the queen-mother and Richelieu, at the close of which Louis guitted the palace without saving a word, and took his departure for Versailles. Every one thought the fall of the minister certain. The courtiers flocked to the residence of Mary at the Luxembourg; the good news was transmitted with precipitate joy to Madrid, Vienna, Brussels, and Turin. But the sound judgment of Louis, supported by the arguments of his first equerry Saint Simon, had conducted him meanwhile to a very different conclusion. A message from the king was despatched to Richelieu, who had already begun to resign himself to his disgrace. He hurried to

Versailles, was welcomed with every mark of confidence and favour, and received an assurance from Louis that he would steadily uphold him against all his adversaries, would listen to no insinuation to his prejudice, and would remove from court all who had it in their power to thwart or injure him. These occurrences took place on the 11th of November, 1630, which has remained famous in French history as the "Day of Dupes."

It was now the cardinal's turn to triumph, and his vengeance fell heavily upon those who had plotted his ruin. The first victims were the two brothers Marillac. The one, who was keeper of the seals, was dismissed from office and exiled to Châteaudun; the other, a marshal of France and commander of the army in Italy, was arrested, tried by an extraordinary commission, which sat in the cardinal's own house at Rueil, convicted of peculation, and beheaded. A more difficult measure, but one upon which Richelieu was equally determined, was to effect a complete and final rupture between the king and his mother. It required all his eloquence to convince Louis that the cabals of which Mary was the centre were perilous to the state and the main obstacle to the glory of his reign. A fresh outbreak of Gaston Duke of Orleans, instigated by the queen-mother, at length roused the king to a decisive act of vigour. In February, 1631, Mary de' Medici was placed under a sort of honourable restraint at Compiègne; and Louis informed her by letter that he found it necessary, for reasons of state, to request her to retire to Moulins. She had no alternative but to submit. Refusing, however, to go to Moulins, she escaped secretly from Compiègne on the 18th of July, gained the frontier of the Netherlands, and took refuge at the Spanish court at Brussels. This was a proceeding which Louis could not pardon. He addressed to his mother a letter of reproof, and they never met again. Mary de' Medici, after manifold vicissitudes, died in exile at Cologne in 1642.

The attitude of Gaston of Orleans was so threatening that the king now marched a body of troops against him at Orleans. At their approach the prince fled to Lorraine. The king confiscated the revenues of his duchy, declared his adherents guilty of high treason, and compelled the Duke of Lorraine, by a military demonstration, to refuse him a shelter in his dominions. Gaston then retired to Brussels. Other acts of severity followed. Marshal Bassompierre was sent to the Bastille; the Duke of Guise banished; the Princess of Conti, with several others of the female aristocracy, were exiled from court.

§ 11. The incorrigible Gaston, nevertheless, persisted in his opposition to the government. He intrigued with Spain, with Lorraine, and with all the nobles of France whom he knew to be

ill affected towards Richelieu. Among others he opened a correspondence with the Marshal Duke of Montmorency, governor of Languedoc-a nobleman who, for chivalrous valour, elegance of manners, and generosity of character, had no superior in the kingdom. Montmorency was unhappily prevailed upon to join the prince in an insurrectionary movement in the summer of 1632. Gaston, with a force of 2000 men, traversed Burgundy and Auvergne and entered Languedoc, where the states of the province declared in his favour, and most of the principal towns broke out into open rebellion. On taking the field, however, the confederates found themselves totally unable to cope with the royal army under Marshal Schomberg: and Montmorency avowed that he had no expectation whatever of success in such a foolhardy enterprise. A fierce encounter took place under the walls of Castelnaudary on the 1st of September, when the rebels were completely routed and dispersed. Montmorency, as if seeking death, charged into the thickest of the enemy's ranks, and was taken prisoner covered with wounds. The cowardly Gaston fled, and finding himself helpless, made an abject submission, abandoned his friends to the king's vengeance, and took his departure to Tours.

Louis, attended by the cardinal, now proceeded to Toulouse, where the trial of Montmorency immediately commenced before the parliament. The crime of the illustrious prisoner was clear, and he himself frankly confessed it. He was convicted on the 30th of October. The king was besieged by intercessions for mercy from every quarter of the kingdom; but even the passionate entreaties of the Princess of Condé, Montmorency's sister, failed to move him, and the sentence was carried into execution on the same day that it was passed, in the inner court of the Capitol at Toulouse. He was the son and grandson of two Constables of France, and the last direct descendant of that great ducal house.

§ 12. The intervention of France in Germany during the Thirty Years' War had first commenced in 1631, when Richelieu contracted an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, to whom he promised an annual subsidy of 400,000 crowns, thus openly taking the side of the Protestant confederation against the emperor and the Catholic league. In 1630 his influence was felt at the Diet of Ratisbon, where his agent, Father Joseph, supported the premier in an attack on Wallenstein, which ended in that great general's temporary retirement from the command of the imperial forces. After the defeat and death of Tilly at the battle of the Lech, the Emperor Ferdinand was compelled to recall Wallenstein, and Gustavus closed his glorious career on the field of Lutzen in November, 1682. The French alliance was renewed through the Chancellor Oxenstiern; but the advantage in the contest was now

on the side of the imperialists, and the battle of Nordlingen, in September, 1634, secured for the Catholics South Germany. The Protestants were thrown into the arms of Louis, and Richelieu, at this critical moment, resolved to enter energetically into the strife with all the immense resources at his command. With this object treaties were concluded with the States of Holland, with Sweden, with the German princes, with Switzerland, and with the Duke of Savov, by which France engaged to raise four separate armies, amounting together to 120,000 men. The share which France now took in the great struggle forms a constituent part of the history of the Thirty Years' War, and cannot be related with advantage without giving a detailed account of the campaigns, which is impossible in the present work. The events of the first three years in which France was engaged (1635-1637) were unpropitious to her arms. In 1636 the imperialists penetrated into Picardy, and advanced within three days' march of the capital, ravaging the country and spreading universal panic. The danger was imminent; the fidelity of the Count of Soissons, whose army covered Paris, was doubtful; public alarm was violently excited; and Richelieu is said for a moment to have lost his usual self-possession. Reassured, however, by his trusty counsellor, Father Joseph, he soon showed himself fully equal to the emergency; and, favoured by the patriotic reaction which followed, the king and his minister were enabled to take the field early in the autumn with 40,000 men, and besieged the town of Corbie, which had been surrendered to the Spaniards. The cardinal, who was suffering from illness, established himself during the siege at Amiens; and it was now that two of his bitterest enemies, Gaston of Orleans and the Count of Soissons, entered into a fresh conspiracy against his life, which only failed through the indecision of Gaston. A council held at Richelieu's residence offered every facility to the princes for executing their design. The unsuspecting minister descended the staircase surrounded by the conspirators, and at this moment his fate hung upon a thread. But Gaston's nerve failed him; he hesitated to give the appointed signal; the rest dared not strike without his orders; they separated, and the cardinal escaped. Corbie capitulated on the 14th of November, and the enemy made no further attempt in this direction.

§ 13. The campaign of 1638 was more favourable to France. Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar took several places on the Upper Rhine, and defeated the imperialists in a great battle at Rheinfeld on the 3rd of March. In August he laid siege to Brisach, a strongly fortified town of Alsace, on the right bank of the Rhine. The French contingent on this occasion was commanded by De Guebriant and the Vicomte de Turenne, who was now fast rising

into high reputation. Brisach was defended with resolution, but was at last reduced to extremity, and capitulated on the 18th of December, 1638. The news of the capture of Brisach found Richelieu in deep distress; his faithful and indefatigable coadjutor, the Capuchin Joseph du Tremblay, lay in the agonies of death. The cardinal strove to cheer the last hours of his friend by detailing the events of the campaign, and hastened to announce the achievement which had just shed so much lustre on the French arms. "Courage, Father Joseph!" he exclaimed, "Brisach is ours!" A momentary smile of satisfaction passed over the monk's countenance, and he expired. Father Joseph, who was scarcely less remarkable as a statesman than Richelieu as a diplomatist, had been employed in all the most difficult negotiations of the time, and had acquitted himself with singular acuteness and dexterity, and with unswerving fidelity to the interests of France. His loss was severely felt by Richelieu, but his place was supplied in some measure by Mazarin, who now advanced rapidly in the minister's confidence.

§ 14. Louis XIII., who had abdicated all the active functions of government in favour of his minister, lived at this time a retired, melancholy life, estranged from his queen, and without power or influence. He had lately formed a friendship with one of Anne's maids of honour, Mademoiselle de Hautefort, who strove to rouse him from his apathy, and encouraged him to shake off his absolute dependence on the cardinal. Richelieu, informed of this cabal against him, spared no pains to supersede Mademoiselle de Hautefort in the royal affections; and Louis, unable to resist, discarded his friend in favour of Mademoiselle de Lafavette, in whom the cardinal expected to find a docile instrument of his policy. The influence of the new favourite, however, was exerted still more decidedly against him: and the minister induced Mademoiselle de Lafayette to retire to a convent in May, 1637. The king, however, continued to visit her in her seclusion, and her influence over his mind was rather augmented than diminished. The intrigues against Richelieu continued, and Louis seems to have entertained serious thoughts of dismissing him, when an event occurred which disconcerted his enemies and restored his supremacy. The cardinal discovered a clandestine correspondence carried on by Anne of Austria with the court of Spain, the Cardinal-Infant at Brussels, and other enemies of France. Anne's confidential messenger was arrested and thrown into the Bastille, and the queen, in extreme terror, made a full avowal of her fault to Richelieu, and signed a solemn engagement never again to commit a similar offence; whereupon the minister promised in return to mediate for her a complete reconciliation with her husband. This was accordingly effected, and Richelieu once

more triumphed. The Jesuit Caussin, the king's confessor, was dismissed, and Louis discontinued his visits to Mademoiselle de Lafayette. These occurrences were shortly followed by a result of the highest importance to the welfare of the kingdom. After a childless union of more than twenty years' duration, a dauphin, who afterwards became Louis XIV., was born at St. Germains on the 5th of September, 1638. This event reduced the mischievous Gaston of Orleans to comparative insignificance, and greatly strengthened the reins of government in the grasp of Richelieu.

§ 15. The military efforts of France in 1639 were not inferior to those of preceding years; and the persevering energy of Richelieu was at length rewarded by the discomfiture of his enemies in all directions. The opportune death of Bernard of Saxe Weimar, who had established himself in Brisach, with the object of obtaining the province of Alsace as an independent sovereignty, enabled Richelieu to annex it to France. The imperialists were defeated in Piedmont by Count Harcourt, of the ducal family of Lorraine, who was appointed to the command of the French troops (1640). He followed up his victory by investing Turin, which, after a protracted defence of more than four months, surrendered on the 22nd of September, and the French immediately took possession of the capital; Turenne, as Harcourt's second in command, bore a distinguished part in the operations of this campaign.

In the same year the Spaniards were driven out of Artois, and this important province was forthwith incorporated with the French dominions. This triumph was hailed with general rejoicings throughout the kingdom. At the same time a formidable insurrection broke out in Catalonia and Roussillon, provoked by the violation of their fueros or immemorial privileges; and at the beginning of the following year (1641) these provinces were formally united to the crown of France, with stipulations for the maintenance of their ancient franchises.

§ 16. Meanwhile the despotism which Richelieu had established drove his enemies once more to the hopeless expedient of armed rebellion. The chief mover in this new revolt was the Count of Soissons, who gained a complete victory over the royal forces near Sédan, on the 6th of July, 1641, but was killed by a pistol-shot at the close of the day, as he was giving orders for the pursuit of the fugitives. This event brought the insurrection to a close; but it was soon followed by another attempt against Richelieu, the last and the most dangerous of the many conspiracies during his long tenure of power. The cardinal had placed near the king's person the gay and brilliant Henri d'Effiat, Marquess of Cinq-Mars, in the quality of grand equerry. This young noble quickly ingratiated himself with Louis, became his inseparable companion, and, being

of an enterprising character, acquired a strong ascendency over the feeble-minded monarch. His vanity and presumption increasing in proportion to the royal favour, Cinq-Mars demanded a seat in the council, and intruded his presence at the most confidential interviews of Louis with his imperious minister. Richelieu rebuked him for his conduct, and absolutely forbade him to enter the council chamber in future. From that moment Cinq-Mars exerted his whole influence to effect the ruin of the cardinal; and even proposed his removal by the same means that had despatched the Marshal d'Ancre. Louis listened in silence, not daring to encourage the scheme openly, although the thraldom in which he was held by Richelieu had long become inexpressibly irksome. Monsieur le Grand, as Cinq-Mars was called, pursued his designs. All the cardinal's ancient enemies were more or less involved in the plot. and it was also communicated to François de Thou, son of the historian of that name, a young man of great talent and promise. who, although he cordially hated Richelieu, refused to concur in his assassination. Louis meanwhile was attacked by a dangerous illness; and the conspirators, anxious to strengthen their position in the event of his death, committed the folly of entering into a treaty with the court of Spain, by which that power engaged to assist them with a large force of horse and foot, together with an ample subsidy. In return the King of Spain was to recover all the conquests made from him by France during the war.

These intrigues could not escape the penetration of Richelieu: his agents served him faithfully, and he was fully on his guard. Cinq-Mars had, to some extent, estranged Louis from the cardinal. But, in spite of this coolness, the king was induced, in March, 1642, to undertake in person the command of the army in Roussillon, where Richelieu proposed to prosecute the war with renewed vigour. The king and his minister, both in failing health, journeved to the south by different routes; on reaching Narbonne, Richelieu became so much worse that he was compelled to remain in that city, while Louis proceeded to the camp of Marshal La Meilleraie, who was besieging Perpignan. Thus separated from the court, his frame wasted by a burning fever, disabled from active exertion, and abandoned by his friends, Richelieu's condition seemed almost desperate; still his firmness never forsook him, even when the news arrived of a defeat of the French under Marshal de Guiche in Picardy, which left that frontier open to the Spaniards. Louis soon wearied of the siege of Perpignan, and discovered that in Richelieu's absence he possessed no one to depend on for the conduct of affairs. A reaction followed, and a message was despatched to the cardinal, assuring him that he stood higher than ever in his sovereign's favour. At this moment, by a singular

stroke of good fortune, Richelieu received from an unknown hand a copy of the treaty between Cinq-Mars and his friends and the Spanish court; it was instantly laid before the king; and with this positive proof of their treason in his hands, he could not hesitate to order the arrest of Cinq-Mars and De Thou, which took place at Narbonne on the 12th of June. Louis then joined the cardinal at Tarascon, where a reconciliation ensued between them. Having conferred unlimited powers upon the minister. Louis returned to Paris; while Richelieu embarked in a magnificent barge upon the Rhone, and ascended to Lyons, dragging in a boat behind him his two unfortunate prisoners, for whom it was too plain that there remained no hope of mercy. The contemptible Gaston of Orleans, with his usual baseness, betrayed his associates by acknowledging the treaty with Spain. This completed the legal proof against Cinq-Mars; and De Thou was included in his condemnation, for having neglected to reveal a plot in which he had no criminal share. Both culprits were beheaded in the Place des Terreaux at Lyons on the 12th of September, 1642. "Sire," wrote Richelieu to the king immediately afterwards, "sire, your enemies are dead, and your arms are in Perpignan." That city had surrendered to La Meilleraie on the 9th of September. Its fall completed the conquest of Roussillon, which has ever since remained a province of the French kingdom.

The Duke of Orleans was deprived of his dignities and domains, and commanded to retire to Blois. The Duke of Bouillon paid the penalty of his connection with the late conspiracy by the loss of

his principality of Sédan, which was forfeited to France.

§ 17. Richelieu had now reached the summit of his fortunes. His policy was everywhere triumphant; his enemies crushed; the House of Austria checked and repulsed in all directions. At no former period had France exercised so decided an ascendency in Europe. But the cardinal was at this moment sinking under the ravages of a mortal disease; and on his return to Paris it became evident that his days were numbered. This illustrious statesman breathed his last on the 4th of December, 1642, in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

The chief change produced in the ministry by the death of Richelieu was the elevation of Cardinal Mazarin to a seat in the

council; the other ministers retained their offices.

Louis XIII. survived his great minister scarcely six months. His death took place at St. Germains on the 14th of May, 1643, thirty-three years exactly from the commencement of his reign. He had not completed the forty-second year of his age.

Louis possessed no great qualities, and few glaring defects. His chief merit consists in having maintained in power, from public

motives, for the long period of eighteen years, a minister whom he personally disliked, and the yoke of whose supremacy became galling and oppressive. He left the regency to his queen Anne of Austria, and named the Duke of Orleans lieutenant-general; they were to be assisted by a council of state composed of Mazarin, the Prince of Condé, the chancellor Seguier, and the secretaries Chavigny and Bouthillier.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE PARLEMENTS.

In the primitive times of the French monarchy the parlement was simply the court or council of the sovereign, consisting of the great vassals of the domaine royal or Duchy of France, the prelates, and the principal dignitaries of the crown. These assemblies discussed and determined all causes arising among the fiefs held in capite of the crown throughout the realm. They also decided upon questions of war and peace; they imposed taxes, and regulated matters of internal administration. But the authority of the parlement at this early date was extremely partial and limited; since the constitution of the feudal system enabled any particular seigneur to ignore and annul its decrees at pleasure. Saint Louis took an important step towards improving the administration of justice, by instituting grands baillis, to hold provincial courts of appeal in the king's name. The judgments of the local seigneurs thus became liable to revision by the tribunals of the sovereign; and the result was a gradual diminution of the feudal, and an enlargement of the royal, power. During the 13th century the study of the Roman law was extensively revived in France, and gave rise to the class called légistes, juristes, or jurisconsultes, who eventually became the chief officers of the royal courts, and the judges of all causes throughout the kingdom. It was Philip the Fair who first clearly defined the functions of the parlement, and gave it a regular constitution as the supreme court of justice. By his ordonnance of 1302 he withdrew from its cognizance all matters of finance and general government, and restricted it to judicial duties. All financial business was thenceforth transacted in the Chambre

Council of State, otherwise called the Grand' Conseil. The parlement, properly so called, was now organized in three chambers: 1. The Chambre de Requêtes, which tried all actions instituted directly before the parlement of Paris; 2. The Chambre des Enquêtes, for the preliminary consideration of cases of appeal; and 3. The Grand' Chambre, or Chambre des Plaidoiries, in which these appeals were finally heard and decided. The parlement was ordered to assemble twice in the year, at Easter and on the Feast of All Saints, for two months at a time; its place of meeting was the ancient Palais de la Cité, afterwards called the Palais de Justice, which name it still retains. Philip IV. also established two courts of exchequer (scaccarla) at Rouen for the province of Normandy, and a court of grands jours (assizes) at Troyes for Champagne. The judges of these provincial courts were nominated expressly by the crown.

In this early period of its history, the great feudal barons alone were, strictly speaking, judges of the parlement; they were styled conseillers-nès, or conseillersjugeurs; the civilians or legistes occupied a very subordinate position, being simply advisers, expounders of the law, or at most assessors. But in course of time, as the science of law became more complicated, and the business of the court more important and onerous, the barons discontinued their attendance, and the lawyers succeeded to their place. From the time when this great change was accomplished, towards the middle of the 14th century, the parlement of Paris rapidly increased in jurisdiction and authority. Instead of being migratory, as heretofore, it was now fixed permanently at Paris, and continued its sessions throughout the year, with the des Comptes; while political and adminis- exception of a short vacation. The judges, trative concerns were brought before the instead of being named by temporary

commissions from the crown, held their | seven chambers; namely, the Grand' offices for life, and soon established the right of self-appointment, by presenting to the king a list of candidates from which he was obliged to choose. A decree of Louis XI. in 1467 declared them irremovable; and a further innovation took place under Louis XII. and Francis I., when the judicial seats of the parlement were openly offered for sale to the highest bidder. By the law called the paulette, passed in 1604, it was provided that the judges, on consideration of paying to the government annually a sixtieth part of the value of their offices, might secure their hereditary transmission, and make them the permanent property This arrangement, of their families. though at first sight it appears seriously detrimental to public justice, was not without beneficial results. It contributed to form a succession of learned, patriotic and courageous magistrates, who in the days of the absolute monarchy did good service to the cause of liberty, by firmly withstanding and arresting the encroachments of the crown. The power and independence of the judicial order was one of the few checks upon despotism that remained when the convocation of the great council of the nation-the States-General-had fallen into disuse. Hence it is not surprising to find that the vénalité des charges meets with distinct commendation from Montesquieu (Esp. des Lois, liv. 5, chap. 19). At the same time this practice was undoubtedly productive of grave and multiplied abuses. It was abolished, like so many other usages of the ancien régime, by a decree of the Constituent Assembly, in August, 1789.

Various alterations were made by successive sovereigns in the composition of the parlement of Paris. In 1453 an ordonnance of Charles VII. instituted a new chamber called the Tournelle, because its judges were furnished in turn by a deputation of councillors named by the other chambers. The Tournelle was a criminal court, but only for offences which were not punishable with death; capital punishment belonging exclusively to the jurisdiction of the Grand' Chambre. At the commencement of the reign of Louis XI., the parlement consisted of 100 members; namely, twelve peers of France, eight maîtres des requêtes, and eighty ordinary councillors, half being laymen doctrine, however, was, that while all and half ecclesiastics. A century later the number of councillors was 120. In the latter part of the reign of Louis XIV. local tribunal, without any final appeal to the parlement comprised no less than the parlement of Paris, all the sovereign

Chambre, three Chambres des Enquêtes, the Tournelle Criminelle, and two Chambres des Requêtes. Attached to the Grand' Chambre there were a premier president and nine other présidents à mortier (so called from the square black velvet cap which they wore), four maîtres des requêtes, and thirty-seven councillors, of whom twelve were clerical and twentyfive laymen. Besides these there were many honorary councillors-the princes of the blood, the peers of France, the members of the Council of State, the chancellor, the keeper of the seals, the Archbishop of Paris, and the abbots of St. Denis and Clugny. The Grand' Chambre of the parlement was the highest court of judicature in the realm. Its jurisdiction embraced all causes affecting the rights and privileges of the crown, all charges of high treason, all questions respecting the régale, all matters connected with the interests of the peers of France, and the affairs of the university and public hospitals of Paris. Each Chambre des Enquêtes was composed of three presidents and thirty-five councillors. The Chambres des Requêtes had each three presidents and fifteen councillors. The Chambre de l'Edit, established by virtue of the Edict of Nantes in 1598, had one president and sixteen councillors, one, or at most two, of whom were Protestants. This court determined all causes between Protestants and Catholics. It was suppressed by Louis XIV. in 1669.

Besides the parlement of Paris, there were several provincial parlements, which executed similar judicial functions within the district (ressort) assigned to each. The first of these was the parlement of Toulouse, which originated with Philip the Fair, and was confirmed and finally organized by Charles VII. in 1443. Its jurisdiction extended over the whole of Languedoc, Quercy, the county of Foix, Rouergue, the Vivarais, and part of Gascony. The judges of the parlement of Paris claimed the right of sitting in that of Toulouse, and the councillors of Toulouse made similar pretensions to seats on the bench at Paris; this occasioned a vehement controversy, which remained undecided down to the time of the dissolution of the parlements. The general causes arising within the ressort of each parlement were to be judged solely by the courts were integral parts of one and the refuse to register the decrees presented to same great institution, and all the judges of the realm enjoyed a perfect identity of rights and privileges. By the term sovereign courts is meant that each was independent within its own boundaries, and free from the interference and control of any superior tribunal.

The other provincial parlements were those of Dauphiné, which sat at Grenoble, and was instituted in 1453; Bordeaux, founded by Louis XI. in 1462; Dijon, for Burgundy, created in 1476; Aix, for Provence, created in 1501; Brittany, dating from 1553; and Pau, established by Louis XIII., for the province of Béarn, in 1621.

To each parlement belonged a superior officer, called the procureur-général, who was at the head of the bar, and fulfilled duties nearly resembling those of the attorney-general in England. He acted as public prosecutor in the name of the sovereign; took the lead as principal counsel in all suits instituted by the crown; caused criminals to be arrested, imprisoned, and brought before the tribunals, and demanded the infliction of the penalties prescribed by the law. They were also charged, to some extent, with the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline; and it was specially their duty to institute appeals against any bulls from the court of Rome which appeared inconsistent with the liberties of the Gallican Church. Each procureur-général had several substitutes to assist him in his office. They were known collectively in ancient times as gens du roi, and afterwards as the parquet. The institution of these royal advocates dates from the year 1354.

In proportion as the kings of France advanced towards despotism, the parlement of Paris assumed more and more a political character, and attempted to impose a constitutional check on the excess and abuse of the royal power. The means employed for this purpose deserve to be carefully noticed.

The practice of enrégistrement was coeval with the foundation of the parlement; it was originally nothing more than the form of enrolling in the parliamentary records the ordonnances issued by the sovereign. As early as the reign of Philip VI. we find the following words at the end of an ordonnance of 1336: "Lecta per cameram, registrata per curiam parliamenti in libro ordinationum regiarum." In course of time it was asserted that this was no mere matter of form, but

them; and that no decree, while it remained unregistered, possessed force or efficacy as a law. By this skilful manœuvre a veto was established, in great measure, on the power of arbitrary legislation which had been usurped by the crown. When the parlement objected to an ordonnance, they presented a remonstrance to the king. stating the ground of their opposition; and if this was unattended to, they refused altogether to enter it among their archives. Instances of such opposition are not uncommon during the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries; and a successful barrier was thus often raised against acts of oppression, against prodigality in public expenditure. and especially against the encroachments of the court of Rome. The parlement strenuously resisted the concordat in the reign of Francis I.; and again the important ordonnance of Moulins in 1566. which limited, though at the same time it acknowledged, the right of remonstrance. These pretensions were more and more pertinaciously maintained, until at last, as all readers of French history are aware. an open collision took place between the crown and the parliament during the minority of Louis XIII. The magistrates attempted to dictate to the Queen Regent in matters of the highest moment affecting the conduct of the state; upon which an arrêt of the grand' conseil annulled their proceedings, and expressly forbade them to interfere in the concerns of government. Under the stern rule of Richelieu the parlement was reduced to submissive silence; but during the regency of Anne of Austria the troubles broke out afresh. The Président de Mesmes declared that "the parlements held an authority superior even to that of the States-General; since by the right of verification they were judges of all that was there determined." Extensive reforms were peremptorily demanded, and the rupture which ensued was the immediate cause of the civil war of the Fronde. The result of this struggle was to augment and consolidate the power of the crown; and Louis XIV., on attaining his majority, resolved to take summary measures for restraining the parlement within the bounds of its proper jurisdiction. tempts were made, nevertheless, by the parlement during this reign to maintain its political influence; in 1665 a stubborn resistance was made to a decree reducing the rate of legal interest on money; and in 1667 the ordonnance civile (for reforming that parlement might either register or the procedure in courts of justice) was

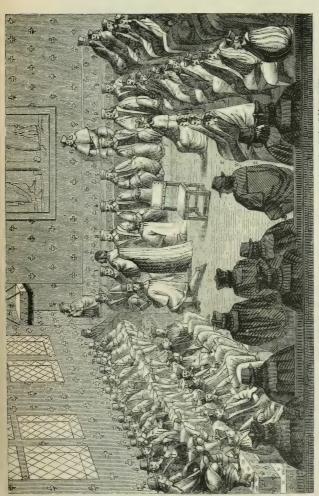
only registered after vehement remonstrance, and by an extreme exercise of the royal prerogative. On this occasion the king ordered the greffier of the parlement to tear out of the register all records relating to the war of the Fronde. Finally, in the year 1673, an ordonnance appeared requiring absolutely that all royal edicts should be registered within eight days, without remonstrance or discussion; and during the remainder of this reign the parlement was compelled to desist from all further assertion of its rights.

But, on the death of Louis, the privilege of remonstrance was restored by the Regent Duke of Orleans; and during the greater part of the 18th century the parlement was in a state of almost constant antagonism to the crown, producing from time to time the most lamentable derangement and confusion in public affairs. The Bull Unigenitus, the financial scheme of Law, the Jansenist controversy, the billets de confession, the reforms projected by the Chancellor Maupeou-all became successively occasions of bitter contention; until in the end Louis XV. took the extreme step of suspending the parlement altogether, and condemning all the magistrates to exile. It was replaced first by a chambre royale, next by a commission of Councillors of State, and lastly by courts called conseils supérieurs. Re-established under Louis XVI., the parlement pursued its usual system of factious opposition to the court. without promoting in the smallest degree the cause of national liberty. In 1788 it joined in the general outcry for the assembling of the States-General, little anticipating the calamitous consequences of that momentous measure. The Revolution soon put a period to its existence; a decree of the Constituent Assembly suppressed the parlements throughout the kingdom in November, 1790.

The comparative inefficiency of the French parlements in modern times, and their ultimate destruction, may undoubtedly be traced to one principal cause; namely, their selfish devotion to the in-

terests and ascendency of their own order, and their consequent isolation from the nation and hostility to its liberties. The magistrates belonged almost exclusively to the privileged classes; they were exempt from the taille and other pecuniary burdens, and partook strongly of that aristocratic esprit de corps which animated the noblesse and the clergy. Thus, when reforms were agitated, and it was proposed to distribute the taxation equally among all classes, the parlements espoused the side of their own private interest instead of acting for the general welfare of the country. They showed at the same time a spirit of perverse opposition to the crown, thwarting to the utmost of their power the efforts of successive ministers to improve the wretched situation of affairs. Hence they proved incapable of fighting the battle of the constitution when the great crisis arrived; and eventually were swept away in the general overthrow.

The ceremony by which the French kings compelled the registration of their edicts by the parlement was called a lit de justice. The monarch proceeded in state to the Grand' Chambre, and the chancellor, having taken his pleasure, announced that the king required such and such a decree to be entered on their records in his pre-It was held that this personal interference of the sovereign suspended for the time being the functions of all inferior magistrates; and the edict was accordingly registered without a word of objection. The form of registration was as follows: "Le roi séant en son lit de justice a ordonné et ordonne que les présents édits seront enregistrés;" and at the end of the decree, "Fait en parlement, le roi y séant en son lit de justice." The student may consult on this subject the Histoire du Parlement de Paris, by Voltaire, and Lettres sur les anciens Parlements de France, by the Comte de Boulainvilliers. Also Gasquet, Précis des Institutions, etc., Rambaud, Histoire de la Civilisation en France.



Sitting of the Parlement of Paris, declaring the Regency of Anne of Austria, 18th of May, 1643.

a. Marshal Guiche. b. Marshal Châtillon. c. Marshal Bassompierre, d. Marshal Estrées. e. Marshal Vitry. f. Duke de la Force. g. Inke de la Rocheforcand. A. Duke of Lesdiguières. r. Duke of Sully. j. Duke of Vertadour. R. Duke of Uzès. L. Duke of Verdöne, m. Prince of Conti. n. Prince of Conti. o. Prince of Conti.

The Chancellor.
 M. Potier.
 M. de Mesme.
 M. de Baillent.
 Bishop of Peauvais.
 T. M de Nesmond.
 M. de Bellièvre.
 M. de Longueil.
 Frincess of Condé.
 M. Madame de Longueville.
 Z. Mademiosele de Vendône.



Barricades at the Porte Saint Antoine, August 27th, 1648, the commencement of the Civil War of the Fronde. (From an engraving of the time.)

CHAPTER XVIII.

REIGN OF LOUIS XIV. I. FROM HIS ACCESSION TO THE DEATH OF CARDINAL MAZARIN, A.D. 1643-1661.

- § 1. Regency of Anne of Austria; Cardinal Mazarin named minister; the Importans. § 2. Battle of Rocroi, battle of Nordlingen. § 3. Capture of Dunkirk; the Prince of Condé at Lerida; Turenne's campaign in Bavaria. § 4. Battle of Lens; Peace of Westphalia; end of the Thirty Years' War. § 5. Civil dissensions; the Chamber of St. Louis; arrest of Broussel; insurrection in Paris. § 6. Commencement of the War of the Fronde; engagement at Charenton; treaty of Ruel; Turenne quits France. § 7. Arrest of the princes; revolt of Guienne; battle of Rhetel; Mazarin compelled to leave France. § 8. Revolt of Condé; return of Turenne. § 9. Battle of St. Antoine; intrigues at Paris; Condé joins the Spaniards; pacification of the Fronde. § 10. Progress of the war with Spain; siege of Arras; battle of the Downs; conference at the Isle of Pheasants. § 11. Peace of the Pyrenees; marriage of Louis XIV.; death of Cardinal Mazarin; his character.
- § 1. Anne of Austria commenced her regency by setting aside the arrangements of her husband, and causing his will to be cancelled

by the parlement. The council of regency was thus suppressed; and no opposition being offered, the queen assumed the supreme authority of government. To the surprise of all, she bestowed the office of chief minister on Cardinal Mazarin, the faithful disciple of Richelieu.

The new government soon found itself embarrassed by hostile intrigues. The nobles, so long oppressed by Richelieu, struggled to regain their predominance in the state; and the faction of the "Importans," headed by the Duke of Beaufort, son of the Duke of Vendôme, was the first to oppose the ministry of Mazarin. The queen, in her anxiety to conciliate all parties, began by granting them almost whatever they demanded. The "Importans," charmed by her condescension, imagined that they were henceforth to carry all before them; and the witty De Retz declared that for two or three months the whole French language was comprised in five little words-"the queen is so good!" These, however, were transient illusions. Madame de Chevreuse, one of the foremost of the new cabal, had attempted to displace some of the ministers. In revenge for a peremptory repulse, she and her friends plotted the assassination of Mazarin. This scheme having been frustrated, the Duke of Beaufort was arrested on the 2nd of September, and sent prisoner to Vincennes; the Duke of Vendôme, Madame de Chevreuse, and all their chief partisans, were exiled from court and quitted France.

§ 2. Meanwhile the events of the war were of great importance. Immediately upon the death of Richelieu, the house of Austria resumed the offensive; and in May, 1643, the viceroy of the Netherlands, Francisco de Mello, proceeded with an army of 26,000 men to invest Rocroi, a frontier fortress in the district of the Ardennes. The French, commanded by the young Duke of Enghien, eldest son of the Prince of Condé, marched immediately to relieve the place; and on the 19th of May, five days after the death of Louis XIII., was fought the memorable battle of Rockoi, which resulted in the decisive triumph of the French army, and the defeat of the Spaniards, with a loss of 15,000 men. The victor, at this time only twenty-two years of age, thus laid the foundation of that splendid reputation by which he was afterwards distinguished as the "great Condé." He owed his early advancement to the favour of Richelieu, who had recognised his genius, and had married him to one of his nieces. Claire Clémence de Maillé, a daughter of the Marshal Duke of Brézé.

Two years afterwards the French, commanded by Turenne, recently created a marshal, and by the hero of Rocroi, again gained a brilliant victory in the terrible battle of Nordlingen. 7th of August. 1645. The imperialists under the famous Mercy had taken up a

position which was at first deemed impregnable, and the Duke of Enghien, who assailed it with the French right, was repulsed with fearful slaughter. He then joined the left wing under Turenne, and their combined efforts broke through the enemy's lines, and completed their overthrow. The gallant Mercy was slain in this bloody field; Marshal Grammont was taken prisoner; Enghien had two horses killed under him. He generously attributed the brilliant success of the day to Turenne.

Nevertheless the results of the victory of Nordlingen were not such as might have been expected. John de Werth, who succeeded to the command of the imperialists, retreated without molestation, and was soon joined by the Archduke Leopold with 9000 fresh troops; and the French, thus considerably outnumbered, hastened to cross the Neckar, and retired to Philipsburg. The Duke of Enghien, exhausted by the fatigues of the campaign, fell ill, and returned to France.

§ 3. The French army in Flanders was under the command of the feeble Gaston of Orleans; and it was resolved to make this the principal theatre of the war in 1646. The Duke of Enghien consented to serve as second in command to Gaston; and the important town of Courtrai surrendered to them on the 29th of June. Gaston after this quitted the army for the court; and Enghien, left in sole command, resolved to undertake the siege of Dunkirk. Seconded by the Dutch fleet under Admiral van Tromp, the Freuch general reduced the town to submission by the middle of October.

The fall of Dunkirk was followed by a peace between Spain and the United Provinces of Holland, in January, 1647. The Duke of Englien re-entered France, and about the same time succeeded, by the death of his father, to the title of Prince of Condé, together with the governments of Burgundy and Berry, and a magnificent fortune. His ambitious character, his military renown, his political power and influence, now made Condé an object of jealousy to the cardinal-minister. Mazarin dreaded his presence at court; and as a pretext for removing him, appointed him to the command of the army in Catalonia, where Count Harcourt had lately been compelled to raise the siege of Lerida. Condé accepted the mission, proceeded to Barcelona, and opened the trenches before Lerida in May, 1647. Here he met with the first check in his triumphant career. Lerida made good its defence in spite of all his genius, valour, and perseverance; the besiegers sustained immense losses both in action and by desertion to the enemy; and Condé, in order to escape a greater disaster, at length abandoned the siege and retired into the mountains. The prince was deeply mortified by this failure, and reproached Mazarin, on his return to France, for having neglected to

reinforce his army so as to ensure success; the minister was profuse in his excuses, and Condé was immediately reappointed to the command of the army in Flanders for the ensuing campaign.

Marshal Turenne had in the mean time prosecuted the war with success in Germany. In conjunction with the Swedes he completely routed the Bavarians at Zusmarshausen near Augsburg (1648), where they were commanded by Montecuculi, so famous in the subsequent wars of Louis XIV. The Elector of Bavaria fled from his dominions; and the victors were only deterred from

marching to Vienna by a sudden rising of the river Inn.

§ 4. Condé commenced the campaign in Flanders by reducing the town of Ypres, which capitulated on the 29th of May. The French were opposed by the Archduke Leopold, brother of the Emperor Ferdinand III., with a superior force of 18,000 men, who during the siege of Ypres surprised Courtrai, and afterwards, entering Picardy, menaced Peronne. Being pursued by Condé, the archduke retreated into Flanders, and gaining the sea-coast, besieged and captured the town of Furnes. After some delay and much manœuvring, Condé at length brought the imperialists to a general engagement at Lens in Artois, between Bethune and Douai. battle was obstinately contested; the rearguard of the French was thrown into confusion by an impetuous charge of cavalry under General Beck; but the genius of Condé triumphed in the end, and within three hours the archduke's army was irretrievably defeated and almost annihilated. Three thousand of the imperialists were slain in the field; five thousand prisoners, together with artillery, baggage, and standards, were the trophies of the victory. General Beck was taken prisoner and conveyed to Arras, where he died in a few days of his wounds.

The battle of Lens, fought on the 20th of August, 1648, gave a powerful impulse to the negotiations for peace, which had been slowly proceeding since 1644 at Munster and Osnabrück, two towns of Westphalia. The emperor, humbled by his late reverses, and dismayed by the capture of Little Prague by a Swedish army, felt the necessity of bringing to a conclusion this war, which had lasted thirty years; and the two treaties of Westphalia, between the Empire, France, Sweden, and the German states, were signed on the 24th of October, 1648. The details of this pacification are extremely intricate, as it embraced not only the political, but also the religious affairs of the empire; the only points, however, which require our notice here are those which relate to France. France obtained important advantages. The emperor ceded to her, in full sovereignty, the whole of Alsace with the exception of Strassburg, and her dominions were thus extended to the longcoveted boundary of the Rhine. She also received the towns of

Pignerol in Piedmont, and Brisach on the further bank of the Rhine; and the fortress of Philipsburg was henceforth to be garrisoned by French troops. The emperor likewise recognized the annexation of the district of the Trois Evêchés—Metz, Toul, and Verdun—which had been conquered nearly a century before. The navigation of the Rhine was to remain free, and the emperor engaged to erect no fortresses on the right bank between Basle and Philipsburg. Lorraine was to remain provisionally in the hands of the French, until an amicable arrangement could be effected with the dispossessed duke.

Such were the main particulars of this celebrated treaty, by which France acquired nearly the proportions which she retains at the present day. The general result of the Thirty Years' War was to lessen the preponderance of the House of Austria in Europe, and to limit the power of the imperial crown in Germany, the independence of the various minor states, territorial, civil, and religious, being now fully established. The Peace of Westphalia forms a memorable epoch in modern history, as its provisions were adopted as the basis of all subsequent transactions between the kingdoms of Europe down to the period of the French Revolution. Spain was not included in the pacification, and war still continued between that country and France.

§ 5. The internal condition of France during the first few years of Anne of Austria's regency was, on the whole, tranquil and prosperous. But the state was before long involved in serious financial embarrassments, which produced first discontent, then factious agitation, and at last civil war. Richelieu had left the treasury well furnished, but these resources were speedily exhausted; the expenses of carrying on the war were enormous; and in order to procure fresh supplies, the court resorted to various expedients more or less oppressive and obnoxious, under the advice of Emery, the clever but unprincipled superintendent of the finances. Among these was a tax upon all articles of merchandise brought for sale to the capital, whether by land or water, levied indiscriminately upon all classes; and it is curious that this impost, less open to objection than others on the score of justice, should have been the proximate cause of the disturbances which followed. The parlement, after stormy discussion, refused to register the edict establishing the new tariff. Anne of Austria, whose education under Spanish despotism made her furious at this opposition. caused the youthful Louis XIV. to hold a bed of justice to enforce submission, but without effect; the parlement continued intractable, and showed a spirit of determined independence in criticising and controlling the acts of government. At last, in May, 1648, the members of the four "cours souveraines" passed a measure. called

the "Edict of Union," by which they formed themselves into a deliberative assembly in a single chamber, for a general examination and reformation of the affairs of the state; and, although this edict was instantly annulled by the council of state, the new assembly proceeded to meet and deliberate in open defiance of the royal authority.

Matters thus wore an alarming aspect: the parlement had placed itself in direct and active antagonism to the crown. The Chamber of St. Louis, as it was called, voted several important measures of reform, and demanded of the queen the abolition of the office of provincial intendants, the reduction of the taille by one-fourth, the entire suppression of arbitrary imprisonment, and the abandonment of all taxes which should not be submitted to free discussion in the parlement of Paris, and legalized by the sanction of that body. Such was the threatening attitude of this self-appointed legislature, that the court was compelled partially to yield. The terrible scenes of the rebellion then passing in England had doubtless their share in producing this result. Anne of Austria consented to remove the intendants, to suppress several newly created offices, and to remit an entire fourth part of the taille. But these concessions, instead of satisfying the agitators, only emboldened them to proceed to greater lengths. The parlement absolutely refused to discontinue its sessions in the Chamber of St. Louis, and symptoms of popular ferment became daily more and more manifest. Things were in this state when the news arrived of Condé's splendid victory at Lens, and the court, taking advantage of the public rejoicings in honour of that event, suddenly arrested three of the chief leaders of the opposition in the parlement, Blancmesnil, Charton, and an aged councillor named Broussel. Charton found means to effect his escape (1648).

This arrest gave the signal for an insurrectionary tumult throughout Paris. Chains were stretched across the principal streets; barricades were thrown up; the magistrates ordered the civic guard to arm; and the Palais Royal was besieged by a multitude of citizens, shouting "Liberty and Broussel!" The Cardinal de Retz, Archbishop-coadjutor of Paris, who up to this time seems to have taken no part in fomenting the sedition, proceeded to the palace to represent to the queen the urgent peril of the moment, and to beseech her to satisfy the people by releasing Broussel. Anne, who suspected him, answered with raillery and defiance. De Retz withdrew in great irritation, and resolved forthwith to place himself at the head of the insurrection, a part for which his bold turbulent character and popular talents eminently fitted him, Both sides organized their forces, and prepared for a decisive struggle on the morrow.

§ 6. From the 27th of August, 1648, may be dated the beginning of the civil war of the Fronde.* Regiments were marched to the palace at an early hour; the populace, in armed masses, blockaded the streets. The parlement went in a body to demand from the regent the liberation of the two members; they were met by an angry refusal, and on quitting the palace were forcibly driven back by the infuriated multitude, who threatened Molé, the first president, with death, unless he returned either with Broussel or with Mazarin as a hostage. Anne of Austria at length submitted, induced, it is said, by the counsels of Henrietta Maria of England. Orders were sent for the release of the prisoner; and Broussel, who was already far from Paris on the road to Sédan, re-entered the city on the following day, and was welcomed with every sign of joy and triumph.

Outward order was now restored, but the agitation continued; the parlement was intractable and even insolent; and the regent found her situation so uneasy, that she withdrew with the young king and Mazarin to Rueil. Through the intervention of the Prince of Condé an accommodation was brought about on the 24th of October; and Anne, with tears in her eyes, signed an act by which all the demands of the Chamber of St. Louis were unconditionally granted, and which the queen described as suicidal to

the royal authority.

It was not long before Condé, disgusted with the insubordination of the Parisians, combined with the court in an attempt to reduce them to obedience by force. Eight thousand troops were gathered round the capital; on the 6th of January, 1649, the regent, with the king, the Duke of Orleans, and the rest of the royal family, retired secretly from Paris to St. Germains; and a lettre de cachet was sent to the parlement, commanding it to transfer its sittings to Montargis. This step threw Paris again into a state of tumult; the parlement declared Mazarin a disturber of the public peace and an enemy of the state, and banished him from the kingdom within eight days; contributions were levied, and forces hastily collected to oppose the army of Condé. The insignificant Prince of Conti, brother of Condé, was named general-in-chief for the parlement; a host of brilliant nobles commanded under him, including the Dukes of Beaufort, Elbœuf, Bouillon, Longueville, and La Rochefoucauld. The beautiful Duchesses of Longueville and Bouillon established themselves at the Hôtel de Ville, and by their energy and talent for intrigue acquired a paramount influence in the insurrection. Most of the provincial parlements hastened to support their brethren of the capital.

^{*} The Frondeurs were so called from being compared to the gamins of Paris, who fought each other in the streets with slings (fronde) and stones.

Condé disposed his troops in the villages near Paris; and on the 8th of February the royalists attacked the garrison at Charenton, and cut them to pieces to the number of nearly 2000. This was the only serious engagement; after a few weeks, spent rather in pamphleteering, caricaturing, and buffoonery, than in more dangerous hostilities, the parlement despatched a deputation to the regent, headed by the president Molé, and conferences ensued at Rueil, which for a time restored peace, on the 11th of March, 1649. The court were the more ready to treat, as Marshal Turenne now joined the Fronde, and promised to march his army to the relief of Paris. The insurgents were also encouraged by assurances of sympathy and succour from the Archduke Leopold, governor of the Spanish Netherlands.

The news of the treaty was received with violent indignation by the leaders of the parlement, and the deputies who had signed it, especially the president Molé, were several times in imminent danger of being massacred by the mob. Mazarin however contrived to render it more acceptable by modifying some of its provisions, and the parlement at length consented to register it. The cardinal also succeeded in gaining over the principal officers of Turenne's army, who abandoned their general and declared for the court. Turenne upon this quitted France and withdrew into Holland. Anne of Austria, her son, and Mazarin, after a further delay of some months, returned to Paris in August, 1649.

§ 7. The contest was soon renewed under a different phase. New difficulties beset the government from the dictatorial demeanour of the Prince of Condé, who, presuming on his services in the hour of peril, imagined that he might tyrannize as he pleased over the regent and her minister. His demands for himself and his friends became exorbitant, and threatened to absorb the whole patronage of the state. He treated Mazarin, and even Anne herself, with ridicule; and under the influence of his intriguing sister, Madame de Longueville, he formed a powerful faction among the disaffected nobles, whom he flattered with hopes of a return to all their ancient independence and supremacy. This party, distinguished by its airs of affectation and presumption, was called that of the "petits maîtres," or the "young Fronde." Condé's conduct became at length intolerable, and the queen and Mazarin determined to express their resentment by a bold and severe stroke of authority. They secretly effected an understanding with the Cardinal de Retz, the Duke of Beaufort, and other leaders of the original Fronde; and, their support having been secured, the Prince of Condé, with his brother the Prince of Conti, and his brother-in-law the Duke of Longueville, were arrested in the council chamber on the 18th of January, 1650, and imprisoned at Vincennes.

Disturbances broke out on all sides upon the news of this daring coup d'état. The partisans of Condé flew to arms in Burgundy, of which province the prince was governor; the Duke of Bouillon organized resistance in the Limousin and Guienne; Turenne occupied the fortress of Stenay; the Duchess of Longueville hurried to Normandy, where her husband had been governor, and laboured with extraordinary energy, though with small success, to excite the people to rebellion. A royal army soon tranquillised Normandy; and the duchess, after many romantic and perilous adventures, made her escape into Holland, and thence joined Turenne at Stenav. The court met with equal success in Burgundy; but the reduction of Guienne was a more difficult task. The high-spirited wife of Condé, Clémence de Maillé, escaped from Chantilly, traversed France, and accompanied by the Dukes of Bouillon and La Rochefoucauld, threw herself into Bordeaux with 4000 men. The parlement and the inhabitants received her with enthusiasm, and in the siege which followed she exhibited the most heroic courage. Bordeaux, however, was compelled to capitulate on the 1st of The regent granted a complete amnesty, and permitted the princess and her supporters to retire to their domains; but the anxious prayers of Clémence for the liberation of her husband produced no effect.

In the mean while Turenne, at the other extremity of the kingdom, had been joined by a Spanish force under the Archduke Leopold, and entering Picardy, seized Le Catelet, Vervins, and Rethel, and was marching upon Paris, when he heard that the princes had been removed, for greater security, to Havre. Marshal du Plessis-Praslin was now sent to besiege Rethel, and Turenne rapidly countermarched to relieve it. A battle was fought between the two marshals on the 15th of December, in which Turenne was totally defeated, with the loss of half his force; he fled with a few

followers into Lorraine.

The revolt now seemed to be suppressed; but Mazarin congratulated himself prematurely on his triumph. Paris turned in favour of the imprisoned princes; their friends united, through the dexterity of De Retz, with the original faction of Frondeurs, and the parlement unanimously applied to the queen for the release of the illustrious captives. Anne replied evasively. Upon this the Duke of Orleans, who was entirely governed by De Retz, placed himself at the head of the hostile combination against Mazarin; the parlement, violently exasperated, sent again to demand, in peremptory terms, the liberation of the princes, and, in addition, the banishment of the cardinal from the king's presence and councils for ever. Mazarin, dismayed and intimidated, gave way before the storm; he quitted Paris privately on the night of the 8th of

February, 1651, and proceeded to Havre. The queen, resolved at all hazards to support her favourite, prepared to follow him with the young king, but her design was known, and the leaders of the Fronde surrounded the palace with troops, and satisfied themselves personally of the presence of its inmates. Anne was compelled to disavow her purpose. Meanwhile, the fugitive cardinal reached Havre, and hastened to announce with his own lips to the three princes their restoration to liberty. He had hoped, probably, for an opportunity of making favourable terms with them; but they treated him coldly, and set out forthwith for Paris. The discomfited Mazarin retired to Bruhl, in the electorate of Cologne, and from this place of exile kept up a constant correspondence with the queen, by means of which he continued to control all the movements of the court and the acts of the administration.

§ 8. The Prince of Condé entered Paris in triumph; but his presence, instead of producing tranquillity, added fresh fuel to the flames of discord. In the absence of the cardinal he had imagined that the whole power of government would remain in his hands: but he found himself thwarted by the personal enmity of the queen, the superior astuteness of Mazarin, and the turbulent independence of De Retz, the parlement, and the Frondeurs. After some months spent in cabals and struggles, the regent accused Condé before the parlement of a traitorous correspondence with the court of Spain. and other disloyal acts; this irritated the prince beyond endurance. and he hastily resolved to revenge himself upon the court by heading an armed rebellion. On the 30th of August, 1651, he left Paris for Guienne, of which he had obtained the government; here he raised without difficulty a considerable force, with which he took possession of Saintes and the course of the Charente, and in November laid siege to Cognac. Meanwhile the regent declared her son Louis XIV, to have attained his majority; and the youthful king proceeded at the head of his army into Berry. The Count Harcourt was now detached against Condé, and succeeded in forcing him to raise the siege of Cognac, after which the prince retreated to

In throwing himself into open revolt, Condé had taken precisely the step most favourable to the wily Mazarin, and paved the way for his restoration to power. Having levied a large body of mercenaries, the minister boldly re-entered France in December, 1651, and, braving the threats of the parlement, joined the court, which was now established at Poitiers. Turenne, once more loyal to the crown, took command of the royal army, together with Marshal d'Hocquincourt; and a desultory warfare followed, undistinguished by any events worthy of the splendid reputation of the two rival generals. The town of Orleans was held against the king by the

celebrated Mademoiselle de Montpensier. daughter of Gaston, one of the most enthusiastic of the many heroines of the Fronde. The royal army upon this ascended the Loire to Gien, followed by that of the rebels under the Dukes of Nemours and Beaufort, who took post at Montargis. On the 7th of April, 1652, a sudden attack was made at night upon Marshal d'Hocquincourt's quarters at Bleneau; and Turenne, observing the rapidity and vigour of the operations, instantly declared to his officers that the Prince of Condé in person must be in command of the opposite army. Such was indeed the fact; Condé, perceiving that the main struggle must take place upon the Loire, had crossed the country with astonishing celerity from Agen, and, after escaping numberless perils, had safely reached the head-quarters of his party. The royalists were severely handled at Bleneau; but another action was fought next day, in which Turenne had the advantage; and both armies then directed their

march upon the capital.

§ 9. Paris was at this moment a scene of utter confusion, distracted by the agitation of the rival parties, and unable to declare itself decidedly for either. The army of Condé, having suffered another defeat at Etampes, encamped at St. Cloud on the 19th of June. The royalists under Turenne arrived immediately afterwards, and manœuvred to turn the prince's position from the direction of Argenteuil, upon which Condé made a circuit of the eastern suburbs of Paris, and formed in order of battle in the Faubourg St. Antoine, his centre occupying the site of the present Place de la Bastille. A battle was fought here on the 2nd of July. Turenne attacked fiercely, pressed the Frondeurs hard, and maintained for some time a decided superiority. Condé displayed all his wonted heroism, but his troops gradually lost ground, and were driven back in confusion upon the narrow streets of the faubourg. The fortune of the day was changed by the skill and resolution of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, who made her way into the Bastille, and caused the cannon of that commanding fortress to open upon the royalists. At the same moment the Porte St. Antoine was thrown open by the citizens; the troops of Condé poured into the city; the prince made a last charge to protect the retreat of his rear-guard; and, when the whole of his army had passed through, the gates again swung back, and Turenne, balked of his victory, drew off slowly to St. Denis.

The result of the battle of St. Antoine made Condé and his friends for a time masters of Paris. A bloody tumult took place two days afterwards at the Hôtel de Ville, in which several hundred persons lost their lives; the court, in terror, retired to Pontoise; and the popular leaders, uniting with the party of the princes, named the Duke of Orleans lieutenant-general of the kingdom,

Condé commander-in-chief of the army, Beaufort governor of Paris. and the councillor Broussel prévôt des marchands. But by another sudden and inexplicable turn of affairs symptoms soon appeared of a strong desire for an accommodation, and for the return of the king to his capital. Mazarin, with characteristic tact, withdrew a second time beyond the frontier, in order that his presence might be no obstacle to an arrangement; and the Parisians then approached their sovereign with a loyal deputation, entreating him to apprear once more among them. Condé found his influence completely undermined by the treacherous arts of Cardinal de Retz; in deep disgust he quitted Paris on the 13th of October, and joined the Spanish army under the Duke of Lorraine. Within a few days afterwards Louis XIV., with his mother and the court, escorted by Turenne, entered Paris amid the acclamations of the people, and took up their abode at the Louvre. A fresh edict of amnesty was registered in a bed of justice, from which, however, the Prince of Condé, the Duke of Beaufort, and several other leaders of the Fronde, were specially excepted. Condé was afterwards tried, in his absence, by the parlement, and sentenced to death as a traitor. The Duke of Orleans was ordered to retire to Blois, where he died in 1660. The parlement was strictly forbidden to occupy itself henceforth with the general affairs of the state or the management of the finances. The arch-agitator De Retz was arrested and sent to Vincennes, whence, however, he escaped in the course of the next year, and, after various wanderings, proceeded to Rome. He was permitted eventually to return to France, but passed the rest of his days in quiet obscurity, and died at Paris in 1679.

Such was the revolt of the Fronde—one of the most obscure and perplexing portions of French history. Mazarin returned triumphantly to Paris in February, 1653; and the immediate result of the insurrection was to confirm and prolong the power of this sagacious minister, jealousy of whom had been the original cause of its outbreak. Notwithstanding its peculiar character of levity and burlesque, the Fronde can be regarded as a struggle of the aristocracy, supported by the judicial and municipal bodies, to control the despotism of the crown. Like the many similar attempts which preceded it, it failed; and its effect upon the mind of the youthful Louis was such as to give a decided colour to the whole of his subsequent career. He ruled France for sixty years as an absolute monarch, without the shadow of constitutional government; nor was any further effort made to revive the liberties of the nation until the dawning of the great Revolution.

§ 10. The internal troubles of the kingdom being thus appeased, Mazarin turned his attention to the war with Spain, the course of which had latterly been disadvantageous to France. Favoured by the dissensions of the Fronde, the enemy had recovered Dunkirk. Ypres, and Gravelines, as well as Barcelona and Casale: and their army on the frontier of Picardy, now, unhappily, commanded by the illustrious Condé, ravaged that province during the summer of 1653 as far as the banks of the Somme. Condé, however, met with a worthy antagonist in the great Turenne, who, with a force far inferior, arrested the prince's progress, drove him back to Cambrai. and kept him continually in check throughout the campaign. In 1654 the young king made his first essay in arms at the siege of Stenay; and meanwhile Condé and Turenne measured swords at Arras, which was invested by the prince and the Archduke Leopold with 25,000 Spaniards. The siege was conducted with consummate talent and vigour; but on the 25th of August Turenne succeeded in forcing the Spanish lines, when Condé, having suffered great losses, found himself compelled to abandon the siege and retreat, leaving 3000 prisoners in the hands of the French. The hostilities of the year 1655 took place chiefly in Hainault, between the Sambre and Meuse, and were of no great importance. The following year was signalized by the siege of Valenciennes by Turenne, when Condé, by one of his most daring exploits, fell suddenly upon the division of Marshal de la Ferté, which was separated from the main army, and routed it with terrible slaughter, taking prisoner the marshal himself, with most of his officers, and 4000 men. The contest between these great masters of the art of war was prolonged with fluctuating and indecisive fortune, until at length a treaty negotiated by Mazarin with the Protector Cromwell, which secured the cooperation of England against Spain, turned the balance in favour of the royal arms of France. In 1656 Marshal Turenne, reinforced by a division of 6000 English under General Reynolds, captured Montmédy, St. Venant, and Mardyke, which latter fortress was placed in the possession of the English. Early in the following spring the allies blockaded Dunkirk; the Spaniards, under Condé and Don John of Austria, marched to its relief; and Turenne advanced unexpectedly to attack them before they could complete their dispositions among the dunes, or sandhills, which surround that town, "Were you ever in a battle?" asked Condé of the young Duke of Gloucester, son of Charles I., who had joined him as a volunteer. The prince answered in the negative. "Well." returned Condé, irritated by the incapacity and obstinacy of the Spaniards, "in the course of half an hour you will see us lose one." His words were fully verified: the Spanish army was totally overthrown, and dispersed in all directions. The battle of the Downs (June 14, 1658) produced the immediate surrender of Dunkirk. which town was ceded to England. Turenne afterwards captured

Gravelines, overran Flanders, and carried his victorious standards

within two days' march of Brussels.

The court of Spain was induced by this train of reverses to think seriously of peace; and these views were furthered by a league which Mazarin now formed with the Elector of Bavaria and other princes of Germany for the maintenance of the treaty of Westphalia -a combination by which Spain was virtually isolated from the rest of Europe. The first overtures for peace were made in October, 1658, when Philip IV. proposed the hand of his daughter the Infanta Maria Theresa in marriage to the King of France. This offer was accepted with alacrity, although Louis was at this moment passionately in love with Maria di Mancini, a niece of Cardinal Mazarin, whom at one time he seriously purposed to raise to the throne. The minister, with remarkable disinterestedness, negatived this project, removed Maria for a time from the court, and earnestly pursued the negotiations for the treaty with Spain. He proceeded in July, 1659, to St. Jean de Luz; the prime minister of Spain, Don Luis de Haro, repaired to Fontarabia; and conferences ensued between them, which were held on the small "Isle of Pheasants" in the Bidassoa, the stream which separates the two kingdoms. One of the chief difficulties of the arrangement was that which concerned the Prince of Condé. Spain stipulated positively for his reconciliation to the court, and complete reinstatement in his possessions and dignities. Mazarin resisted long, and only yielded the point on a threat from the Spanish minister that an independent principality should be formed for Condé in Flanders. The prince received a full pardon, and was restored to his government of Burgundy.

§ 11. The peace of the Pyrenees was signed on the 7th of November, 1659. The Spanish Infanta was contracted to the King of France, with a marriage portion of 500,000 crowns, in consideration of which she renounced all claims upon the royal inheritance of her family. All issue of the marriage, and their descendants, were expressly barred from the possibility of succeeding to the Spanish crown. France acquired by this treaty the Spanish territory of Artois, together with the towns of Gravelines, Landrecies, Thionville, Montmédy, Avesnes, and some others. Roussillon and Cerdagne, the fruits of Richelieu's triumphs, were also ceded to her in full possession. Lorraine was nominally restored to its legitimate duke, but in point of fact remained annexed to the French crown. Thus France might regard with just pride and satisfaction the result of her protracted warfare with both branches of the mighty House of Austria. By the treaty of the Pyrenees, combined with the advantages previously obtained by the peace of Westphalia, she succeeded to that preponderance in FRANCE.

Europe which had been enjoyed for a century and a half by the

Hapsburgs.

Louis XIV. and his mother, attended by Mazarin and the court, proceeded to St. Jean de Luz in May, 1660; and, after an interview between the sovereigns at the Isle of Pheasants, the marriage of Louis and the Infanta was celebrated in the church of St. Jean de Luz, with extraordinary splendour, on the 9th of June.

The peace of the Pyrenees and the marriage of Louis mark the culminating point of the ministry of Mazarin, who had thus realised all the favourite objects of his policy. But, like his predecessor Richelieu, the hour of triumph found him rapidly drawing near to the grave; he laboured under a complication of diseases, which proved fatal within a few months after the return of the court to Paris. On receiving from the physicians an intimation that his case was desperate, Mazarin caused himself to be removed to the château of Vincennes. Retaining to the last his almost paternal authority over the young king, he furnished Louis with a complete code of instructions for his future government, and recommended to him as his principal ministers Le Tellier, Fouquet, Lionne, and Colbert, who was at that time intendant of the cardinal's household. Mazarin expired on the 8th of March, 1661, at the age of fifty-nine.

The besetting vice of this celebrated statesman was his love of money, which was insatiable. He had accumulated a private fortune amounting to fifty millions of francs, representing at least double that sum according to the present value of money. These immense riches were chiefly distributed among his nephews and nieces, for all of whom he had secured splendid alliances and lucrative dignities and offices. Four of his nieces were married respectively to the Prince de Conti, the Duke of Modena, the Constable Colonna, and the Duke de la Meilleraie; one of his nephews was Duc de Nivernois. To counterbalance this rapacity, Mazarin possessed a refined and liberal taste for learning and the arts, and left behind him three conspicuous and lasting monuments of his munificence—the "Collège des Quatre Nations" (now the Institute of France), the magnificent "Mazarino" Library, and the Academy of Painting and Sculpture.



Isle of Pheasants, in the river Bidassoa, the boundary of France and Spain. (See p. 369.)

CHAPTER XIX.

REIGN OF LOUIS XIV. CONTINUED. II. FROM THE DEATH OF CARDINAL MAZARIN TO THE PEACE OF RYSWICK, A.D. 1661-1697.

§ 1. Character of Louis XIV.; he assumes the government in person. § 2. The surintendant Fouquet; Colbert minister of finance. § 3. Sale of Dunkirk; alliance with Holland; war with England; treaty of Breda. § 4. Louis lays claim to the Spanish Netherlands; invasion of Flanders; the Triple Alliance; peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. § 5. War with the United Provinces of Holland; passage of the Rhine; successes of the French; the Prince of Orange proclaimed Stadtholder. § 6. Successful defence of Holland; Louis abandons his conquests. § 7. Campaign of Turenne in Alsace; battle of Senef; death of Turenne. § 8. Retirement of the great Condé; naval victories; successes of the Marshal Créquy. § 9. Capture of Ghent and Ypres; Peace of Nimeguen. § 10. Glory of Louis XIV.; his aggressions; seizure of Strassburg; Truce of Ratisbon. § 11. Private character and life of Louis; Madame de Maintenon, Louvois, and Le Tellier; persecution of the Protestants; the Dragonnades. § 12. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. § 13. League of Augsburg; expedition of the Prince of Orange to England. § 14. Louis declares war; the French ravage the Palatinate; the Grand Alliance. § 15. French expedition to Ireland; battles of Bantry Bay, Beachy Head, and the Boyne. § 16. Victory of Fleurus: death of Louyois; naval battle in

the Channel; disaster of La Hougue; death of James II. § 17. Capture of Namur; battles of Steinkirk and Neerwinden; naval action in Lagos Bay. § 18. Death of Marshal Luxemburg; recapture of Namur; treaty with the Duke of Savoy; peace of Ryswick.

§ 1. The first act of Louis after the death of Mazarin was to assemble his council, and announce his intention to assume personally the supreme direction of affairs. Hitherto, he said, he had been content to leave the conduct of the government in the hands of the cardinal; but henceforward he enjoined the chancellor, and other chief functionaries both in church and state, to take their instructions solely from himself. The king was in many respects well qualified for such a task. He possessed a sound, though not a brilliant, intellect; a firm, resolute will; considerable sagacity and penetration; much aptitude for business, and indefatigable industry and perseverance. Mazarin estimated him highly: "There is enough in him," said he, "to make four kings and one honest man." His powers of application were remarkable. During the whole of his reign he laboured regularly in his cabinet for eight hours every day.

Louis held the most extravagant ideas of the nature and extent of the royal prerogative. Regarding his authority as delegated immediately from heaven, he aimed to concentrate in himself individually all the powers and functions of government. The sovereign, in his view, was not only the guardian and dispenser, but the fountain and author, of all law and all justice. This theory he was accustomed to express in the well-known saying, "The state is myself" ("l'état, c'est moi"). And the peculiar position in which he found the kingdom—the power of the great nobles having been broken up by Richelieu, while the magistracy and the parliament had sunk into insignificance during the distractions of the Fronde—enabled him almost literally to verify this lofty maxim. Never in the history of the world was there a more complete, nor, on the whole, a more favourable or successful, specimen of absolute, irresponsible monarchy, than that established

§ 2. The king began by a strict examination of the state of the public finances, which had fallen into disorder through the maladministration of the surintendant Nicholas Fouquet. Fouquet was a man of great ability and brilliant reputation, especially as a patron of letters and the arts; but he had scandalously abused his office, falsified the public accounts, squandered the revenue in reckless profusion, and enriched himself by shameless peculation. No less a sum than eighteen millions of livres had been lavished

by Louis XIV.

on his princely château of Vaux-Praslin near Melun; and an entertainment given at that residence, in a style of more than regal magnificence, was so offensive to Louis, that the minister's disgrace was from that moment determined. Fouquet was arrested in September, 1661, and sent to the Bastille. A commission was appointed for his trial, but three years clapsed before the sentence was pronounced. His enemies, Colbert and Le Tellier, laboured to procure a capital conviction, but the court condemned him only to banishment for life. Louis, with needless cruelty, changed the punishment into that of perpetual imprisonment in the fortress of Pignerol. He was succeeded as minister of finance by the famous Jean-Baptiste Colbert, who also directed the departments of commerce, agriculture, and public works.

This great minister, by dint of extraordinary genius and untiring labour, succeeded in effecting a radical reform of the finances. Things had lapsed into the same state of confusion as before the ministry of Sully. The revenue was exhausted by anticipation; the national debt amounted to four hundred and fifty millions of livres; out of eighty-four millions paid in taxes only thirty-two millions were received by the treasury, while the yearly expenditure reached fifty-two millions. In the course of a few years Colbert raised the gross income of the treasury to upwards of one hundred millions, of which more than ninety millions were paid net into the public coffers. The rentes, or annuities paid by the state, together with other outgoings, were during the same period reduced by nearly one half; and the total expenditure never exceeded fifty This result was obtained in some measure by an augmentation of the taxes, especially of the excise duties; but it must be mainly attributed to systematic economy, and to the exercise of strict and vigilant control over all the inferior officers of the government.

§ 3. Peace was maintained in Europe during the first years of the administration of Louis; but the king employed this period in forming new plans and combinations for the aggrandizement of France, keeping in view as his main object the dismemberment of Spain by annexing to his dominions her possessions in the Low Countries, and the advance of France to the Rhine. Mazarin had been actuated by ambitious projects upon the Spanish monarchy in negotiating the treaty of the Bidassoa and the king's marriage with the Infanta; and the foreign policy of Louis was steadily directed towards the same end throughout his reign. Hence he eagerly supported the Portuguese, who had lately thrown off the Spanish yoke, and induced Charles II. of England to follow his example. This led to Charles's marriage with Catherine of Braganza, and to that of Philip Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis,

with the Princess Henrietta of England. In order further to conciliate Charles, who was in urgent need of money, Louis concluded with him a bargain for the sale of Dunkirk; and, in consideration of five millions of livres, that important seaport was reannexed to the French crown in November, 1662. His next step was to sign an alliance offensive and defensive with the United provinces of Holland, so as to prevent their forming a coalition with Spain in case of a rupture.

About the same time Louis gave a proof of his imperious temper, on the occasion of a quarrel between his ambassador in England, the Comte d'Estrades, and the Spanish envoy at the same court, who had insisted on taking precedence of the representative of France at a diplomatic reception. Louis recalled his ambassador from Madrid, demanded full and immediate reparation, and threatened war in case of refusal. Philip IV. made an unqualified submission, and, in the presence of the whole diplomatic body assembled at Fontainebleau, his ambassador declared that the Spanish agents would no longer contest the pretensions of the crown of France. A similar course was taken in the same year with the court of Rome. The French ambassador, Créquy, having been insulted by some of the pope's Corsican guard, Innocent X. was compelled to offer an apology, to disband his guard, and to erect an obelisk at Rome with an inscription recording the offence and its punishment.

Hostilities having broken out in 1665 between England and Holland, the Dutch appealed for succour to their ally the King of France Louis hesitated; he was unwilling to abandon his connection with Charles, while the English king, on his part, laboured to detach him from his engagements with the Republic, offering him a free hand in his projects against Spain if he would only refuse help to the States. After vainly endeavouring to mediate, Louis despatched a division of 6000 troops to Holland, and declared war against England on the 16th of June, 1666. The chief events of the contest which ensued were the naval battles between the English and the Dutch, in which Louis took no part, the French marine being at that time in a very feeble condition. In the summer of 1667 England was thrown into consternation by the appearance of the Dutch fleet in the Thames and the Medway. The English government, already suspicious of Louis's designs in Flanders, resolved to end the war, and a treaty was concluded at Breda between England, France, and Holland, on the 31st of July, 1667, England restoring to the French certain conquests made in the West Indies and in North America.

§ 4. Louis, however, had in the mean time embarked in a more serious contest, the first-fruits of his long-cherished designs of aggression against Spain.

Philip IV. of Spain expired in September, 1665, leaving, by his second wife, an only son, who succeeded to the throne as Charles II. The French king immediately laid claim to Brabant, Flanders, and the whole of the Spanish possessions in the Low Countries, founding his title upon a local law or custom called the "Droit de dévolution," by which the daughters of a first marriage inherited in preference to the male issue of a second. The question was debated during several months by diplomacy. The court of Spain maintained that the usage referred to was merely a civil regulation, and did not apply to transactions between sovereigns, or to the transmission of the dominions of the crown; and, moreover, that the Queen of France was precluded from advancing any such claim by the act of renunciation which she had executed at her marriage. To this Louis rejoined, that the renunciation was null and void, inasmuch as the dowry of Maria Theresa, upon which it depended, had never been paid; and that, since the Netherlands were, strictly speaking, the family property of the Spanish princes, they ought to be governed by the same laws which settled the succession to other private estates.

In such a case it was sufficient to produce arguments which were tolerably specious; for Louis had fully determined beforehand to support his reasoning by force of arms. On the 24th of May, 1667, the main body of the French army, commanded by Turenne, crossed the Flemish frontier, and, with little or no opposition, overran the province, the towns of Charleroi, Tournay, Ath, Courtrai, and Douai surrendering almost at the first summons. Lille resisted for some weeks, but submitted to the king in person on the 28th of August. Louis, instead of pushing his conquests further, now concluded a truce for three months with the Spaniards, and returned

to Paris. The ambition and success of the French monarch alarmed Europe, especially England and Holland; and these two powers negotiated a defensive coalition against France. By the able agency of Sir William Temple, the famous treaty called the Triple Alliance was signed at the Hague on the 23rd of January, 1668, between England, Holland, and Sweden; by which the contracting parties interposed to mediate a peace between France and Spain, with a threat of hostilities in case of refusal. They engaged to obtain from Spain the cession of all the places already conquered by France; upon which condition Louis was to forego all further claim against Spain in right of his queen. Louis, before receiving the official communication of this treaty, had suddenly undertaken, in the depth of winter, an expedition against Franche-comté. Twenty thousand men were secretly assembled under the Prince de Condé, who, pressing his operations with unexampled rapidity, forced Besançon to capitulate on the 7th of February, and reduced the whole country to submission within fifteen days. After this startling exploit Louis, who had made a secret treaty with the Emperor Leopold with regard to the eventual partition of the Spanish empire, consented to negotiate for peace; and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed on the 2nd of May, 1668. Spain surrendered to France all her conquests on the Sambre, the Scheldt, the Scarpe, and the Lys, together with Bergues and Furnes on the sea coast; France restored Franche-comté, but in a defenceless state, its principal fortresses having been dismantled. The integrity of the rest of the Spanish territories was guaranteed by the Triple Alliance, as well as by the emperor and other powers of Germany.

§ 5. The wounded pride of Louis never forgave the Dutch Republic for joining a confederacy which had presumed to set bounds to his career of conquest. His resentment is said to have been heightened by a medal struck on the occasion in Holland, by the arrogant behaviour of Van Benningen, the Dutch ambassador, and by the Protestant and republican views of the Dutch. War with the States was fully resolved on in the king's mind from the moment of his signing the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; and he was encouraged in the scheme by the minister Louvois, who urged that, in order to reduce the Spanish Netherlands, it was essential in the first place to humble and subdue the provinces of Holland. As a preliminary measure, Louis now proceeded to intrigue with Charles of England for the dissolution of the Triple Alliance. Charles, notwithstanding his recent policy, hated the Dutch in reality no less cordially than Louis himself. He longed to become a despotic monarch: he wished to encourage Roman Catholicism in England, and he was secretly more than half a convert to Romanism. Moreover, he was constantly distressed for money; and an advantageous treaty with the French king promised to replenish his coffers, and thus make him independent of his parliament. These considerations rendered Charles a willing listener to the propositions of the court of France. After some previous negotiation, the fascinating Henrietta of Orleans, Charles's sister, who possessed much influence over him, arrived at Dover on a secret mission in May, 1670; and a treaty was shortly afterwards concluded, the provisions of which are discreditable to both sovereigns. Charles engaged to abandon his late allies, and join Louis in invading Holland, furnishing a contingent of 6000 men and a fleet of fifty sail; he was also to make a public profession of the Roman Catholic religion, and propagate it to the utmost of his power in his dominions. As his price for these acts. Charles was to receive from Louis an annual subsidy of three millions (£120,000) during the war, together with the island of Walcheren, and two fortresses on the Scheldt, as his share of the

spoil. Louis, moreover, covenanted to assist him with men and money in case of rebellion in England in consequence of his change of faith. This transaction was closely followed by the sudden death of the Duchess of Orleans, who expired almost immediately after her return to France, in circumstances which excited strong suspicions of poison. The deed was imputed to her husband, probably without reason, and the mystery has never been cleared up.

Having obtained promises of neutrality from Sweden and the emperor, and of active co-operation from the Electors of Hanover and Cologne and the Bishop of Munster, Louis commenced his unjust and impolitic war with Holland in April, 1672. His main army, commanded nominally by himself in person, but really directed by Condé and Turenne, crossed the Meuse near Maestricht. and, advancing to the banks of the Rhine, attacked at the same time Wesel and three other frontier towns, which all submitted in the course of a few days. The famous passage of the Rhine-an exploit celebrated in the most extravagant terms by the French courtiers-took place on the 12th of June. It was in reality no very wonderful achievement. Condé was wounded, and the young Duc de Longueville killed in the operation, but the invaders suffered little loss, the Dutch having no force on the spot capable of serious resistance. The States were indeed at this moment in a miserably defenceless condition; their fleet was powerful, and worthily commanded by the gallant De Ruyter; but the army had been totally neglected, and it was with great difficulty that 25,000 men could be collected and placed under the command of William Prince of Orange, then only twenty-two years of age. The civil dissensions between the adherents of the house of Orange and the republican party headed by the pensionary De Witt rendered the circumstances of the republic still more critical. The passage of the Rhine having exposed the whole of the western provinces to invasion, the nation was seized with panic. The prince abandoned his position on the Yssel, and fell back upon Utrecht, and thence into the interior of Holland; Guelderland, Overyssel, and Utrecht were immediately occupied by the French without resistance, and they penetrated to Muyden, within four leagues of Amsterdam. The Dutch, driven to desperation, now contemplated a project for transporting the whole population, on board their ships of war, to their distant settlements in the East Indies. The animosity of the rival factions grew more and more violent; and John De Witt, fearing the complete triumph of the aristocrats, determined to send a deputation to Louis to treat for conditions of peace. His propositions, though sufficiently humble, were rejected, through the influence of Louvois, the French minister of war. The conqueror demanded the cession of northern Brabant and Flanders, and all the Dutch possessions south of the

Meuse and the Wahal, together with twenty million livres for the expenses of the war, great commercial advantages, and the public and free exercise of the Catholic religion. Upon the receipt of these outrageous terms popular wrath burst forth against the pensionary; and a revolution followed, which placed the Prince of Orange at the head of affairs as Stadtholder. The two brothers De Witt were brutally murdered by the populace on the 27th of August; and William, thus left dictator, energetically employed all the resources of his genius and patriotism in the defence of his country.

§ 6. From that moment the fortunes of Holland took a different turn. The vast sluices were opened, and the whole district in the neighbourhood of Amsterdam laid under water; the fleet entered the Texel, to protect the capital by sea; the triumphant progress of the enemy was suddenly arrested, and the Republic gained time to provide against future attacks. The Stadtholder succeeded in forming an alliance with the powerful Elector of Brandenburg; to which the Emperor Leopold, notwithstanding his secret engagement with France, soon afterwards declared his adhesion; and in consequence an army of 40,000 Germans, commanded by the famous Montecuculi, marched upon the Rhine. Here, however, they were confronted by Turenne, whose masterly manœuvres gave him the superiority at every point where they attempted the passage of the river. The Elector of Brandenburg lost patience, separated from the imperialists, and retired to his own dominions, pursued by the indefatigable Turenne to the banks of the Elbe. In 1673 Louis again penetrated into Holland at the head of 30,000 men, and captured the important fortress of Maestricht; but France was now menaced by a coalition between the Empire, Spain, the States-General, and several of the German princes; and the contest began to assume the proportions of an European war. The Prince of Orange took the offensive, invested and reduced Naarden after twelve days' siege, gained the Rhine, and effected his junction with the forces of Montecuculi, in spite of all the efforts of Turenne. The combined armies then besieged Bonn; the French were unable to arrive in time to relieve it, and the place surrendered on the 12th of November. This gave the allies the command of the Rhine, and they immediately occupied the territories of Cologne and Munster. Several desperate naval engagements were fought during the war, especially one in Solebay, in May, 1672, between the English and French navies under the Duke of York and the Comte d'Estrées, and the Dutch under Ruyter; but in each case without decisive result. Ere long the British parliament, indignant at Charles's connection with Louis, forced him to detach himself from the French alliance, and peace

was signed between England and Holland in February, 1674. The tide thus turned against Louis, who found it necessary to abandon all his conquests, and fall back towards his own frontiers, retaining only the towns of Grave and Maestricht. Holland was saved.

§ 7. The theatre of war was now entirely changed. In May, 1674, the King of France in person suddenly invaded Franchecomté, and reduced it to complete submission, for the second time, before the beginning of July. Turenne, with a very inadequate force, was opposed to the imperialists in Alsace. He crossed the Rhine at Philipsburg, and, encountering the enemy at Sintzheim on the 16th of June, routed them with a loss of more than 2000 men, and drove them back beyond the Neckar. It was after this victory that Turenne disgraced his name by barbarously ravaging the Palatinate, which was abandoned to the ferocious licence of his troops, and soon became a scene of indescribable desolation. The inhabitants retaliated by frightful excesses upon all French soldiers

caught straggling from the main army.

At length the imperialists in their turn forced the passage of the Rhine at Mayence, and encamped between Spires and Philipsburg. Upon this the minister Louvois directed Turenne to evacuate Alsace; but the marshal appealed directly to the king, and Louis had the good sense to support his views. Turenne maintained his post, and though the enemy gained possession of Strassburg, and threatened to advance upon Lorraine, the French commander attacked them with brilliant success on the 4th of October, and drove them back to Strassburg. He next took up a strong position near Saverne, which the allies, though with immensely superior numbers, attempted in vain to force; they retreated, with the intention of distributing themselves in winter quarters at Alsace. Turenne now executed a memorable march across the Vosges mountains in the depth of winter; and concentrating his army at Belfort on the 27th of December, fell suddenly upon the flank of the astonished Germans, who imagined him to be fifty leagues off, routed them in a series of encounters at Muhlhausen, Enshiem, and Colmar, and finally compelled them to repass the Rhine at Strassburg on the 11th of January, 1675. This extraordinary campaign in Alsace is considered the masterpiece of Turenne's genius. The marshal's return to Paris was an uninterrupted ovation, and he was received in the capital with transports of enthusiasm.

In the mean while the Prince de Condé had been placed in command of 35,000 men on the frontier of Hainault, to make head against the combined imperialist and Dutch forces under the Prince of Orange. Finding his position at Charleroi unassailable, the allies moved in the direction of Mons, thus exposing their flank,

an error of which Condé took advantage with his usual sagacity and promptitude. A battle was fought at the village of Senef on the 11th of August, 1674, in which, after fearful slaughter, victory inclined to the side of the French; but William of Orange, with the steady self-possession of a veteran commander, took up a new and stronger position, and renewed the battle in the afternoon with indecisive results. The allies afterwards captured Grave, Huy, and Dinant, and thus obtained a slight superiority before the close of the campaign.

Louis took the offensive with overwhelming numbers in the spring of 1675. The Austrian general, Montecuculi, manœuvred for several weeks to bring Turenne to action on the Kintzig, beyond Strassburg, but in vain. At length the imperialist commander retired and marched southwards; on the 27th of July the two armies came in sight near the entrance of the defile of Sassbach, and a general engagement seemed inevitable. As Turenne advanced to the front of his lines to make his last dispositions for the attack, he was struck by a spent cannon-ball from the enemy's batteries, and fell dead on the spot. This irreparable loss could not be concealed from the soldiers; dejection and dismay spread through their ranks; and the general who succeeded to the command was forced immediately to retreat. After a combat at Altenheim the French re-crossed the Rhine into Alsace.

§ 8. There was but one man in France who could be sent to replace the great Turenne. This was the Prince de Condé; who, besides his personal qualifications, possessed an intimate acquaintance with the tactics and plans of the departed hero. Condé, on taking the command in Alsace, found that Montecuculi had already passed the Rhine at Strassburg, and was besieging Haguenau. He soon relieved that place, and arrested the further progress of the enemy; but in accordance with the system of Turenne, he eluded the efforts of the Austrians to bring him to a general action; and Montecuculi, abandoning Alsace, retired into winter quarters around Spires. This was the last campaign of the great Condé. Increasing infirmities warned him that he was no longer capable of directing the operations and enduring the fatigues of war; on quitting the army he took up his abode at Chantilly, and passed the latter years of his life in comparative privacy. He died in 1686.

The year 1676 was chiefly remarkable for some naval successes of the French in the Mediterranean. Admiral Duquesne engaged and defeated the Dutch fleet under Ruyter off the island of Stromboli on the 7th of January. A few weeks later another battle was fought near Catania, in which Ruyter was slain; and the victorious Duquesne then sailed for Palermo, where a third action, on the 2nd of June, ended in the complete triumph of the French.

These victories led to no permanent result, but they added greatly to the reputation of the French navy, and for a time the flag of Louis was without a rival in the Mediterranean.

The operations of the campaign by land were of minor importance. Although deprived of his greatest generals by the fall of Turenne and the retirement of Condé, Louis still possessed several officers of superior talent—the Duc de Luxemburg, Marshals Créquy, Schomberg, and d'Estrades, and above all Vauban, a consummate master of the art of engineering. The French were successful in some sieges on the Flemish frontier, but Luxemburg was beaten by the imperialists in the Palatinate, and lost the important fortress of Philipsburg. In the spring of 1677 Louis proceeded in person to invest Valenciennes, with Luxemburg and Vauban. The town capitulated, to the great astonishment of the besiegers, on the first assault; and Louis appropriated to himself all the credit of the achievement. Cambrai and St. Omer were next forced to submission, and the Duc d' Orléans, assisted by Luxemburg, gained a brilliant victory over the Prince of Orange at Cassel on the 11th of April. The honour of the French arms was maintained on the German frontier by Créquy, who defeated the Duke of Lorraine at Kochersberg near Strassburg, and captured Freyburg, capital of the Breisgau, on the 16th of November. This campaign, in which Créquy rivalled the scientific combinations of Turenne, at once obtained for the marshal a first-rate military reputation, and produced a great sensation both in France and in foreign countries.

§ 9. Thus, notwithstanding various partial checks and failures, the arms of Louis had on the whole acquired a decided superiority during a struggle of six years' duration. A congress had been opened at Nimeguen, under the mediation of Sweden, in 1675; and the Dutch, who had been reduced to the verge of ruin by the tremendous sacrifices of the war, showed themselves anxious to conclude a separate treaty with the French monarch. This design was strenuously opposed by William of Orange, who, as the champion of Protestantism, and of the balance of power, was the implacable rival and enemy of Louis, a character which he maintained throughout his life. The main object of the prince was to obtain the co-operation of England in the war; but this was no easy matter, for Charles had again sold himself to Louis for a pension of 200,000 livres, and had engaged to enter into no alliance without the consent of France. The British parliament, however, warmly supported the views of William; the Commons pressed the king to declare war with France, promising him ample supplies on this condition; and the national inclinations were expressed with so much pertinacity and vigour, that Charles was at length

obliged to consent. The Prince of Orange married the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York, on the 23rd of October, 1677: and two months afterwards a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was signed at the Hague between England and the States of Holland. The two parties agreed to propose certain conditions of peace to Louis XIV., and to enforce his acceptance of them, in case of necessity, by hostile measures. Louis was not averse to a pacification, but his demands were exorbitant, Resolved to make a bold stroke to obtain his own terms, he marched suddenly upon Ghent, and, after bombarding the city for two days, carried it by assault on the night of the 8th of March, 1678. The citadel capitulated on the 11th, and this vast and wealthy city, the second in the Netherlands, remained in the hands of the French. Ypres was attacked immediately afterwards, and surrendered within ten days. These startling conquests decided the Dutch ministers to accept the French propositions, and make peace separately from their allies. William of Orange, duped and deserted at the last moment by the faithless Charles, in vain attempted to resist; and the treaty of Nimeguen was signed between France and Holland on the 11th of August, 1678. Holland sacrificed nothing, after a war which had threatened to be so calamitous, except two unimportant foreign settlements. Four days afterwards the Prince of Orange, hoping even yet to frustrate the pacification, surprised the quarters of Marshal Luxemburg near Mons, and a battle ensued, which cost the lives of 3000 men on each side. It was too late, however, to renew the war. Spain, after much hesitation, acceded to the peace on the 17th of September, surrendering to France the whole of Franche-comté, together with eleven towns on the frontier of Flanders, some of which, such as Valenciennes, Cambrai, Ypres, and St. Omer, were places of great strength and importance. Thus, while the war had been waged with Holland, it was Spain that ultimately paid for the restoration of peace. The emperor and empire, after some further successes obtained by Marshal Créquy in Alsace, at length yielded to necessity, and a treaty was signed with Louis on the 5th of February. 1679. The same year Sweden and Brandenburg made peace, Louis insisting that his ally, Charles XI. of Sweden, who had in 1685 been decisively beaten in the battle of Fehrbellin, should not lose any territory.

§ 10. The peace of Nimeguen, which Louis thus dictated to Europe, raised him to his highest point of power and glory. It was now that the admiring citizens of Paris solemnly decreed to him the title of "the Great," and erected in his honour the two triumphal arches called Porte St. Martin and Porte St. Denis, which still adorn the capital. His courtiers worshipped him as a

demigod; foreign governments regarded him with servile awe; and it is not wonderful that in this zenith of his fortunes he should have shown himself little disposed to practise moderation and forbearance. The conclusion of peace produced no abatement in his projects of aggressive domination; on the contrary, he took advantage of his position to push his arbitrary encroachments beyond all bounds of reason and wise policy. The treaty of Westphalia had ceded to France several important cities and districts, "with the dependencies belonging to them." The sovereignty of Upper and Lower Alsace had, for instance, been given to Louis. saving the rights of the nobles who held immediately of the emperor. These vague expressions opened a wide field to the grasping ambition of Louis. He proceeded to institute courts called Chambres de Réunion, for the purpose of ascertaining what dependencies had appertained at any former period to the territories then annexed to France; and by this ingenious device he soon added to his dominions no less than twenty towns wrested from neighbouring princes, including Saarbruck, Luxemburg, Deuxponts, and Montbéliard. A far more important acquisition, that of the great free city of Strassburg, was made by means of a hostile demonstration in September, 1681. The town was permitted to retain its ancient franchises and peculiar jurisdiction, together with the free exercise of the Lutheran religion. Louis entered Strassburg in state on the 23rd of October. Vauban now exhausted the resources of his art on its fortifications; and it remained till 1870 an impregnable bulwark of France on the side of Germany.

Against these acts of violence, committed during a time of peace, the Imperial Diet protested in vain. Through the exertions of the Prince of Orange a fresh league was organized between the Dutch States, Sweden, Spain, and the Empire, pledging them to maintain the conditions of the treaty of Nimeguen; but, exhausted by the recent conflict, none of these powers were at that moment in a condition to recommence hostilities; and accordingly no steps were taken beyond remonstrances and negotiations. Louis continued his usurpations. He demanded from Spain Alost and other places in Belgium, and in March, 1682, he poured his troops into the province of Luxemburg under Marshal Créquy. His operations, however, were suddenly suspended on hearing of the invasion of Austria by the Turks; he even offered his assistance to the emperor, designing, in case Vienna should be delivered by his arms, to exact in return the recognition of all his unjust demands and seizures. In this scheme Louis was foiled by the valour of Sobieski, King of Poland, who repelled the infidels from Vienna, and saved the empire. Upon this the French armies, without further ceremony, entered Flanders and Brabant in the autumn of

1683, captured Courtrai and Dixmude, and laid the whole district under a heavy contribution. The cabinet of Madrid now declared war, but made no attempt to send an army into the field. Louis pursued his operations unopposed, and in the spring of 1684 invested and reduced the fort of Luxemburg, while at the same time he threatened Mons and even Brussels. After some delay the States-General of Holland interposed with offers of mediation; and on the 15th of August, 1684, a truce for twenty years was concluded at Ratisbon between France, Spain, and the empire. Strassburg and its district were by this arrangement formally ceded to France, together with the province of Luxemburg, and all the towns which had been annexed by the Chambres de Réunion before the 1st of August, 1681. This, it was evident, was merely a temporary accommodation, for Louis was determined to convert the truce of Ratisbon into a definitive peace.

§ 11. The queen, Maria Theresa, died in 1683; and in the course of the following year the king, whose mistresses, Louise de la Valliere and Madame de Montespan, had borne him several children, was secretly married to Madame de Maintenon by his confessor La Chaise, in the presence of the Archbishop of Paris. Françoise d'Aubigné was granddaughter of the famous Protestant historian, and widow of the comic poet Scarron. This remarkable person, afterwards so celebrated as Madame de Maintenon, had been recommended to Madame de Montespan as governess to her children; in this capacity the king saw her constantly, and by degrees she acquired an empire over him which lasted uninterruptedly till his death. Madame de Maintenon possessed superior powers of intellect, attractive manners, and many excellent qualities; but she was an uncompromising bigot in matters of religion. Her marriage with Louis was never acknowledged, and the position of Madame de Maintenon at court remained in consequence doubtful; but her influence over the royal mind in private became boundless, and extended alike to all subjects and measures, domestic, political, and religious. It was partly owing to her support of the advice given to him by the French clergy that Louis was now induced to begin a persecution of the unoffending Calvinists, which tarnished the glory of his reign, and inflicted heavy loss on France. She persuaded him that the best means of making satisfaction for the sins of his past life was to exert himself for the conversion of the misguided sectaries, and to establish uniformity of faith and church government throughout the kingdom. The king's good genius, the wise and liberal-minded Colbert, had steadily protected the Protestants, who had often done the state service under his patronage; but that admirable minister was now dead. Louvois and Le Tellier, who succeeded him in

the confidence of Louis, especially the former, were men of stern, savage, vindictive temper, and earnestly supported the counsels of Madame de Maintenon. It was therefore determined to take decisive measures for the total suppression of heresy; but gentle expedients were resorted to in the first instance. Bands of missionaries traversed the provinces; the press overflowed with sermons, pamphlets, books of devotion, and controversial publications of all kinds; a "caisse de conversions" was established under the direction of the minister Pelisson, who dispensed the funds



Madame de Maintenon.

intrusted to him at the rate of six livres for every abjuration of the so-called Reformed religion. But these measures, though to a great extent successful, were too slow to satisfy the eagerness of the court; and they were soon exchanged for severer treatment. The "Chamber of the Edict," instituted by Henry IV., was abolished, as well as the Protestant courts in the parliaments of Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Grenoble. Numbers of the reformed places of worship were shut up on frivolous pretences. The Huguenots were excluded from all public functions, from the liberal professions, FRANCE.

from the universities, from engaging in various branches of commerce and industry. They were forbidden to intermarry with Catholics; and their children were encouraged to forsake the faith of their parents by being declared capable of choosing for themselves at the age of seven years. The sectaries were thus goaded to resistance, especially in Languedoc. The governor of that province wrote to demand military aid in carrying out the king's decrees; and Louvois instantly despatched squadrons of dragoons into the disturbed districts, who were quartered on the inhabitants, and abandoned themselves to every kind of brutal violence and excess, establishing a "reign of terror" wherever they appeared. These atrocious "dragonnades" completely broke the spirit of the population, and they submitted in despair. "Not a post arrives." wrote Madame de Maintenon in September, 1685, "without bringing the king tidings which fill him with joy; the conversions take place every day by thousands." Sixty thousand persons are said to have embraced Catholicism in Guienne in the course of one month; twenty thousand abjured in Béarn; eighty thousand in the two dioceses of Nismes and Montpellier.

§ 12. These results might have satisfied the most extravagant zealot. But Louis, at the urgent instigation of his council, now proceeded to a still more extreme and fatal measure of severity. On the 17th of October, 1685, he signed the celebrated decree called the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Acting merely by his own despotic authority, the king annulled for ever all the privileges granted to the Huguenots by Henry IV. and Louis XIII.; absolutely prohibited the exercise of their religion throughout the kingdom, with the sole exception of Alsace; ordered their temples to be levelled with the ground, and their ministers to quit France within fifteen days; forbade the Reformers to follow their pastors into exile under pain of confiscation and condemnation to the galleys, and required their children to be baptized henceforth by the Catholic priests and educated as members of the Established Church.*

Frightful cruelties followed the publication of this decree. Multitudes of the Reformed, refusing obedience, were consigned to dungeons, tortured, and treated with every kind of outrage short of actual murder. Women were immured for life in convents; infants were torn from the arms of their mothers; property was destroyed, and whole districts laid desolate. The king, most probably, knew nothing of these horrors, and was engaged meanwhile in receiving the inflated homage and congratulations of his court sycophants, who compared him to Constantine, to Theodosius the Great, to

^{*} See the Memoirs of St. Simon, vol. viii. p. 143, edit. 1857.

Charlemagne. Even such men as Bossuet, Massillon, and Fléchier—as Racine, La Bruyère, and La Fontaine—were not ashamed to

take part in this universal chorus of applause.

Notwithstanding the strict prohibition against emigration, vast crowds of the proscribed schismatics eluded the vigilance of the police, and, escaping from their native land, sought shelter in England, Holland, Germany, and Switzerland. Their numbers are variously estimated: it seems probable that at least 300,000 persons expatriated themselves between the publication of the edict and the close of the century. Among them are to be found names of great eminence, such as that of the Marshal Duke of Schomberg. one of the ablest captains of the age, who passed into Holland. and placed his sword at the disposal of the Prince of Orange. Literary men of high distinction—Basnage, Bayle, Jurieu, Lenfant, Beausobre, Saurin, Rapin-were included in the list of exiles. But the great majority belonged to the industrial and manufacturing classes; and the loss of their skill, experience, and energy was an irreparable calamity to France. An entire district of the British metropolis is peopled at this day by the descendants of these persecuted refugees, who established their silk-looms in Spitalfields.

§ 13. While the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes thus impoverished France by depriving her of multitudes of industrious and distinguished citizens, it had also a marked effect upon the policy of foreign nations, and tended to bring about a great change in the state of Europe. The resentment which it excited among the Protestants of Holland, England, and Germany, threw an immense advantage into the hands of William of Orange, who was thus enabled to organize a vast confederacy against the tyrant Louis. Active negotiations under his auspices resulted in the famous League of Augsburg, to preserve the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen, which was signed July 9, 1686, between the emperor. the Dutch Republic, the kings of Spain and Sweden, the Elector of Saxony, the Elector Palatine, and the circles of Franconia. Bavaria, and the Upper Rhine. In 1687 Bavaria and Savoy joined it openly, and the pope secretly. Louis at once demanded that the truce of Ratisbon should be converted into a definitive peace. and, as the emperor was occupied with a Turkish war, resolved to strike at once. The crisis in England and the Whig designs against James II. occupied too little of his attention. As soon as he had discovered the plans of William of Orange he had, indeed, hastened to warn James of the danger, and signified to the States-General that the first act of hostility committed against his ally the King of England would be regarded by him as a declaration of war. But instead of pouring his forces into the Netherlands,—which might. even at the last moment, have compelled William to remain on the

Continent—the French king, anxious to anticipate the movements of the confederates of Augsburg, and confident that the result of William's expedition would be a civil war which would divert England's attention from the Continent, employed his armies in a different direction. The prince was thus left at liberty to prosecute his adventurous undertaking. He sailed from Helvoetsluys on the 1st of November, 1688, landed in Torbay on the 5th, and within six weeks the revolution was successfully accomplished. The fugitive James, with his queen and infant son, sought an asylum in France, and were welcomed at St. Germains with a generosity and munificence which did infinite honour to the kingly character of Louis, on the 7th of January, 1689.

§ 14. The success of his antagonist deprived Louis of his only remaining ally, added England to the list of hostile powers already arrayed against him, and thus led to the restoration of the balance of power in Europe. The cabinet of Versailles had been determined by the counsels of Louvois to strike the first blow against the coalition on the side of Germany. Pretexts for taking up arms were not wanting. The Duchesse d'Orléans, sister of the Elector Palatine lately deceased, laid claim to a considerable part of his possessions under the title of allodial property: this claim had been disallowed, on appeal, by the emperor, and Louis resolved to support it by force. Another ground of rupture was the election of a Bayarian prince to the Electorate of Cologne, to which the French king had advanced pretensions for a dependant of his own, the Cardinal de Furstenberg. Such were the causes assigned by Louis for commencing hostilities; but the war which ensued was in reality a desperate struggle between the gigantic monarchy of France and the rest of the European states combined to withstand the common danger of an insatiable and all-absorbing ambition.

A French army of 80,000 men, commanded by the dauphin, with Marshals Duras and Vauban, entered the Palatinate in October, 1688, and, besieging Philipsburg, forced it to surrender within a month. Manheim submitted immediately afterwards. Meanwhile a division under the Marquis de Boufflers rapidly took possession of Mayence, Worms, Kreutznach, Spires, and the whole of the Palatinate on the left bank of the Rhine; after which the French ascended the Moselle and seized the city of Trèves. Marshal d'Humières at the same time invaded the bishopric of Liége, and occupied Dinant. It was now that Louis, at the instigation of Louvois, took a step which has left a deep and indelible stain upon his name. Unable to maintain his conquests, he gave orders for the wholesale devastation of the Palatinate by fire and sword, for the purpose of preventing the enemy's army from reoccupying the country. This inhuman decree was instantly carried into

execution, and with far more disastrous effect than in the former campaign under Turenne. Having warned the population to retire, the French generals set fire to Heidelberg, with the magnificent palace of the Electors, and reduced it to a mass of blackened ruins. Manheim, Spires, Worms, Oppenheim, Bingen, were condemned in succession to the flames. Crops, farms, vines, orchards, fruit-trees, were all destroyed; and this once rich and smiling land was converted into a desolate wilderness. The houseless peasants, to the number of 100,000, wandered about in abject misery, imprecating the vengeance of Heaven upon the tyrant who had caused their ruin.

These atrocities exasperated Germany. A new coalition was now formed, under the title of the "Grand Alliance," consisting of the powers which had signed the League of Augsburg, with the important addition of England. The allies took the field with three distinct armies. The first, commanded by the Prince of Waldeck, with an English division under Lord Churchill, entered the Netherlands, and, defeating Marshal d'Humières in a sharp engagement at Walcourt, drove the French from the line of the Sambre. The second and third, under the orders of the Duke of Lorraine and the Elector of Brandenburg, moved upon the Rhine, successfully besieged Mayence and Bonn, and afterwards established themselves for the winter in the Palatinate, where, notwithstanding the barbarous ravages of the French, it was still found possible to procure subsistence for the troops.

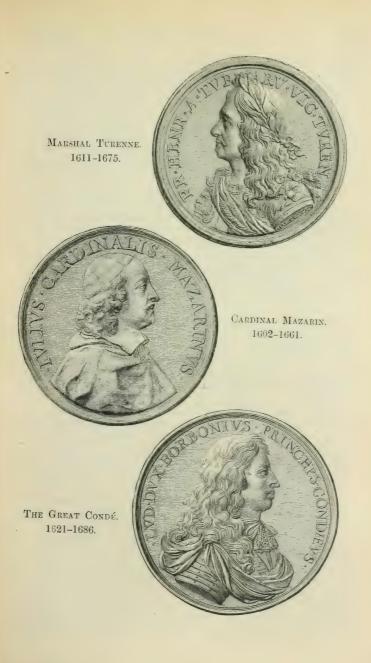
§ 15. But the chief interest of the early part of this war lies in the efforts made by Louis against the newly acquired throne of his inveterate foe William of Orange. England, under the direction of a prince so able and so vigorous, was the main strength of the hostile coalition; and it was rather to wrest the sceptre out of the hands of William than to effect the restoration of James that France now taxed to her utmost her resources both by sea and land in preparing a descent upon the British Isles. In March, 1689, a French squadron of thirteen sail conveyed James to Ireland with a body of troops under the Count of Rosen. Marshal Schomberg was now despatched by William to take the command in Ireland, and the king followed in person in June, 1690. About the same time a French fleet, numbering no less than seventy-eight ships of the line, put to sea and engaged the combined force of Holland and England off Beachy Head on the 30th of June. This battle, in which the French were ably commanded by the Count of Tourville, was gallantly contested, especially by the Dutch, who bore the brunt of the action, and suffered very severe loss. The English admiral, Herbert, Earl of Torrington, is said to have spared his ships, and was suspected of being secretly in the interest of

James. The result was that the allied fleet was compelled to draw off and seek shelter in the Thames, and Tourville claimed a decided victory. The Bourbon flag was now triumphant in the Channel for some weeks. Tourville attacked and destroyed Teignmouth on the coast of Devonshire; and the consternation and dismay in England, in expectation of a French invasion, were extreme. No further naval operations, however, were undertaken this year.

The famous battle of the Boyne was fought on the very day after the engagement off Beachy Head (July 1, 1690). King William's army numbered about 36,000 men; that of James, which included a French division under the Count of Lauzun, was somewhat inferior. Schomberg dashed into the stream at the head of his column, which consisted chiefly of Huguenot refugees, exclaiming, "Allons, Messieurs, allons; voici vos persécuteurs!" He gained the opposite bank, but fell dead at the same moment pierced with three mortal wounds. The Protestant army, led by William, forced the passage and gained an easy and complete victory. The Irish infantry broke and dispersed at the first onset; and though the cavalry and the French contingent strove to retrieve the fortunes of the day, their efforts were unavailing. James, who had shown neither energy nor courage, instantly took flight, and scarcely halted till he reached Kinsale, from which port he sailed for Brest. Louis continued for some time longer to defend a cause which he must now have felt to be desperate. In the following year a French force was sent to Ireland under General Saint-Ruth, but he experienced nothing but reverses. The capitulation of Limerick, the fall of Athlone, and the battle of Aghrim (July 12, 1691), put an end to the resistance of the Jacobites, and the whole country soon submitted to the arms of William. The French troops embarked for their own shores, under a convention, carrying with them a numerous body of Irish emigrants, who in course of time became naturalized in France. They distinguished themselves greatly in the service of their adopted country, and have often attained high dignities and honours.

§ 16. The command of the French army in the Netherlands was now wisely given by Louis to Marshal Luxemburg, in spite of the opposition of Louvois, with whom the marshal was on terms of bitter enmity. Luxemburg displayed all his accustomed talent; he forced the passage of the Sambre in the face of the Prince of Waldeck, and, on the 30th of June, 1690, defeated him totally at the battle of Fleurus. Here the loss of the allies was immense, amounting to 5000 killed and 8000 prisoners, besides fifty pieces of artillery and more then a hundred standards.

In the spring of 1691 the French army, with whom Louis was present in person, laid siege to the strong frontier town of Mons.



and forced it to surrender in nine days, notwithstanding the vigorous exertions of King William, who marched with a large force to relieve it, but arrived only in time to witness its fall.

It was in the course of the same summer that Louis lost his minister Louvois, who, having had the misfortune to incur the enmity of Madame de Maintenon, had been for some time past almost in disgrace. His harsh temper and violent counsels had made him generally disliked, and few regretted his death; but his pre-eminent talents and unwearied activity in all matters of military administration had been of infinite service to Louis, and it was

found impossible adequately to supply his place.

The subsequent course of the war was fluctuating in fortune, but produced no general results which at all repaid the vast exertions and sacrifices made both by Louis and the confederates. In May, 1692, a French army of 30,000 men was assembled on the coasts of Normandy near Cherbourg, under King James and Marshal Bellefonds, ready to embark for England in the fleet of Tourville. The combined English and Dutch fleet, under Admiral Russell, made its appearance in the Channel, and Louis rashly sent orders to Tourville to engage, though he had but forty-four sail of the line to oppose to ninety-nine of the enemy. Tourville made it a point of honour to obey. On the 19th of May he attacked the enemy in mid-channel, between Cape Barfleur and the Isle of Wight; and, notwithstanding his immense inferiority, maintained his own till nightfall. During the night the French made sail for their own shores; some of their ships escaped through the dangerous "Race of Alderney" to St. Malo; the rest gained the roadstead of La Hougue, where Tourville caused them to be stranded, with their broadsides to the enemy, under the formidable artillery of the army of invasion planted on the heights. In this position they were attacked by the English under Admiral Rooke with some small frigates and all the boats of the fleet, on the 23rd of May. The French made a manful resistance, but thirteen of their men-of war were captured and burnt, and the fleet was, in fact, annihilated. This catastrophe was witnessed from the cliffs by James, who, while he beheld the ruin of his last hopes, could not help expressing his admiration of the heroic bearing of the English sailors. The battle of La Hougue was the last direct attempt made by Louis to recover the lost crown of the Stuarts. James retired to St. Germains, where he passed the remainder of his life in seclusion and practices of austere devotion, and died in the year 1701.

§ 17. The naval defeat of Louis was counterbalanced by his military successes. On the 25th of May he laid siege in person to Namur, the strongest fortress in the Low Countries, commanding the junction

of the Meuse and the Sambre. The science of Vauban here proved superior to that of the rival Dutch engineer Cohorn; and Namur capitulated on the 5th of June. It was in vain that King William advanced with 70,000 men to succour the place; his army was skilfully kept in check by Luxemburg, and he was unable to effect the passage of the Sambre. Louis now returned to Versailles; and William, resolved to strike an important blow before closing the campaign, assaulted Marshal Luxemburg at Steinkirk in Hainault on the 24th of July. The battle was obstinate, 13,000 men being slain in the two armies; but in the end William was compelled to retire upon Brussels, and accomplished the retreat with admirable steadiness and skill.

On the opening of the campaign in 1694 the King of England offered battle to the French, in circumstances favourable to the latter, near Louvain; but to the general astonishment, Louis declined to fight, quitted the army, and even detached part of his troops into Germany. This incident greatly damaged his military reputation, and he never afterwards made his appearance at the head of his forces. The murderous battle of Neerwinden, or Landen, fought between William and Luxemburg on the 29th of July, 1693, terminated, like so many others, in the defeat of the English monarch, who nevertheless conducted his retreat with consummate ability, and was acknowledged even by his adversaries to be more formidable in repulse than others in success.

Marshal Catinat, who, next to Luxemburg, was the most distinguished of the French commanders, obtained this year a victory over the Duke of Savoy at Marsiglia, between Pignerol and Turin. Prince Eugene of Savoy, now rapidly rising into distinction, held a superior command on this occasion.

The French also repaired in great measure the disaster of La Hougue, by a successful action fought by Tourville with Admiral Rooke, in Lagos Bay, on the 27th of June. The English commander was in charge of an immense and richly laden convoy of merchantmen, forty of which were captured by the enemy, together with four men-of-war. In the following year an English expedition against Brest, under Admiral Berkeley and General Tollemache, failed through the treachery of Lord Marlborough, who revealed the destination of the fleet to James, and through him to Louis. A landing was attempted, in which the English lost 1000 men, among them General Tollemache; two ships of the line were sunk, and several transports destroyed. The commerce of England was at this time seriously crippled by the exploits of the famous French corsairs Jean Bart, Duguay-Trouin, Forbin, and Ducasse. Thus, on the whole, the scale of victory inclined to the side of France.

§ 18. Marshal Luxemburg, one of the most uniformly successful

of military commanders, closed his career with the campaign of 1694; he expired in January, 1695, at the age of sixty-seven. Marshal Villeroi, whom Louis appointed to succeed him, was a man of slender capacity, favoured by the king as having been the companion of his youth, but better qualified to shine at the court than in the camp. He soon proved his incompetence by allowing King William to recapture Namur in July, 1695—a success which, from the strength and importance of that fortress, and the immense losses sustained by the besieged, produced a considerable effect in Europe. Villeroi uselessly attempted to compensate this misfortune by a furious bombardment of the city of Brussels.

A struggle maintained by sea and land for seven years in succession, at such a desperate cost of blood and treasure, had exhausted France, and Louis once more showed a disposition to negotiate for peace. His first object was to detach the Duke of Savoy from the coalition. To secure this he surrendered Pignerol, which had been held by France for nearly seventy years, and restored Nice and all other conquered possessions of the House of Savoy. These concessions produced a treaty of peace and alliance between France and Savov, which was signed on the 30th of May, 1696, and strengthened by a contract of marriage between a princess of Savoy and the Duke of Burgundy, eldest son of the French dauphin. The other members of the league bitterly reproached the Duke of Savoy for thus abandoning their cause; but, the example having once been given, several states were induced ere long to concur in a movement for the conclusion of a general peace. William III., unable to resist the clamours of the English and Dutch merchants, who had suffered ruinously from the war, at length consented to treat; the proffered mediation of Sweden was accepted, and a congress of all the great powers was opened at Ryswick, a village near the Hague, on the 9th of May, 1697.

The first of the two treaties of Ryswick, between France, England, Spain, and Holland, was signed on the 30th of September, 1697. France restored to Spain her conquests in Catalonia, and surrendered likewise the duchy of Luxemburg, together with the towns of Charleroi, Mons, Ath, and Cambrai. Commercial arrangements were made between France and Holland. Perhaps the most important article was that by which Louis acknowledged William III. as King of England, and engaged to give no further countenance to the pretensions or adherents of James. A month afterwards the Emperor Leopold, though with great and evident reluctance, ordered his envoys to sign the conditions of peace. France relinquished to him all her acquisitions made since the treaty of Nimeguen, including Friburg. Brisach, Philipsburg, and other towns and fortresses on the right bank of the Rhine; Strass-

burg, however, was ceded to Louis in full sovereignty. Finally, the Duke of Lorraine was reinstated in his dominions, after an exile which had lasted twenty-seven years. The acceptance of such terms must have wounded in no slight degree the pride and self-love of the vainglorious Louis; but so wretched was the condition of the French people at that moment, that peace had become an absolute necessity. There was, moreover, another consideration which powerfully influenced his conduct. Charles II. of Spain. after languishing through a reign of some length in sickness, melancholy, and imbecility, was now evidently near his end. The crisis for which Louis had been preparing during thirty years was thus approaching. The King of Spain was childless, and his splendid inheritance would necessarily become the object of a fierce competition among several claimants. In these circumstances it was essential to Louis to disembarrass himself of the great European coalition, so as to be free to act when the moment for action arrived. The Emperor Leopold, on the other hand, was anxious to protract the war; hoping that so long as France was occupied in repelling hostile armies from her own frontiers she would be disabled from enforcing her ambitious pretensions to the reversion of the Spanish monarchy. The politic counsels, however, of Louis prevailed; and the closing years of the seventeenth century found Europe in a state of universal peace.



Louis XIV., the Great. (From the painting of Rigaud in the Louvre)

CHAPTER XX.

REIGN OF LOUIS XIV. CONCLUDED. HI. FROM THE PEACE OF RYSWICK TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS. A.D. 1697-1715.

§ 1. Circumstances which led to the War of the Spanish Succession. § 2. The Treaties of Partition; will of Charles II. in favour of the Duke of Anjou; death of the King of Spain. § 3. Duke of Anjou recognised as King of Spain; second Grand Alliance; Marlborough; Eugene; the Pensionary Heinsius; Louis and his generals. § 4. Campaign in 1702; naval fight in the Bay of Vigo. § 5. Campaign of Villars in Germany (1703); battle of Hochstedt; unsuccessful

operations of the Duke of Savoy; Duke of Savoy joins the Allies. δ 6. Villars sent against the Camisards. δ 7. Campaign of 1704; battles of Donauwerth and Blenheim; capture of Gibraltar by the English. § 8. Campaign of 1706; battle of Ramillies; defeat of the French before Turin; loss of Lombardy. § 9. The war in Spain; battle of Almanza; ruinous expenses of the war; battle of Oudenarde. § 10. Dreadful sufferings in France; unsuccessful negotiations for peace; battle of Malplaquet; victories of Brihuega and Villa-viciosa. δ 11. Change of ministry in England; conferences opened at Utrecht; preliminaries of peace signed; successes of Villars in Flanders; battle of Denain. § 12. Death of the dauphin, of the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, and the Duke of Bretagne; particulars of the Treaty of Utrecht. § 13. Results of the War of the Succession; last illness and death of Louis XIV. § 14. The "Age of Louis XIV.;" celebrated characters; the Jansenists; Port Royal; dispute of the Regale; Gallican propositions on the pope's supremacy. § 15. Renewal of the Jansenist controversy; condemnation of Quesnel; the Bull Unigenitus; destruction of Port Royal; the Quietists.

§ 1. The decline of Spain was a matter of great importance to Europe. and various claimants for the succession of Charles II. appeared. In default of the direct posterity of Charles II., his successor was naturally to be sought for among the descendants of the sovereions immediately preceding. Of the two daughters of Philip IV., the elder, Maria Theresa, had been married to Louis XIV., the younger, Margarita, to the Emperor Leopold. The issue of the French marriage, therefore, was clearly entitled to inherit in preference to that of the Austrian match; and the rights of the dauphin, as representing his mother, were on this ground incontestable. Maria Theresa, however, had solemnly renounced, both for herself and her descendants, all claim whatever to the royal inheritance of her father—a renunciation which had been stipulated for the express purpose of preventing the possible union of the crowns of France and Spain in the House of Bourbon. No such act had been demanded on the marriage of the younger sister; and hence it was contended that in her issue, according to all law and justice, lay the true line of succession. The daughter of the empress married the Elector of Bavaria, and had since died, leaving an infant son, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria. Accordingly, this child was generally regarded both by the court and the people of Spain as the legitimate heir of the monarchy. In fact, Charles, acting under the dictation of his mother, executed, so early as the year 1696. a will bequeathing his whole dominions to the young Bavarian prince, his nephew.

There was yet a third candidate, namely, the Emperor Leopold himself, who alleged that the Bavarian claim was void, in virtue of

a renunciation similar to that of Maria Theresa, exacted from the electress on her marriage; and that, consequently, the Spanish succession devolved upon himself, in right of his mother, a daughter of King Philip III. Other arguments were not wanting to support these views, such as the importance of preserving intact the long-descended possessions of both branches of the house of Austria, and the danger of permitting any increase in the already over-grown power of a sovereign like Louis XIV. The emperor, however, waived his personal claims and those of his heir-apparent in favour of his second son, the Archduke Charles.

Louis XIV., on his part, continued to maintain against all opponents that Maria Theresa's resignation of her claims was altogether invalid, inasmuch as the condition on which it depended, namely, the payment of her dowry, had never been fulfilled. He therefore firmly insisted on the rights of the dauphin, as manifest and unassailable.

§ 2. Charles II., however, had a deep-rooted dislike to France, and could not endure the notion of a French prince as his successor. His queen, Maria-Anne of Neuburg, a sister of the empress, exercised complete control over her feeble husband, and was entirely in the Austrian interest; and it appears that she succeeded in persuading Charles to destroy the testament already made in favour of the Prince of Bavaria, and to intimate to the court of Vienna that none but a member of the imperial family would be named to the succession. Louis saw that his chance of complete success was very doubtful, but hoped by means of skilful intrigue to make sure of at least some part of the spoil. He addressed himself, immediately after the peace of Ryswick, to William of England, and proposed to him a scheme of compromise on the Spanish question, professedly designed to preserve the balance of European power and avert the outbreak of another ruinous war. This overture was accepted by William; the negotiations were conducted with the utmost secreey by Lord Portland, Count Tallard, and the Dutch pensionary Heinsius; and the first Treaty of Partition, as it was called, was signed at the Hague on the 11th of October, 1698, by which it was arranged that the Spanish dominions should be divided, on the death of Charles, among the three competitors. Spain, with the whole of her American dependencies, and the Spanish Netherlands, were assigned to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria; the dauphin was to have the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, certain seaports in Tuscany, and the border-province of Guipuzcoa, which possessions were to be united to the crown of France; lastly, the duchy of Milan fell to the share of the Archduke Charles. Information of this treaty, notwithstanding all the precautions of its authors, was soon transmitted to Madrid; and

CLAIMS TO THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

(1.) CLAIM OF FRANCE.

Louis XIV. = Maria Theresa, d. of Philip IV. of Spain.

Louis, dauphin = Maria Anna of Bavaria.

Louis, duke of Burgundy.

Philip, duke of Anjou.
King of Spain as Philip V.,
Nov., 1700.

Charles, duke of Berry.

(2.) CLAIM OF BAVARIA.

Leopold I., emperor = Maria Margarita, younger d. of Philip IV. of Spain.

Maria Antonia, archduchess = Maximilian, elector of Bavaria.

Joseph Ferdinand, electoral prince of Bavaria, declared heir to the Spanish throne, 1698; ob. Feb. 6, 1699.

(3.) CLAIM OF AUSTRIA.

Maria Anna, younger d. of = Ferdinand III., emperor.
Philip III. of Spain.

Leopold I., emperor = Maria Margarita, d. of Philip IV.

Joseph I., emperor, 1705.

Charles Francis Joseph, declared king of Spain, 1700; emperor, 1711. Charles, indignant at the attempt to dismember his dominions without his consent or knowledge, immediately signed, under the direction of the Cardinal-Primate Portocarrero, a deed by which he declared the Prince of Bavaria universal heir of the monarchy. But this proceeding had scarcely been made known when the young prince suddenly died at Brussels, on the 6th of February, 1699; and both the Partition Treaty and the estamentary arrangement of Charles were thus alike rendered of no effect.

Louis and William now agreed upon a second treaty (March, 1700), by which Spain and the Indies were to descend to the Austrian archduke, while France, in addition to the Italian kingdoms, was to receive the duchy of Lorraine, the Duke of Lorraine accepting the Milanese in exchange. Meanwhile the dying King of Spain remained in a miserable state of vacillation and resentment. His own feelings strongly leaned towards the house of Austria; but the dexterity of the Marquis d'Harcourt, the French ambassador, had drawn over to the interests of Louis both Cardinal Portocarrero and several other members of the Spanish cabinet, and neutralised to a great extent the hostile influence of the queen. French counsels predominated henceforward in the royal chamber. By the advice of Portocarrero and the papal legate, Charles applied for a final solution of his difficulties to the court of Rome; and Innocent XII. gave a decided answer in favour of the claims of the House of Bourbon, as being most consonant with the true interests of Spain and with the intentions of Philip IV. The king, who was now sinking rapidly, yielded to these representations, and caused a will to be drawn up by which he designated as his universal heir and successor his "nearest relation after those who might be called to the throne of France;" namely, Philip, Duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin. Within a month after this important transaction Charles II. breathed his last (November 1. 1700).

§ 3. For some days it remained doubtful whether Louis would accept the throne of Spain for his grandson, or adhere to his engagements with William in the Treaty of Partition. Of the members of the council, the Duc de Beauvilliers was in favour of maintaining the treaty; but Torcy, nephew of the great Colbert, argued powerfully for the contrary opinion, pointing out that, since war was in either case inevitable, it was obviously better to take a course which would place at the command of France the enormous resources of such a monarchy as Spain.* Louis was convinced by this reasoning, and decided to accept the will. He presented the

^{*} Such is the account given by Torcy in his Memoirs. St. Simon relates it differently.

Duke of Anjou to the court as King of Spain, and the young prince was immediately proclaimed at Madrid as Philip V. "Quelle joie," exclaimed the Spanish ambassador, when he heard Louis's decision, "Il n'y a plus de Pyrénées!" On the 4th of December Philip set out from Versailles to take possession of his new dominions.

The title of Philip was recognised without opposition throughout the vast territories of the Spanish empire; and several foreign powers, including England and Holland, formally acquiesced in his elevation. The emperor protested, and prepared for war. Europe. however, was at this moment so strongly disinclined to a renewal of hostilities, that a rupture might perhaps have been avoided had not Louis himself, by several imprudent and irritating measures. provoked a fresh coalition of his enemies, which kindled a still more terrible conflagration than had ever vet been witnessed on the Continent. In February, 1701, French troops were suddenly introduced into all the frontier fortresses of the Netherlands, displacing the Dutch garrisons established under the treaty of Ryswick. England and Holland remonstrated, but without obtaining satisfaction; and William immediately commenced warlike preparations. Louis was also unwise enough to announce by letters patent that the new King of Spain would retain his right of succession to the crown of France in the event of failure of male descendants from his elder brother. There was also a general fear in England that the united French and Spanish navies would combine against English commerce, and check English trade in South America and the Mediterranean. Louis also committed another great political mistake on the death of James II., in September, 1701, by recognising his son, the Pretender, as King of England, contrary to his express engagements with William at the peace of Ryswick. This last step was equivalent to a declaration of war. The second "Grand Alliance" was forthwith signed at the Hague, between England, the emperor, Holland, the Elector of Brandenburg (recently become King of Prussia), and the Elector Palatine; the objects of which were stated to be the procuring of reasonable satisfaction to the emperor with regard to the Spanish succession; the establishment of Spanish Flanders as a barrier between France and Holland; an effectual guarantee against the union of the crowns of Spain and France in the person of the same sovereign; the protection of English and Dutch commerce, and the cession of the Milanese and the Italian dominions of Spain to the emperor.

Hostilities had already broken out in Lombardy, where the French commanders Catinat and Villeroi were worsted in several engagements by the imperialists under Prince Eugene. Before the season arrived for entering on another campaign, the cause of the allies had sustained a severe loss in the death of William III. of England,

FRANCE.

who expired on the 8th of March, 1702. The influence of his genius, however, survived. Queen Anne announced that she purposed to follow out strictly the foreign policy of her predecessor. Marlborough was named generalissimo of the allied forces, and the course of the subsequent war was mainly directed by him, with the assistance of Eugene of Savoy, who was all-powerful with the emperor, and the Pensionary Heinsius, whose counsels were paramount in Holland.

Louis, on his part, possessed at this moment neither statesmen nor generals of the first order. Although considerably advanced in years, he still affected, as usual, to originate and direct everything in person; but now that Colbert, Louvois, Seignelay, and Luxemburg were gone, he had few able subordinates. His only able minister was the Marquis de Torcy, secretary of state. The two great charges of comptroller of finance and minister of war were united in the hands of Chamillart, an upright and wellintentioned, but narrow-minded and incapable protégé of Madame de Maintenon. Of the generals, Catinat was in disgrace on account of his ill success in the last campaign in Italy; Boufflers was brave. spirited, and experienced, but incompetent to cope with Marlborough; the Duc de Vendôme was a highly talented commander, but naturally slothful and luxurious; Villars, however, now commencing his career, was a thorough soldier of the school of Turenne and Luxemburg, and possessed, moreover, great political capacity: his good qualities, however, were disfigured by an overweening vanity.

Louis determined to turn Spain into a useful ally, and for that purpose he resolved to direct her policy and organize her administration from Paris. Till 1709 he endeavoured to carry out this almost superhuman task with his characteristic energy, and succeeded in checking the decline of Spain, in giving her able ministers, and in preparing the way for Alberoni and his successors.

§ 4. In the campaign of 1702 Marlborough assumed the chief command of the allies; and carried on a series of admirable manceuvres, in which the French marshal Boufflers was completely outgeneralled, and compelled eventually to abandon the whole line of the Meuse. Venloo, Stephanswerth, and Ruremonde opened their gates in succession, and the city of Liége was carried by assault on the 23rd of October.

In Italy and Germany the campaign was not marked by any decisive event; but England had now resumed her traditional superiority on her own element, and the maritime operations of the year were disastrous to France. The allies under Admiral Rooke attacked Cadiz unsuccessfully; but on the 22nd of October, 1702, their fleet encountered that of France and Spain under Château-

Renaud in the bay of Vigo; after a hard-fought engagement the French admiral set fire to his ships to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy; the English, however, captured no less than twenty, among which were several richly freighted galleons just arrived from America. This was a heavy blow both to the commercial wealth of Spain and to the naval power of France. The treasure taken on board the galleons exceeded in value seven million pieces of eight.

§ 5. The year 1703 is remarkable for the masterly campaign of Marshal Villars in Germany. He passed the Rhine, advanced rapidly into the valley of the Danube, and effected a junction with the Elector of Bavaria near Duttlingen. Villars now proposed to the elector the daring plan of carrying the war into the heart of the Austrian empire, and marching straight upon Vienna. Had the counsels of the French marshal been followed, a blow might have been struck which would have proved decisive in its consequences on the fortunes of the war; but the elector shrank from the hazards of so bold an enterprise, and determined on an invasion of the Tyrol. The elector made himself master of Innsbrück: but the warlike people of that country, on recovering from their first alarm, attacked him so vigorously that he was compelled to beat a speedy retreat, which was the more necessary as the imperialists had already crossed the Bayarian border and were menacing Munich. Their army was in two grand divisions, one under the Prince of Baden, the other under Count Styrum; Villars, by a skilful movement, interposed himself between them, and engaged Styrum on the 20th of September in the plain of Hochstedt, near Donauwerth. Here, after an obstinate contest, the French were completely victorious, the enemy being driven from the field with a loss of 10,000 men. After this great success Villars again urged the elector to join him in an invasion of Austria. On being met by a second refusal the marshal in disgust solicited Louis to recall him, and was replaced by Marshal Marsin. Some months later the elector was at length persuaded to make the attempt recommended by Villars. He marched upon Passau, and gained possession of it in two days; but it was now the depth of winter, and his further operations were impeded by the rigour of the season. He deferred his purpose till another year, and returned to Munich. The lost opportunity, however, did not again present itself.

Whatever advantages France obtained in the field were more than counterbalanced by the defection of the Duke of Savoy, which was openly avowed by a treaty signed by the emperor on the 25th of October. The accession of Portugal to the hostile league was secured about the same time by the famous Methuen treaty, and the allies were thus enabled to command at any moment a ready entrance for their armies into the Peninsula.

- § 6. Villars, on his return from Germany, was charged by Louis with the inglorious mission of quelling the insurrection of the Protestants among the Cevennes mountains, on the borders of Languedoc. Harassed by grinding oppression, and excited by their fanatical preachers, the Cévénots had rushed wildly to arms, and under the name of Camisards,* had maintained themselves successfully against the royal troops, displaying dauntless courage, and sometimes considerable skill, in the defence of their mountain homes. Marshal Montrevel was sent against them with 20,000 men, but his cruelties only drove the suffering population to the fury of despair, and he totally failed in suppressing the revolt. Villars followed a different system: he negotiated with the Camisard chieftain. Cavalier, prevailed on him to make his submission, and procured for him the appointment of colonel in the royal service. At the same time he proceeded rigorously against all who resisted by force of arms. By this mixture of firmness and clemency Villars was enabled, by the close of the year 1704, to reduce to obedience the greater part of the insurgent districts. The leaders, for the most part, made their peace with the government, and were permitted to retire to Geneva. The peasants were encouraged to remain and rebuild their ruined habitations by being exempted from all taxes for three years. It was not, however, till the year 1710 that this formidable rebellion was finally extinguished.
- § 7. The threatened invasion of the empire determined the allies to concentrate their efforts in that direction; and Germany became again the principal theatre of war in the campaign of 1704. Marlborough crossed the Neckar on the 4th of June, and united himself with the imperialists under Prince Eugene. Their opponents, the Elector of Bayaria and the three French marshals Villeroi, Tallard, and Marsin, were considerably superior in numbers, but their movements were badly combined, and Villeroi, hampered by the injudicious orders of Louis, was detained in the Palatinate with his whole division, and never reached the decisive scene of action. The first engagement took place near Donauwerth on the 2nd of July; here the elector and Marshal Marsin, after a terrible carnage, were totally defeated and driven back upon Augsburg. Tallard having joined them, they resumed the offensive with about 56,000 men, crossed the Danube, and took up a strong position between the villages of Blenheim and Lutzingen, their centre occupying Hochstadt. The memorable battle of BLENHEIM was fought on the 13th of August, 1704. Tallard, who commanded the right wing of the French, was

^{*} From the white shirt or jacket which they wore, in order to recognise each other by night.

in a great measure isolated from the rest of the army, and the allies therefore directed their main attack upon the post at Blenheim. After a protracted and murderous conflict it was at length forced, and Marlborough established himself upon the heights, completely severing the two divisions of the French army. Prince Eugene, after a struggle of some hours, was equally successful against the elector and Marsin on the left, and the rout now became total and irretrievable. Tallard was taken prisoner; the elector and Marsin fled in terrible disorder to Ulm, where they could not succeed in rallying more than 20,000 men. Twelve thousand at least had been killed in action; thousands more were wounded; numbers were drowned in the Danube; and a corps of 12,000 men, who had never come into action, being cooped up in the village of Blenheim, surrendered prisoners of war. The consequences of this defeat were more disastrous than the defeat itself. Marsin having rejoined Villeroi, the French army hastily crossed to the left bank of the Rhine, abandoning Germany to the conquerors; the Elector of Bayaria fled from his dominions, and took shelter in the Netherlands; the empire was completely delivered from all danger of invasion, and Louis had even reason to be anxious for the security of his own frontiers.

The events of the war in Spain were scarcely less unpropitious to the cause of France. Admiral Rooke reduced Gibraltar in August, 1704. The French fleet made every effort to recover that important key of the Mediterranean, and a desperate battle took place off Velez-Malaga, but without decisive result. Gibraltar remained permanently in the possession of the English. The Archduke Charles, now proclaimed by the allies King of Spain as Charles III., landed in Portugal, and, after some successes in Estramadura, sailed in the English fleet for Barcelona. That city, besieged by the celebrated Earl of Peterborough, capitulated in October, 1705, and the sovereignty of Charles was almost immediately acknowledged throughout Catalonia, Aragon, and Valencia.

§ 8. In Italy Vendôme inflicted a severe defeat on Prince Eugene at Cassano, in August, 1705, and routed the imperialists a second time at Calcinato, in April, 1706. He was preparing to follow up these victories by the siege of Turin, when he suddenly received orders to repair to Flanders, where the allies had taken the field with overwhelming numbers under Marlborough. The great battle of Ramillies, however, was fought and lost before Vendôme could arrive. Villeroi had committed gross blunders in the disposition of his army, of which Marlborough availed himself with fatal effect; the result was that in less than half an hour the French were thrown into utter confusion, and fled from the field with the loss of 13,000 men (May 23rd, 1706). This disaster entailed the

conquest of the whole of Brabant and the greater part of Flanders. The enemy entered Brussels, where Charles III. was immediately proclaimed; Antwerp, Ghent, Ostend, Menin, Dendermonde, Ath, submitted in the course of a few weeks.

Louis received the news of these disheartening reverses with unmoved composure. His behaviour to Villeroi was magnanimous. "Monsieur le Maréchal," said the king, when he made his appearance at Versailles, "at our age one is no longer fortunate."

The operations in Italy this year were no less calamitous to France than those of the Low Countries. Upon the departure of Vendôme the command was entrusted jointly to the young Duke of Orleans, nephew of Louis, and Marshal Marsin. The French under the Duke de la Feuillade had invested Turin; the imperialists, commanded by Prince Eugene and the Duke of Savoy, boldly advanced to relieve the capital. Marsin, overruling his colleague by virtue of a special commission from the king, stubbornly determined to await the enemy in his lines. Here, in the battle of Turin, the French were furiously assaulted on the 7th of September, and, after a gallant resistance, were driven from their entrenchments in irremediable confusion. Marsin, heading a desperate charge, was killed; the Duke of Orleans was severely wounded; the army was seized with panic, lost all discipline, abandoned the whole train of siege artillery to the enemy, and fled to the Alps. All the towns of Lombardy instantly submitted to the victors, and Charles III. was proclaimed at Milan. By the convention of Milan, signed in March, 1707, the French agreed to an immediate evacuation of the whole of Northern Italy; and the triumph of the imperialists in the Peninsula was completed three months later by the reduction of Naples and the recognition of the Austrian prince throughout that kingdom.

§ 9. Rapid fluctuations took place at this period in the fortunes of the two competitors for the throne of Spain. In 1706 the allies seemed to be carrying all before them; the English fleet reduced Alicante and Carthagena; the army under Lord Galway captured Ciudad-Rodrigo and Alcantara, and marched upon Madrid. Philip fled precipitately to Burgos, and his rival was proclaimed in the capital on the 24th of June. The partisans of the House of Bourbon were in despair; and it was seriously proposed at Versailles that Philip should abandon Spain and retire to reign over the distant possessions of that crown in America. Louis, however, with his usual courage, rejected this advice, and determined to redouble his exertions to maintain his grandson on the throne. With the beginning of the year 1707 the face of affairs entirely changed. Philip re-entered Madrid amid general acclamations; and the decisive battle of Almanza. won by the Duke of Berwick over the Anglo-

Portuguese under Lord Galway and the Marquess das Minas, triumphantly established the Bourbon cause.

Louis was also encouraged by successes of his generals in other quarters. An invasion of France by the frontier of Provence, under Eugene and the Duke of Savoy, signally failed; and the allies were forced to retire from Toulon by Marshal Tessé, after sacrificing upwards of 10,000 men. About the same time Villars performed one of his most masterly exploits by breaking through the lines of Stolhoffen, hitherto deemed impregnable. Vendôme, by the exercise of rare skill and prudence, was enabled to keep Marlborough in check, during the same campaign, in the Low Countries. But these were only momentary gleams of good fortune. The expense of such a war was prodigious, and the financial situation of France had become seriously alarming. Every means of raising money was exhausted-loans at ruinous interest, the creation of new and frivolous offices, assignments on the revenue of future years, vexatious taxes, immense issues of paper currency. The nation groaned under such burdens, and popular clamour ran so high that it was necessary to dismiss the finance minister Chamillard, and to name as his successor Desmarets, a nephew of the great Colbert. His measures, however, were precisely of the same character, and the embarrassments of the state only became more and more overwhelming.

In 1708 the allies resumed the offensive in the Netherlands, and gained a great victory over the Duke of Burgundy and Vendôme at Oudenarde on the 11th of July. By this success the northern frontier of France was laid open to invasion; the victors entered Artois and Picardy, and besieged Lille, which, though nobly defended by the veteran Boufflers, capitulated on the 22nd of October. Ghent

and Bruges surrendered shortly afterwards.

§ 10. The following winter was one of unprecedented rigour. Even the impetuous waters of the Rhone were frozen over. Labour and commerce were almost totally suspended; all kinds of provisions rose to famine prices; and the distress and sufferings of the poorer population were indescribably harrowing. Violent manifestations of discontent broke forth against the government; and Louis, deeply mortified and humbled, was induced to open negotiations for peace. His overtures were met with almost scornful haughtiness, and demands were made which he could hardly accept without the sacrifice of honour. The allies insisted that Louis should dethrone his grandson and acknowledge Charles as King of Spain, all members of the Bourbon family being for ever excluded from the succession. They also required the immediate cession of Strassburg, Brisach, Landau, Lille, and several other places of the first importance. Notwithstanding his urgent necessities, Louis refused to

descend to such a depth of humiliation. He made an energetic appeal to the patriotism of the nation, which produced an enthusiastic response, all classes protesting that they would rather perish than accept a peace under such conditions. War therefore continued, and incredible exertions were made in France to prosecute it with effect. The king and many of the nobility sent their plate to the mint; thirty-five millions, in gold and silver bullion, were obtained from the Spanish colonies in the West Indies; a heavy requisition of corn was made upon the provinces for the subsistence of the army; and most of the ordinary taxes were anticipated for eight years in succession. Two hundred and twenty millions of livres were provided by these means for the service of the year.

Villars was wisely named to the command in Flanders, where, as usual, the most important operations were expected. The gallant Boufflers, though considerably senior to Villars, offered his services as second in command; and the two marshals, with a force of about 90,000 men, directed their march against the allies under Marlborough, who, after capturing Tournay, was menacing the fortress of Mons. It was in the neighbourhood of that place. at Malplaquer, that the most terrible and obstinately-contested battle of the whole war was fought on the 11th of September, 1709. Villars received a severe wound and was compelled to quit the field. which no doubt contributed in great measure to the defeat of the French; the retreat, however, was conducted in perfect order by Boufflers on Valenciennes; and the loss on the side of the allies, amounting to 20,000 men, was considerably greater than that of the beaten army. Villars wrote to his master that another such defeat would deliver France from all danger of further hostilities from the Grand Alliance.

The battle of Malplaquet was followed by renewed diplomatic conferences at Gertruydenberg, near Breda, in which the French commissioners went so far as to offer to subsidize the allied armies acting against Philip V. in Spain, and to surrender the whole of Alsace to the emperor. But even these degrading terms were rejected; the allies demanded, as a preliminary to any arrangement, that Louis should join them in enforcing, by arms if necessary, the absolute renunciation by Philip of the Spanish crown, with the whole of its dependencies. This outrageous proposition once more destroyed the hopes of peace. "If I must make war," said Louis, "I prefer fighting against my enemies to fighting against my own children."

This determination to support the throne of his grandson was rewarded by two brilliant victories in Spain in the following year. Charles III. had a second time forced his way to Madrid, but soon found it impossible to maintain himself in possession, and commenced a retreat towards Barcelona. Vendôme, who had been sent to command the French, marched in pursuit, and surprised the English general, Stanhope, at Brihuega on the 9th of December, 1710, when, after a whole day's desperate fighting, the town was forced, and the entire British division surrendered prisoners of war. Two days afterwards Vendôme attacked the main army of the imperialists, under Charles and Count Staremberg, at Villa-viciosa, and overthrew them with immense slaughter. Their broken squadrons fled in disorder to the Ebro, and Philip found himself once more seated on the throne, of which he was ere long to obtain acknowledged and peaceable possession.

§ 11. Two unexpected occurrences now took place, which paved the way for an accommodation, and eventually brought to a close this sanguinary and exhausting conflict. The first was the dismissal of the Whig ministry of Godolphin in England, which was succeeded, in August, 1710, by that of Harley and St. John, declared and bitter enemies of Marlborough. Mrs. Masham, the rival of the Duchess of Marlborough, replaced her at the same time in the position of the queen's confidential favourite; and a complete reversal of the great commander's policy was evidently at hand. Immediately on their accession to power, the new ministers opened a secret correspondence with the secretary Torcy; and it was soon arranged that a general European congress should meet at Utrecht. The second circumstance alluded to as tending in the same direction was the death of the Emperor Joseph I., whose nearest relative, in default of direct issue, was the Archduke Charles, the pretender to the crown of Spain. That prince immediately took his departure for Germany, where he soon after ascended the imperial throne as Charles VI. This materially altered the views and interests of the allies, who were as little disposed to see the Spanish sceptre united with that of the empire as with that of the house of Bourbon. England, at all events, now considered herself fully justified in withdrawing from the coalition. The parliament and the nation expressed their concurrence in the pacific disposition of the ministry, and the negotiation with the court of France accordingly proceeded. The British envoys proposed that Philip V. should be left in possession of his kingdom, but under an express proviso that the crowns of France and Spain should never be worn by the same sovereign. They demanded, moreover, that Naples and the Milanese should be separated from the Spanish monarchy and ceded to the house of Austria; that Louis should recognise Queen Anne and the Protestant succession according to the Act of Settlement, and exclude the Pretender and his family from France; and that Gibraltar, Port Mahon, Newfoundland,

Acadia, and Hudson's Bay should be made over to England. To these terms—reasonable and even advantageous in comparison with those which the Dutch had attempted to extort two years before—Louis gave his assent, and the preliminaries of peace were signed in London on the 8th of October, 1711.

Hostilities meanwhile were not discontinued. It was in 1711 that Marlborough fought his last campaign, which was signalized by two of his most remarkable successes—the forcing of the entrenched camp established by Villars at Arleux, and the capture of Bouchain. He was now recalled to England, stripped of his command and all his offices, and even charged before parliament with wholesale peculation and embezzlement.

The emperor and other powers loudly complained that England had betrayed the allied cause, and for a long time absolutely refused to treat for peace. In consequence, although the congress was actually opened at Utrecht in January, 1712, another campaign ensued between Prince Eugene and Villars. Lord Ormond commanded an English contingent, but had received secret orders to abstain from undertaking any serious operations. The French marshal once more proved himself a perfect master of the strategic art. Eugene besieged Landrecies; Villars deceived him by a false attack on that point, while he directed his main army upon Marchiennes and Denain, forced the post of Lord Albemarle at the latter place, and either destroyed or made prisoners his whole division, consisting of seventeen battalions. This success was followed by the recapture of Douai, Le Quesnoy, and Bouchain; and security was thus restored upon the northern border of France, lately in such imminent danger. The result of the campaign revived the hopes and confidence of Louis, and had a considerable effect on the proceedings of the negotiators at Utrecht.

§ 12. Melancholy events occurred during the progress of the conferences in the family of the King of France, which had also an important bearing on the course of public affairs. The Dauphin, the only legitimate son of Louis, died in April, 1711, and was succeeded as heir to the throne by the Duke of Burgundy, a prince of whom the nation had formed high expectations as the pupil of the admirable Fénélon. The young dauphiness, Adelaide of Savoy, whose graces had made her the idol of the king and the whole court, was suddenly attacked by malignant fever, which carried her off in February, 1712; her husband followed her to the grave within a week; and their eldest child, the Duke of Brittany, died about a month afterwards. The life of a sickly infant, the Duke of Anjou, now alone interposed between Philip of Spain and the French throne, and, unless peace should be concluded without delay, the allies saw that the two crowns might after all be not improbably

united, and thus the main object for which they had expended so much blood and treasure would be frustrated. This argument, together with the recent triumphs of Villars, and the known determination of Great Britain to secede from the league, at length prevailed; and, after much tedious opposition, the Peace of Utrecht was signed by the plenipotentiaries of France, England, Holland, Portugal, Prussia, and Savoy, on the 11th of April, 1713. Its chief provisions have been already mentioned; but it was stipulated in addition that the Spanish Netherlands, as well as Naples, Milan, and Sardinia, should be ceded to the emperor; and that a line of frontier fortresses, extending from Furnes on the sea-coast to Charleroi and Namur, should be garrisoned by the Dutch, as a perpetual barrier between France and the Low Countries. The fortifications of Dunkirk were to be demolished, and Lille, Aire, Bethune, and Saint Venant, were restored to Louis in compensation. The island of Sicily was assigned to the Duke of Savoy, who now assumed the title of king. Great Britain acquired from France, Newfoundland, Acadia, and Hudson's Bay; and from Spain, Gibraltar, Minorca, the privilege of the asiento, or monopoly for providing the Spanish colonies with slaves from Africa, with other lucrative commercial advantages.

The emperor still obstinately refused his adhesion to the treaty; and France was thus compelled to sustain another campaign, which was conducted with great success by Villars in the Palatinate. Austria soon found it impossible to protract the war without the support of her allies; and, after the reduction of Spires, Worms, Landau, and Freiburg, negotiations were opened between the generals, which resulted in the conclusion of peace with the emperor at Rastadt, and with the German princes at Baden, in March and

September, 1714.

§ 13. The powers which profited most, both materially and morally, by the peace of Utrecht were Austria and Great Britain, especially the latter; notwithstanding which the treaty was severely censured in England, both in and out of parliament, as incommensurate with the results which the allies had a right to expect from their great military successes. In France it was considered matter of congratulation, after such terrible reverses and sufferings, that she had been able to preserve her independence and the integrity of her frontiers. The illusory visions of the earlier part of the reign had been rudely dispelled; and Louis, instead of maintaining his lofty position as the arbiter of Europe, was glad to accept a humiliating peace, signed at a moment when the internal condition of his kingdom was such as to excite the most gloomy and distressing apprehensions. The close of the war left the national credit at the lowest ebb. The public debt amounted to eighty-six

millions sterling—an immense sum at the then value of money. The annual revenue was mortgaged for years to come; bankruptcy seemed inevitable, and, indeed, took place to a considerable extent. Agriculture, industry, manufactures, were reduced to a miserable state of depression; the labouring classes were perishing by thousands of disease and famine. Such were the domestic results of the calamitous War of the Succession; to counterbalance which Louis could only reckon one solitary advantage, that of having established a prince of the House of Bourbon on the throne of Spain—a throne which was now despoiled of some of its outlying possessions.

The health of Louis had been sensibly impaired by the multiplied anxieties and misfortunes of his later years. Repeated bereavements had left his palace desolate; he lived in melancholy retirement, entirely governed in domestic matters by Madame de Maintenon and his confessor Le Tellier. His great-grandson, the Duke of Anjou, now the heir of the monarchy, was a child of five years old, of feeble constitution, and apparently unlikely to attain to manhood. Under these circumstances Louis caused his two sons by Madame de Montespan, the Duc de Maine and the Comte de Toulouse, to be declared legitimate, and placed in the line of succession to the throne in case of failure of princes of the blood. He also appointed, by testament, a council of regency, of which the Duke of Orleans was named president, and intrusted the guardianship and education of the youthful heir to the Duc de Maine. Soon after making these arrangements Louis was attacked by a malady which confined him to his chamber, but was not at first considered to be mortal. In the course of a fortnight, however, symptoms of gangrene appeared in one of his legs; and the king, perceiving that his days were numbered, prepared for death. Causing the young dauphin to be brought to his bedside, the dying king gave him a few words of admirable counsel, exhorting him to remember his responsibility to God, to cultivate peace with his neighbours, to avoid extravagant expense, and to study to the utmost the comfort and well-being of his people. Madame de Maintenon, worn out by fatigue, withdrew to St. Cyr, and was not present at the closing scene. Louis was left in his last moments to the physicians, the priests, and his ordinary attendants. After rallying several times for brief intervals, he breathed his last on the morning of the 1st of September, 1715, at the age of seventy-seven. His reign, the longest on record, had occupied seventy-two years.

§ 14. The so-called "Age of Louis XIV." is even more memorable for its brilliance in literature, science, and art, than for its political and military triumphs. This, however, is a subject which cannot be treated, even in the scantiest outline, within the compass

of the present work. The student must learn from other sources to appreciate the dramatic genius of Corneille, Boileau, Molière, and Racine; the profound reasonings of Pascal and Malebranche; the vast erudition of Mabillon and Ducange; the ethical wisdom of Nicole, La Bruyère, and La Rochefoucauld; the fervid and sublime oratory of Bossuet, Fénélon, Bourdaloue, Massillon, and Fléchier. Nor can we do more than chronicle the names of the eminent painters Poussin, Le Sueur, Claude Lorrain, Lebrun, and Mignard; of the architects Mansart and Perrault; of the sculptor Puget; of the composer Lulli.

We must, however, briefly notice the religious controversies and ecclesiastical history of this eventful reign, which are of more than usual interest. The opinions of Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, on the mysterious doctrines of grace, predestination, and free will, found numerous supporters in France, the chief of whom was the famous Duvergier de Hauranne, Abbot of St. Cyran. The Jansenists rapidly increased in influence, and fixed their head-quarters at the monastery of Port Royal, between Versailles and Chevreuse, which has been immortalized by the fame of its illustrious inmates, Arnauld, Pascal, de Saey, Nicole, and Lancelot. The Jesuits, however, who took the opposite view of the questions in dispute, were predominant in the Church of France; and during the ministry of Mazarin they obtained from Popes Innocent X. and Alexander VII. a condemnation of certain propositions extracted from the writings of Jansenius. The Jansenists resisted this, alleging that the censured propositions were not to be found in the work referred to; the Pope replied by imposing on the whole clergy a form of declaration accepting the condemnation without reserve. A violent controversy followed. in the course of which Pascal published his celebrated "Lettres Provinciales," a sarcastic and crushing attack upon the moral system of the Jesuits, from which they have never recovered. At length, by the wise management of Pope Clement IX., the recusants were persuaded to a modified acceptance of the papal decision; and a reconciliation took place in 1668, which is commonly known as the "Peace of Clement IX." The Jansenists, however, continued to flourish, and acquired considerable political influence; for, the court having espoused the Jesuit side, the opposite faction was the natural resort of all who were disaffected to the government. The Duchess of Longueville, the heroine of the Fronde, was during the later years of her life one of its most ardent partisans.

During the intervals of the Jansenist controversy, the affair of the "Régale" gave rise to a serious misunderstanding between Louis XIV. and the court of Rome. This was the right claimed by the king to present to all the benefices in a diocese during the vacancy of the see, and to dispose of the episcopal revenues until the new bishop had taken the oath of allegiance. Two of the French prelates opposed these pretensions, and were supported by Pope Innocent XI. Upon this Louis convoked an assembly of the clergy in 1682, which drew up, chiefly under the influence of Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, four propositions, strongly asserting that the pope has no right to meddle with the State in matters temporal—that his power must be limited by the ecclesiastical canons—that his decrees are not authoritative nor infallible without the assent of a general council-and that he cannot ordain anything contrary to the constitutions and liberties of the Gallican Church. The pope censured these propositions, and caused them to be publicly burnt at Rome; he also refused the bulls of institution to all bishops who adhered to them; and at one time a third of the whole number of dioceses in France were held by prelates who, although enjoying their revenues, were incapable of executing any episcopal function. An arrangement was at length effected in 1693; the bishops wrote separately to the pope, expressing their grief at the proceedings of the assembly of 1682; and the king retracted an edict by which he had sanctioned the four articles as law. With this qualified submission the pope declared himself content, and peace was restored. But the famous propositions of 1682 have nevertheless continued to be appealed to in France from that time to the present, and are regarded as expressing the Gallican view of the pope's supremacy, in contradistinction to the Ultramontane.

§ 15. The Jansenist dispute was revived in 1693 by the appearance of a work by Quesnel, a priest of the Oratory, entitled Réflexions Morales sur le Nouveau Testament, which was reported to contain heterodox doctrine. Le Tellier, the Jesuit confessor of Louis, persuaded the king to appeal to the pope against this publication; and its condemnation was easily procured from Clement XI. Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, a patron of Quesnel, refused to receive the papal brief; and the affair continued to be violently agitated on both sides. After many vain attempts to settle the quarrel, the Jesuits succeeded in extorting from Clement the memorable bull "Unigenitus," dated September 8, 1713, which specified and condemned a long list of propositions quoted from the "Réflexions Morales," as conveying false doctrine in a covert and plausible manner, and forbade the faithful to hold or encourage them under pain of excommunication. This proceeding convulsed the Church and realm of France from one end to the other, and threatened to produce the most calamitous consequences. Louis insisted on the immediate and unqualified recognition of the bull; the archbishop and other prelates declined compliance, and were forthwith banished from court. Louis and his advisers resolved to proceed to extreme measures of persecution against the protesting party; and the Jansenists, of all professions and classes, were subjected to imprisonment, confiscation, and every species of oppression. It is even said that a lettre de cachet was actually signed for arresting the Cardinal de Noailles, and was only suspended by the illness and death of the king.

A few years previously, in 1709, Le Tellier had obtained from Louis a decree for the total suppression and demolition of the convent of Port Royal des Champs. This cruel mandate was carried into execution with the most inexorable rigour. A lieutenant of police, with a body of soldiers, expelled the nuns forcibly from their cloister, and distributed them in other houses about the country. The building was then razed to the ground; the church was brutally profaned, the sacred relics torn from the altar, the bodies disinterred from the cemetery, and every trace of the establishment destroyed,—the very soil being abandoned to the plough.

Great agitation was created about the same time by the doctrines of the sect of mystics called Quietists, which had obtained currency in France through the influence of the celebrated Madame Guyon. Complaints were made to the pope against a work of the excellent Fénélon, Archbishop of Cambrai, entitled, Maximes des Saints sur la Vie Intérieure, which was said to favour these opinions. Bossuet was his chief opponent, and wrote with vehement animosity against him. Fénélon's book was condemned by a papal brief in March, 1699; and the prelate, with saintly humility, accepted the decision without reserve, read the brief from the pulpit of his cathedral, and declared that he abjured from the heart the opinions censured. Madame Guyon, a woman of great genius and deep piety, but of visionary, enthusiastic temper, continued, nevertheless. to propagate her views, and gained a wonderful ascendency over several persons of high station. She was in consequence arrested and imprisoned at Vincennes, and, after remaining there some years, was transferred to the Bastille, but was at length restored to liberty in 1705.

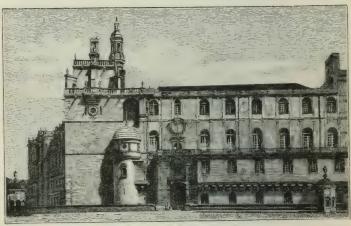
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

AUTHORITIES FOR THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.

history for this period is the Memoirs of Regent Duke of Orleans in 1723. The the Duke of Saint Simon. This work, author died in 1757. The Memoirs of the though abounding with idle gossip, will Marquis de Dangeau, of the minister always preserve its reputation and autho-

rity, from the high position of its author, , his general fidelity and accuracy, and his remarkable power of delineating individual The principal source of contemporary character. It extends to the death of the of Marshal Villars, are full of important information. See also the Life of Madame de Maintenon, by the Duke of Noailles. Other works are Lemontey, Essai sur Lefevre-Pontalis, Reynald, Courcy, and l'Etablissement Monarchique de Louis XIV.; Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV.; Anquêtil, Louis XIV., sa Cour, et le France. Régent; Cheruel, De l'Administration de

of Madame de Sevigne Retz, Choisy, and Louis XIV. See also the general histories of Martin and Ranke, together with the works of Rousset, Mignet, the Duc d'Aumale, Lavallée, Legrelle, Baudrillard, many others. A full list is given in Monod's Bibliographie de l'Histoire de



St. Germains, residence of James II. of England.



Caricatures, rudely painted on plates of coarse pottery, spread Revolutionary views among a peasantry who could neither read nor write.

CHAPTER XXI.

REIGN OF LOUIS XV. I. FROM THE REGENCY OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS TO THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, A.D. 1715-1748.

§ 1. Regency of the Duke of Orleans; his character; financial reforms; the "chambre ardente." § 2. The Abbé Dubois; alliance between France and England; the Quadruple Alliance opposed by Philip of Spain. § 3. Conspiracy of Cellamare; war with Spain; fall of Alberoni; Spain accepts the Quadruple Treaty. § 4. Schemes of the financier Law; the Royal Bank; the Mississippi Company; total failure of Law's system; national bankruptcy. § 5. Dubois named Cardinal and Archbishop of Cambrai; majority of Louis XV.; death of the Duke of Orleans and of Dubois. & 6. Ministry of the Duke of Bourbon; marriage of Louis to Maria Leczynski. § 7. Resentment of Philip of Spain; the Pragmatic Sanction; dismissal of the Duke of Bourbon; Fleury prime minister. § 8. Prudent and peaceful administration of Fleury; Treaty of Seville. § 9. Disputes arising from the Bull Unigenitus; collision between the parlement and the crown; persecution of the Jansenists; the "Convulsionnaires." δ 10. Stanislas Leczynski elected King of Poland; France supports him against Russia; war with Austria; death of the Duke of Berwick and of Marshal Villars; Peace of Vienna. § 11. Death of the Emperor Charles VI.; War of the Austrian Succession; calamitous retreat of Marshal Belleisle from Prague. § 12. Death of Cardinal Fleury; the Duchess of Châteauroux; battle of Dettingen; Louis XV. joins his army; dangerous illness of the king at Metz. § 13. Death FRANCE. 2 E

of the Emperor Charles VII.; ineffectual overtures for peace; battle of Fontenoy; Marshal Saxe conquers Belgium; war with Holland; battle of Lawfeld. § 14. Hostilities in the East Indies; La Bourdonnais and Dupleix; siege of Pondicherry. § 15. Maestricht surrenders to Marshal Saxe; Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

§ 1. The late king had predicted that his will would be treated as so much waste paper. Such was literally its fate. The parlement scarcely went through the form of reading it; and, without any discussion, the Duke of Orleans was appointed regent unconditionally. The Duc de Maine made no attempt to resist; he was deprived of the guardianship of the young king, and of the superintendence of his household, but was permitted to keep the direction of his education.

The new regent, Philip Duke of Orleans, had married one of the illegitimate daughters of Louis XIV. He possessed great abilities, personal courage, and an amiable, generous temper; he was deeply interested in the new ideas of the century, and possessed many and varied accomplishments; but at the same time he was totally destitute of religious and moral principle, and was always inclined to lead an indolent and dissolute life. His example had a most pernicious effect upon the tone of society in France.

Having named his council of regency, the principal members of which were the Duc de Bourbon, the Duc de Maine, Marshal Villeroi, and the Duc de Saint Simon, the regent intrusted the departments of the administration to seven councils, or committees, composed of ten members each, selected chiefly from the nobility.* At the head of the council of "conscience," or ecclesiastical affairs, was the Cardinal de Noailles. He immediately banished the Jesuit Le Tellier and others of his order, and appointed the excellent and learned Abbé de Fleury! to the office of confessor to the young king. The lettres de cachet were at the same time strictly examined, and the doors of the Bastille were thrown open to numbers of unfortunate captives, many of whom had been confined for causes altogether unknown.

Other important measures followed. The parlement of Paris recovered its rights of registration and remonstrance which had been suppressed by Louis XIV. A considerable reduction was effected in the army. With a view to remedy the disorder which prevailed in the finances, a new coinage was issued. A special court of justice, or "chambre ardente," was created for the verification of all claims upon the government by the fermiers généraux

* These councils were abolished two years afterwards.

† Fleury, the Church historian, —not to be confounded with the Bishop of Frejus, afterwards cardinal and prime minister.

and other public creditors. After an inquiry extending over twenty-seven years past, the names of no less than four thousand five hundred heads of families were published as guilty of frauds upon the treasury. Eventually most of the convicted debtors were released upon payment of a very small part of the amount first demanded; and not more than a third of the whole sum expected from the scheme was actually realized. The "chambre ardente" was suppressed in March, 1717.

§ 2. The foreign policy of the regency took a very different turn from that which France had pursued during the later years of the reign of Louis XIV. The man who exercised the greatest ascendency over the Duke of Orleans was the Abbé Dubois, who had formerly been his preceptor. Dubois, though deficient in character, was gifted with extraordinary shrewdness and penetration, and had a special taste for foreign politics. The regent, in spite of the entreaties of the duchess, his mother, who dreaded the abbé's influence, appointed Dubois a councillor of state, and soon afterwards secretary for foreign affairs; and he became, in fact, all

powerful as long as the regency lasted.

Philip V. of Spain cherished a deep hatred against his cousin the regent; he fully believed the imputations which had branded him. as accessory to the death of the dauphin and other members of his family: he contested his right to the regency; and, further, in case of the death of Louis XV., he designed to usurp the succession to the French throne, in opposition both to the claims of the regent and to his own solemn oath of renunciation. It was in order to counteract this danger from the side of Spain that Dubois cultivated the friendship of the House of Hanover, which was in like manner threatened by the pretender and the Jacobites, enemies still formidable, notwithstanding the defeat of their recent attempt in Scotland. Mutual interest, urged with consummate skill by Dubois, soon brought the two parties to an understanding; and by his agency a treaty of triple alliance between England, France, and Holland was signed at the Hague in January, 1717. The contracting powers guaranteed the succession to the crowns of France and Spain according to the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht; France engaged to expel the pretender and his adherents from her territories, and to demolish, in addition to Dunkirk, the important fortifications of Mardyke. Thus the system of Louis XIV. was entirely reversed; the ministry of the regent leagued itself with the ancient foe of France, while it offended a power which, by the will of Charles II. and the establishment of a Bourbon at Madrid, had become its natural ally. The Triple Alliance, never popular in France, was of great advantage to the regent, enabling him successfully to oppose his enemies at home. France was no longer isolated in Europe,

and, with England, helped to maintain peace for some sixteen

vears.

Philip V. was at this time absolutely governed by his second wife, Elizabeth Farnese, and by the Italian adventurer Alberoni, whose genius had raised him to the post of prime minister and the dignity of cardinal. Alberoni was bent upon the project of re-establishing the ancient ascendency and prosperity of Spain; and he was especially determined to restore to Spain her lost possessions in Italy. He was aware that England and France were willing to allow Austria to exchange Sardinia for Sicily, a gross breach of the Treaty of Utrecht, seeing that Spain had the reversion to Sicily, and he naturally opposed these intrigues. An outrage offered by the emperor to one of the Spanish envoys in Italy precipitated the impending rupture: 9000 Spaniards landed in Sardinia in August, 1717, and in less than three months completed the conquest of the island. An attempt was now made by France and England to obtain the acquiescence of Spain in the views of the coalition; but Alberoni rejected the proposal, and in July, 1718, despatched a second fleet and army to attack the island of Sicily. Upon this Great Britain interfered, and sent a powerful armament to oppose the Spaniards, although war had not been actually proclaimed; a battle was fought off Cape Passaro, and the Spanish fleet was annihilated (August 11th). The emperor had already joined the Triple Alliance, which now became the Quadruple Alliance (August 2nd), Charles VI. exchanged Sardinia for Sicily, and renounced his claims in the Spanish monarchy. The King of Sicily received the title of King of Sardinia, with reversion to the crown of Spain, while Elizabeth Farnese's claims on Parma, Piacenza, and Tuscany were recognised. Spain refused to accede to the Quadruple Alliance; war became inevitable, and Alberoni hoped, by negotiations with Charles XII. of Sweden, Peter the Great of Russia, and with the opponents of the Regent Orleans in France, as well as with the Jacobites in England, to hamper his enemies and defeat their schemes. But all his plans failed. Charles XII. was killed in December, and the temporary friendship between Russia and Sweden was dissolved. A Jacobite expedition to Scotland in 1719 was entirely unsuccessful, and his attempts to overthrow the regent by means of the so-called conspiracy of Cellamare were easily upset.

§ 3. The Prince Cellamare, the ambassador of Spain at Paris, was in close correspondence with many of the malcontent French nobility, who were headed by the Duke and Duchess of Maine. A plot was organized for carrying off the regent into Spain, and placing Philip V. at the head of the French government. Assistance was expected from Brittany, which was then in agitation in

consequence of an attempt against the ancient privileges of the province; and a fleet was actually despatched from Spain to support the insurrection. The confederates; however, were betrayed to Dubois; an agent of Cellamare was seized at Poitiers on his way to Madrid; and despatches of which he was the bearer fully compromised all the principal parties to the scheme. Cellamare was at once arrested, and conducted to the frontier under a strong guard; the Duke and Duchess of Maine were imprisoned, together with numbers of their partisans; and the conspiracy was completely crushed. Some needless severities took place in Brittany, and much hostile feeling was excited against Spain, of which Dubois failed not to take advantage. The regent and the council adopted his views, and France declared war against Spain on the 10th of January, 1719. England had taken the same step a few days previously.

The Duke of Berwick, at the head of 40,000 men, crossed the Spanish frontier, and, after destroying a large quantity of shipping in the harbour of Passages, reduced the towns of Fontarabia and San Sebastian. In concert with an English squadron which cruised off the coast, the French afterwards burnt several large ships of war at Santona, "in order," as Berwick wrote to the regent, "to prove to the British parliament that no exertion had been spared to cripple the Spanish navy." This war, in fact, tended far more to promote and confirm the maritime supremacy of England than to advance the interests of France. Meanwhile an Austrian army, embarked in British vessels, made a descent upon Sicily, and the Spaniards, after a gallant but ineffectual defence of Messina, gave way, and evacuated the island. Discouraged by these defeats, Philip solicited terms of peace. The allies exacted, as a preliminary condition. the dismissal of Alberoni; and in December, 1719, that great minister was suddenly deprived of all his offices, and ordered to quit Madrid within eight days. In February, 1720, Philip signified his acceptance of the terms of the Quadruple Treaty. He renounced Sicily and Sardinia; and by way of indemnity, the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Tuscany, in the event of the death of the present possessors without heirs, were promised to Don Carlos, the eldest son of Philip by his second marriage.

In 1721 marriage alliances were arranged between France and Spain, the eldest daughter of the Duke of Orleans marrying, in 1722, Don Luis, the heir-apparent to the Spanish throne, while the Infanta, who was to marry Louis XV., took up her residence in France.

During these years, in the North of Europe, Charles XII. of Sweden was at war with a coalition composed of Hanover, Denmark, Russia, Poland, and Prussia. Peter the Great had, in 1717, visited Paris, hoping to secure French alliance; but he failed in his object owing to the opposition of Dubois. After Charles XII.'s death, Sweden made peace with all her foes, except Russia. In 1720-1721 France and England interposed to mediate a peace between Peter the Great of Russia and the King of Sweden; and by the treaty of Nystad (September, 1721) tranquillity was once more restored throughout Europe.

§ 4. While France was squandering her revenues in a war from which she derived no advantage, the financial condition of the kingdom, notwithstanding all the expedients resorted to, had become more and more disastrous. The public debt continued to increase; the deficit amounted to ninety-seven millions of livres; commerce was at a standstill, and the nation seemed on the verge of ruin. At this crisis the regent was induced to listen to the proposals of a Scotch adventurer named John Law, who, having been exiled in consequence of a duel, had passed some years on the Continent, and had made a considerable fortune at the gaming-table. The principle of Law's system was that of multiplying the resources of the state by an indefinite issue of paper-money, which was to be substituted for the precious metals as the circulating medium. Gold and silver, he argued, have no real, but only a conventional value; the supply of them is limited, and cannot be increased at pleasure. If then their value can be transferred to paper, which can easily be issued to any desired amount, it is evident that national wealth may be augmented to an almost inconceivable extent. Law accordingly proposed to the Regent to establish, on the credit of the government, a royal bank, with an unlimited paper currency, and by the profits of its operations to reduce and gradually extinguish the liabilities of the state. The bank was opened in 1716, but at first only as a private enterprise. Its success was rapid and complete; and in December, 1718, the regent converted it into a royal bank, the state becoming the proprietor of the whole of its 1200 shares.

The next step was to set on foot, and associate with the bank, a gigantic mercantile speculation, called the Mississippi or West India Company, which possessed the exclusive right of trading with Louisiana in America, and other priv leges. The public mind was inflamed by reports of the inexhaustible riches of the Indies, and of the discovery of gold and diamond mines in those remote colonies. The project was embraced with feverish ardour; the shares of the company rose in value with surprising rapidity, and by September, 1719, were worth 5000 each instead of 500 francs, at which they were originally issued. The demand still increased, and 100,000 new shares were created to meet it, which, by an express enactment, were to be purchased not with coin, but with

lank-notes. The government paper thus obtained an immense premium. The regent now granted to the company a lease of the public taxes, in return for which the company lent him twelve hundred millions of francs towards paying the debts of the state. The interest of this loan was three per cent., instead of four, which had been paid hitherto; this difference then was in favour of the regent; and the public creditor was henceforth paid not in cash. but with the shares of the India Company, taken at their present fabulous market-price. In October the shares reached the preposterous price of 10,000 francs, twenty times their original value; it is even said that at last they were not to be purchased under 18,000 or 20,000 francs. Enormous fortunes were realized during the height of the ferment by speculators of all classes—from princes, generals, and prelates, down to petty shopkcepers, clerks, and servants. But a reaction was inevitable. Such was the rage for obtaining the bank-paper, that Law found himself unable to control its issue: its circulation was increased to the portentous amount of three thousand millions of francs, whereas the whole value of the metallic coinage existing in France did not exceed seven hundred millions. Towards the close of 1719 suspicion began to gain ground as to the solvency both of the bank and of the company; and many of the largest shareholders prudently converted their shares and notes into investments in money, jewels, and landed property. The Prince of Conti gave the signal for this assault upon the public credit, by extorting from the bank three cartloads of silver in exchange for his bank-notes. Every exertion was now made by the regent and Law to arrest the downward movement, but in vain. Money payments were forbidden for sums above 100 francs; the currency of the bank-notes was made obligatory, and at last all payments in specie were prohibited. Violent means were adopted to enforce these decrees; but it was impossible to stem the tide of reaction; the public confidence was shaken more and more every day, and the hollowness of the whole system soon became so manifest that an universal panic ensued. On the 21st of May, 1720, an edict appeared which amounted to an act of national bankruptcy; it reduced both the company's shares and the notes of the bank to one-half their nominal value. Such was the general exasperation produced by this measure, that the regent revoked it shortly afterwards. But this extraordinary delusion was now finally dispelled; a rush was made upon the bank to obtain cash for its paper, and on the 13th of July it was compelled to suspend payments. The notes soon became almost worthless; in October they were altogether withdrawn from circulation; and the fabric constructed by Law crumbled at once into ruin. He himself escaped with difficulty with his life from the fury of the populace, and, carrying with him the mere wreck of his fortune, retired

to Venice, where he died in abject poverty a few years afterwards

The financial condition of France was a perfect chacs. A commission was appointed, under the direction of the four brothers Paris, to investigate and liquidate the claims of the bank creditors, multitudes of whom were left without the means of procuring the necessaries of life, and were dving of hunger. It was found that six thousand millions of the discredited notes were scattered over the kingdom; only about a third of that amount was presented to undergo the operation of the visa; a large proportion of this residue was disallowed by the commission; and the conclusion was that seventeen hundred millions were reimbursed to the holders, partly in cash, and partly by mortgages on the taxes and other government securities. The national debt, which the scheme of Law had undertaken to abolish altogether, now proved to have augmented to no less than six hundred and twenty-five millions of francs. On the other hand, the improved management and increased value of the taxes had raised the revenue of the state from sixty-nine to one hundred and twenty-three millions.

Notwithstanding this catastrophe, which involved in ruin thousands of families in all ranks, the system of credit which was first introduced by Law obtained a permanent hold upon the public mind, and brought about an important change in the nature of commercial and mercantile transactions throughout Europe.

§ 5. Little more remains to be recorded during the regency of the Duke of Orleans. That prince allowed Dubois to monopolize the whole power of government. The reactions of the early years of his regency had spent itself. The councils of the nobles had been suppressed; the parlement of Paris had in 1720 been exiled; the Jansenists were again persecuted, and, through the influence of Dubois, the Jesuits were once more supreme. Not satisfied with being named prime minister, Dubois demanded and obtained from the regent the archbishopric of Cambrai. The clergy seem to have made no opposition to this scandalous appointment; and one of the two bishops who testified to the qualifications of the candidate was the celebrated Massillon of Clermont. A year later the new archbishop was nominated to a seat in the Roman conclave. This elevation was the reward of his good services to the papal court in the matter of the bull Unigenitus. Notwithstanding the opposition of several bishops and a large body of the clergy, backed by the University of Paris, Dubois forced the reluctant parlement to register the obnoxious edict, and this famous constitution was thus acknowledged as the law of the church and the realm.

Louis XV. attained his legal majority in February, 1723; upon

which the Duke of Orleans resigned the regency, and became president of the council of state, which also included the Duc de Bourbon, Cardinal Dubois, and Fleury, Bishop of Fréjus, the king's preceptor. Louis was now betrothed to the youthful Infanta of Spain, eldest daughter of Philip V., and the princess arrived in France, where her education was to be conducted. Dubois was suddenly cut short in the enjoyment of his full-blown honours. and expired on the 10th of August, 1723. The Duke of Orleans succeeded nominally to the office of prime minister, but he manifested a total indifference to the course of public affairs. Fortunately for the state, the duke survived Dubois but a few months. He was carried off by a fit of apoplexy, on the 2nd of December, 1723, at the age of forty-nine. In spite of its many defects, the rule of Orleans was beneficial to France. The system of Louis XIV. had been practically destroyed, a new world had been opened to Frenchmen, while in foreign politics success had attended the diplomacy of Dubois.

§ 6. Fleury might now with ease have made himself prime minister, but either from modesty or policy he declined to come forward; and the reins of government fell into the hands of the Duc de Bourbon, first prince of the blood, and the lineal heir of the great Condé. The duke was incapable and indolent, and under the absolute dominion of his mistress, the Marquise de Prie. She was governed in her turn by a clever but unscrupulous financier named Paris Duvernay, one of those who had directed the operations of the visa after the disaster of Law.

The principal event during the Duc de Bourbon's tenure of office was the marriage of Louis XV., which led to some singular complications. The Infanta of Spain had been accepted as the future Queen of France, and had been brought to Paris for her education. She was, however, ten years younger than the king, and a long period must necessarily elapse before the completion of the union. Louis gave signs of feeble health, and his advisers, anxious for an arrangement which might provide a direct successor to the throne, determined abruptly to break off the Spanish match, and marry the king elsewhere with the least possible delay. Philip V. had offended Madame de Prie, by declining to appoint her husband a grandee of Spain, and she now seized the tempting opportunity of revenging the affront. The young princess was sent back to Madrid, without even the courtesy of an excuse, in January, 1725; and the indignation of Philip and his court may be more easily imagined than described.

The duke and his mistress, in spite of the efforts of Catherine, the Tsarina, to put forward her daughter Elizabeth, selected as the consort of Louis the daughter of Stanislas Leczynski, the dethroned King of Poland, who at that time was living in Alsace on a small pension allowed him by the French government. Their purpose in this step was simply to preserve and consolidate their own power; since the new queen would naturally be bound by strong ties of gratitude to those who had procured her elevation. No opposition being made either by Louis or his preceptor Fleury, Maria Leczynski was conducted immediately to court, and the royal nuptials were celebrated at Fontainebleau on the 4th of

September, 1725.

§ 7. The insult which Philip had received from France hastened an immediate and not unnatural change in his foreign policy. He reconciled himself to his ancient rival Charles VI. of Austria, and a treaty, ably negotiated by the famous minister Ripperdá, was concluded between the two powers in May, 1725, which amounted to an alliance offensive and defensive against France and England. Philip guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, by which the emperor secured the Austrian succession to his daughters in default of male issue, and recognized the Ostend East India Company; while Charles agreed to cede his claims to the Italian duchies, and promised his aid in obtaining from England, by force if necessary, the restitution of Gibraltar and Minorca. This combination led to a counter-alliance between France, England, and Prussia, known as the League of Hanover; while in November the secret portion of the Treaty of Vienna was signed. Marriages were arranged between the two Austrian archduchesses and Don Carlos and Don Philip, and it was understood that, in case the French were overthrown, France was to be partitioned. Sweden, Denmark, and Holland joined the League of Hanover, and Russia, on August 25, 1725, signed a treaty with Austria. Europe was divided between two hostile camps, and a European war seemed inevitable.

The maladministration of the Duke of Bourbon soon occasioned a change of government in France. Duvernay had reduced the value of the coinage, and at the same time lowered the rate of interest; he re-established the unpopular impost of the "joyous entry," which was leased at twenty-three millions of francs; and a tax of a fiftieth levied upon all landed property, including even that of the privileged orders, the nobility and clergy, exposed the ministry to the hatred of the noble class. The immediate cause of the Duc de Bourbon's disgrace was an attempt which he made to supplant Fleury in the royal favour. Fleury, on discovering this intrigue, instantly retired to his country house at Issy, intimating to the king that he found himself precluded from taking any further part in public affairs with advantage to his service. Louis, who was sincerely attached to the bishop, ordered the duke to recall Fleury, who accordingly reappeared at court. Conscious of

his power, he now insisted on the dismissal of Madame de Prie and Duvernay; the former was exiled into Normandy, the latter imprisoned in the Bastille. Shortly afterwards, on the 11th of June, 1726, the king, on leaving Versailles for Rambouillet, invited the Duke of Bourbon to follow him, and bade him, with a gracious smile, "not to be late for supper." No sooner was Louis gone than a royal order was presented to the duke commanding him to retire forthwith to his domain at Chantilly. Bourbon obeyed in silence, and from that moment his power was at an end. Fleury, who was seventy-three years of age, was immediately named his successor.

§ 8. Fleury, who was raised without delay to the rank of a cardinal, governed France till his death in 1743. During his administration France repaired her losses, extended her commerce, and increased immensely in wealth and general prosperity. He had no sympathy with the ideas which characterized the early years of the regency of Orleans, but rather inclined to those held by Louis XIV. He was in favour of peace and good administration. By a system of strict economy he materially reduced the public burdens. The obnoxious tax of the fiftieth was abolished, the tailles diminished, and the value of the coinage permanently regulated, the mark of silver being fixed at 51 livres. Confidence was gradually restored, and the national credit re-established. The revenue steadily augmented, until at length no less than 140 millions of francs were annually paid into the treasury.

Fleury exerted himself successfully to prevent a fresh outbreak of hostilities in Europe. Philip of Spain and his queen were determined upon war; and without any formal announcement of hostilities, a Spanish fleet and army besieged Gibraltar in February. 1727. Fleury threw the whole weight of his influence in favour of peace, and in May the Spaniards signed the preliminaries of a treaty. The death of George I. of England roused afresh the hopes of Spain; but Fleury never wavered in his policy, and in March. 1728, the war came to an end. Austria had given her ally no assistance, and Elizabeth Farnese was furious with Charles VI. She realized that by alliance with France and England lay her only chance of securing the Italian duchies for Don Carlos. A treaty was signed at Seville on the 9th of November, 1729, between France, Great Britain, and Spain. The contracting parties guaranteed the integrity of the possessions of the three crowns in every part of the world; and in particular, France and England engaged to maintain the succession of the Infant Don Carlos to Parma, Piacenza, and Tuscany—the darling object of the ambition of Elizabeth Farnese. On the other hand, Gibraltar and Minorca were tacitly abandoned to Great Britain.

In January, 1731, the Duke of Parma died, and the emperor, now isolated, resolved to resist the Spanish occupation of the duchy. War was only averted by Walpole's offer to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction. In March, 1731, Charles VI. signed treaties with England, Holland, and Spain at Vienna, by which he promised to make no further resistance to the occupation of the Italian duchies by the Spaniards, upon condition that the Pragmatic Sanction should be formally guaranteed by Great Britain and Holland. He further gave George II. formal investiture of Bremen and Verden, and agreed to suspend the Ostend East India Company. Early in 1732 Don Carlos, who was acknowledged at the same time as presumptive heir to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the last of the Medici, entered into quiet possession of Parma.

The above arrangements, known as the Second Treaty of Vienna, seemed to assure peace to disturbed Europe. The friendship of England and France was undisturbed, and the ambitions of Elizabeth

Farnese had been practically satisfied.

§ 9. Notwithstanding the compulsory acceptance of the bull Unigenitus in France, the Jansenist controversy was by no means wholly extinguished. The Bishop of Senez, having published a pastoral in opposition to the bull, was suspended by a provincial council at Embrun, and banished from his diocese. This stirred up fresh agitation; the middle classes throughout the country sided strongly with the Jansenists, and eagerly seized every opportunity of testifying their opinion. In 1730 Louis XV. proceeded to hold a bed of justice in the parlement; and in spite of the opposition of two-thirds of the members, enforced a second registration of the papal edict. The parlement, however, met the next day, and drew up protests and remonstrances; and a few months later, on the occasion of a somewhat violent "mandement" of the new Archbishop of Paris, the same body issued a decree asserting, in exaggerated terms, the doctrines of the council of 1682 on the independence of the temporal power. This edict was immediately cancelled by the council of state. The parlement refused to submit, and attempted to expostulate with the king in person at Marly; Louis, however, declined to receive them. Four of the refractory magistrates were now taken into custody and sentenced to banishment; upon this their colleagues refused to proceed with the administration of justice, and the greater part tendered their resignation. Fleury endeavoured to accommodate matters, and most of the councillors after a time returned to Paris; but instead of resuming the official business of their courts, they spent their time in framing fresh petitions of remonstrance. A royal order of August 18, 1732, forbade them to receive appeals upon the matters in dispute, and enjoined them to recommence their judicial duties. They returned a positive refusal,

affirming that it was impossible to execute the king's declaration. Lettres de cachet were therefore issued, which exiled the offenders from Paris, and confined them in different parts of France.

§ 10. The peace of Europe was disturbed in 1733 by complications which arose upon the death of Frederick Augustus II., Elector of Saxony and King of Poland. Stanislas Leczynski was invited by his adherents to assert his claims to the vacant throne. He accepted the summons, although the renunciation of his rights had been made an express condition on the marriage of his daughter with the King of France; proceeded to Warsaw, and, no less than 60,000 Poles having recorded their votes in his favour, the Diet solemnly proclaimed him king. But Russia, Austria, and Denmark were arrayed in arms against him; Stanislas appealed for support to France; and Fleury, notwithstanding his pacific disposition, could not refuse assistance to the father-in-law of Louis. Instead, however, of aiding him largely and effectually, the French minister contented himself with sending Stanislas a subsidy of three millions of livres, a few ships, and three battalions to the Baltic. An attempt to raise the siege of Danzig, then attacked by the Russians, failed. Had Fleury secured the active co-operation of the Turks, the independence of Poland might have been preserved. But the Turks refused to move unless a defensive league was made with France, and Fleury, a prince of the Church, hesitated to ally with the infidel. Much valuable time was wasted; Fleury failed to grasp the situation. On the 2nd of July, 1734, Danzig capitulated to the Russians, Stanislas fled, the Russians occupied Poland, and Augustus III., son of the late king, was crowned at Cracow.

France having once embarked in war, a powerful party, headed by Chauvelin, the minister for foreign affairs, urged its prosecution on an extended scale in other quarters. In concert with the cabinets of Madrid and Turin, it was resolved to expel the Austrians from Italy, and establish Don Carlos on the throne of the Two Sicilies, and Don Philip in Parma, Piacenza, and Tuscany. The duchy of Milan was to be annexed to Piedmont, so as to constitute a kingdom of Lombardy; and Savoy was to be ceded in return to France. A treaty was signed at Turin with Sardinia on the 26th of September, and on the 7th of November the secret treaty of the Escurial, known as the Family Compact, was concluded with Spain. By the latter it was arranged that France and Spain should offer a united opposition to the colonial development of England and to the emperors, and that Gibraltar should be recovered. Having secured the neutrality of England and Holland, the confederates declared war against the emperor in October, 1733; and armies were at once directed upon the Alps and the Rhine, the former commanded by the veteran Villars, the latter

by the Duke of Berwick. Prince Eugene was opposed to Berwick. In 1734 the duke commenced the siege of Philipsburg, but lost his life by a cannon-ball while examining the progress of the operations from the top of one of the trenches (June 12, 1734). The campaign of this year was fatal to the French commanders. Villars, who, at the age of eighty-two, had displayed all the energy of a young general, carried all before him in the Milanese, and was preparing to pursue the imperialists beyond the Po, when he fell ill, and expired at Turin within a week after the Duke of Berwick had fallen at Philipsburg. Marshal Coigny, who succeeded to the command, fought a great battle with the Austrians near Parma, on the 29th of June, which, after tremendous slaughter on both sides, terminated without certain result. Other engagements followed, but the campaign concluded indecisively.

Meanwhile an army of 20,000 Spaniards entered the territory of Naples, and, supported by a fleet, marched with little or no opposition upon the capital. Don Carlos made his solemn entry into the city on the 15th of May, 1734, and took undisputed possession of the throne of the Two Sicilies. Within six months the Bourbons were

in possession of the whole of the Neapolitan monarchy.

In the north of Italy, jealousy between the Sardinians and the Spaniards hindered the latter from taking Mantua, and suddenly it was announced that Fleury, without consulting his allies, had agreed to a suspension of arms in February, 1735. In the following October the preliminaries of peace were signed at Vienna. By this treaty the emperor ceded Naples and Sicily to Don Carlos, receiving Tuscany, Parma, and Piacenza in exchange. Stanislas Leczynski, in return for his abdication of the throne of Poland, was invested with the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, which after his death were to be annexed to the crown of France. The Duke of Lorraine, in compensation, was to succeed to the ducal throne of Tuscany on the death of the present possessor. A few places in the Milanese were granted to the King of Sardinia; and lastly, the emperor obtained, as the price of his concessions, a joint guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction by the crowns of France, Spain, and Sardinia. Nearly three years passed before the provisions of this treaty were completely executed. The Duke of Lorraine, who had married the Archduchess Maria Theresa, heiress of the house of Austria, was put in possession of the duchy of Tuscany in July, 1737; and the definitive Treaty of Vienna was signed on the 18th of November, 1738.

§ 11. For several years, from the cessation of hostilities in 1735, the government of Fleury pursued its usual peaceful course; but in 1739 an unfortunate quarrel between Great Britain and Spain, arising from the contraband trade carried on by the former power with the Spanish Λmerican colonies, threatened once more to drag

France into war. Sir Robert Walpole was forced by popular feeling to declare war with Spain in October, 1739; Fleury laboured earnestly, but unsuccessfully, to mediate between the hostile parties; and upon the capture of Portobello by the English Admiral Vernon, Spain formally demanded the armed assistance of France, in conformity with the terms of their alliance. The union which had just taken place between a French princess and one of the sons of the King of Spain made it more difficult to resist this appeal. Fleury, however, unwilling to sacrifice his long-standing friendship with England, still attempted to negotiate; but while affairs remained in this precarious state, the death of the Emperor Charles VI., on the 20th of October, 1740, roused fresh and dangerous elements of discord, and led to an embroilment which

became general throughout Europe.

Notwithstanding the positive engagements by which the hereditary possessions of the house of Austria had been so recently guaranteed to the Archduchess Maria Theresa, the rights of that princess were now vehemently contested by all the great powers of Europe, with the exception of Great Britain. No less than five princes—the Elector of Bavaria, the King of Spain, the Elector of Saxony, the King of Sardinia, and the King of Prussia-laid claim to different portions of the Austrian empire; and France, although she demanded nothing for herself, was bound, by a promise made by Louis XIV. at the peace of Utrecht, to support the young Elector of Bavaria as a candidate for the imperial crown. Fleury was now an extremely old man. Besieged on all sides by warlike clamour, he lacked the courage and firmness to resist; and at length, yielding to the national impulse, he signed a treaty of alliance with the Elector of Bavaria in May, 1741, which was followed soon afterwards by a secret compact with the most formidable of the opponents of the young archduchess, the ambitious Frederick II. of Prussia. The confederates projected a partition of the Austrian dominions, by which Maria Theresa was to be reduced to Hungary, Austria Proper, and the Netherlands, while the remainder of the empire was to be divided between the sovereigns of Bavaria, Prussia, and Spain. Frederick of Prussia, taking advantage of the defenceless position of Maria Theresa, had already overrun the Austrian province of Silesia, and had distinguished himself by the great victory of Mollwitz (April 10).

The Franco-Bavarians crossed the Austrian frontier in September, 1741, and in the course of a few days made themselves masters of Linz, Passau, and other places in the valley of the Danube; their advanced parties were even pushed within a few leagues of the gates of Vienna. The Prussians at the same moment penetrated into Moravia, while the Elector of Saxony invaded Bohemia. The

house of Austria seemed doomed to ruin. At this crisis the young Queen of Hungary displayed an intrepidity worthy of her illustrious race. She repaired to the Hungarian Diet at Presburg. harangued the assembly in pathetic and stirring language, and commended herself, her children, and the cause of the empire, to their well-known patriotism, fidelity, and courage. The gallant Magyars responded with enthusiasm, waving their sabres, and shouting, "We will die for our king Maria Theresa!" The population rose as one man, and, the movement spreading into Croatia and Dalmatia, a powerful army was soon marshalled for the defence of the empire. The Elector of Bavaria, instead of marching upon Vienna, had turned aside into Bohemia; he took possession of Prague, and was crowned in that city in November. He next proceeded to Frankfort, where the diet proclaimed him emperor, by the title of Charles VII., on the 24th of January, 1742. But meanwhile the forces of Maria Theresa had occupied Munich (February 12, 1742). Subsidized by England, the empress-queen made peace with Frederick in June, 1742, at Breslau, and advanced to the succour of Prague. The French army, commanded by Marshals de Belleisle and Broglie, was at length compelled to evacuate this city, and retreat across the mountains to Egra. After enduring terrible sufferings and losses, the survivors, reduced from 50,000 to 12,000 men, regained the French frontier in the beginning of January, 1743.

§ 12. Shortly after this disastrous repulse of the French arms, Cardinal Fleury expired at Issy in his ninetieth year, on the 29th of January, 1743. He had retained office too long for his credit; the latter part of his administration was marked by feebleness and incapacity; and the exhausting conflict in which he left France involved was imputed to his want of vigour and determination. Louis XV. now affected, after the example of his predecessor, to take the government into his own hands, and consequently appointed no prime minister. Till the appointment of the Marquis d'Argenson in November, 1744, the Marshal de Noailles took the lead in the government. The country was thus left for nearly two years to the disunited management of the permanent ministers presiding over different departments; the most prominent being the Chancellor d'Aguesseau, the war minister Comte d'Argenson, Maurepas the minister of marine, and Amelot minister of foreign affairs. The influence which really predominated in the state was that of the king's mistress, the Duchesse de Châteauroux, the youngest of four sisters of the family of Nesle. Madame de Châteauroux was a woman of talent, spirit, and ambition, and did her utmost to rouse Louis from his constitutional torpor to a bold energetic policy, better befitting the ruler of a great and gallant nation.

New combinations were now formed unfavourable to the interests of France. Sir Robert Walpole having been compelled to resign. the influence of Carteret became supreme, and George II., whose assistance of Maria Theresa had hitherto been confined to subsidies. prepared to enter more seriously into the struggle. Without any regular declaration of war, a combined army of 50,000 English. Hanoverians, and Hessians assembled in the Netherlands, and directed its march upon the valley of the Main, to join the Austrians under Prince Charles of Lorraine. The King of Prussia, after his unprincipled seizure of Silesia, had concluded, in 1742, the treaty of Breslau with Maria Theresa, by which, in return for the cession of the conquered province, he engaged to observe a strict neutrality during the rest of the war. The King of Naples, alarmed by the sudden appearance of a British fleet, which threatened to bombard his capital, had abandoned the coalition, and the King of Sardinia was induced to take a similar step.

The King of England joined his troops in person at Aschaffenburg, accompanied by his son the Duke of Cumberland; but found to his dismay, that the French under Marshal de Noailles had occupied all the commanding positions in the neighbourhood so advantageously. that his further progress was altogether impeded. The allies were soon greatly straitened for provisions, and it became necessary to retire on Hanau. Their line of retreat was, however, intercepted by the foresight of the French marshal, who had bridged the river at Seligenstadt, and posted a powerful division of his army in the defile of Dettingen, through which lay the route of the enemy. The situation of the allies seemed desperate, but they were extricated by an error of the Duc de Grammont, the French officer commanding at Dettingen, who, contrary to the express orders of his superior, imprudently abandoned the defile, and attacked the English in the open ground, in such a way as to render useless the French batteries established on the opposite bank of the Main. This entirely disconcerted the arrangements of Noailles, and the battle which ensued (June 27th, 1743), notwithstanding the brilliant valour of his army, especially of the household troops, terminated in his defeat with a loss of 5000 men. The allies accomplished their retreat in safety, but reaped no other advantage from their success. Yet the victory of Dettingen was celebrated with extraordinary rejoicings both in London and at Vienna.

France having declared war against Great Britain in March, 1744, Louis XV., for the first time, placed himself at the head of his army. It was commanded under him by Maurice Count of Saxony, afterwards so celebrated as Marshal Saxe; a natural son of Augustus II., King of Poland, who had acted as lieutenant-general to Belleisle in the campaign of Prague, and was accounted

one of the ablest officers in the French service. Louis invaded the Netherlands in the middle of May, and reduced several towns in succession; at the same time Frederick of Prussia, suddenly violating his engagement at Breslau, resolved once more to make common cause with France in opposition to the House of Austria. An alliance was signed at Frankfort in June, between France, Prussia, the Emperor Charles VII., and Sweden; and Frederick, resuming his aggressive projects, prepared to pour his legions into Bohemia, having stipulated that half that province should be united to his crown.

Upon reaching Metz, in August, 1744, Louis was attacked by a malignant fever, which reduced him to the last extremity. In this condition his confessor, by dint of urgent entreaty, prevailed with him to banish from his presence his mistress Madame de Châteauroux, who had accompanied him in the campaign, and to reconcile himself with his neglected wife. Louis was ere long given over by the physicians, and received the last sacraments; but a violent remedy prescribed by an empiric arrested the disease, and in the course of a few days he was pronounced out of danger. This result was hailed by a general outburst of popular joy and congratulation; all the churches of the kingdom resounded with fervent thanksgivings; and the king was saluted by his warm-hearted subjects by an appellation which he little merited, that of "Bienaimé," or well-beloved. On witnessing the loyal transports excited by his recovery, Louis could not help exclaiming, "What have I done, that they should love me so much?"

§ 13. An event occurred in January, 1745, by which the posture of affairs was materially altered; this was the death of the Emperor Charles VII., who expired at Munich, worn out by disappointment, rather than disease. The new Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian Joseph, though urged by France to renew the pretensions of his family to the imperial crown, soon came to terms with the Queen of Hungary, renounced all claims upon the Austrian succession, accepted the Pragmatic Sanction, and engaged to give his vote in the diet to Maria Theresa's husband, Francis of Lorraine, Grand Duke of Tuscany. Upon these terms the young elector recovered all his hereditary dominions. As this arrangement decided the point which had originally given occasion to the war, the French government now became desirous of peace; but the obstinacy of the Queen of Hungary caused the negotiation to fail in its commencement: and as Great Britain, by whom the Austrian troops were chiefly paid, consented to continue her subsidies, the war was necessarily prolonged; although its only purpose henceforth, so far as France was cencerned, was to procure an honourable peace.

Marshal Saxe, with 70,000 men, invested Tournay in April, when Louis joined his camp in person, attended by the dauphin. The allies, under the orders of the Duke of Cumberland, who was assisted by the veteran Marshal Konigsegg, resolved to relieve that fortress; on their approach, the French commander, leaving a strong division before Tournay, drew out his army in order of battle on the right bank of the Scheldt, having in front of his centre the village of Fontenov. The engagement took place on the 11th of May, 1745; it was long and desperately contested, but after six hours' fighting victory seemed on the point of declaring for the allies; two of the French lines were in complete disorder, and the reserve alone, composed of the household troops, remained unbroken, with a small battery of four heavy cannon. These pieces opened a vigorous and well-sustained fire upon the advancing column of the English, which, being ill-supported and even abandoned by the Dutch, at length wavered and fell into confusion; the French guards charged at the same moment, and triumphantly retrieved the fortunes of the day, driving the enemy from the field with a loss of near 10,000 men. The victory was dearly purchased, at least 7000 having fallen on the side of the French. The results of the battle of Fontenoy were important; Tournay, Ghent, Bruges, Oudenarde, and several other principal cities of Flanders, surrendered almost without resistance to Marshal Saxe. Louis, on his return to Paris, was welcomed with universal enthusiasm as a conqueror.

On the other hand, Maria Theresa, whose husband was elevated to the imperial throne in September, 1745, hoped to regain Silesia. The Prussians, however, overthrew her armies at Sohr, Gross Hennersdorf, and Kesselsdorf, and Frederick the Great entered Dresden on December 18th. On December 25th, Maria Theresa signed the Treaty of Dresden, and the second Silesian war was ended. The empress was thus enabled to reinforce her armies in Lombardy; the Austrians took the field in 1746 with greatly superior numbers, and gained a decisive victory over the combined French and Spaniards at Piacenza on the 16th of June. The French fled in confusion to Genoa, and, continuing their retreat along the sea coast, re-entered France in September. The victorious Austrians pursued, crossed the Var, and plundered and laid waste the country as far as the Durance. Marshal Belleisle, however, checked the march of the invaders, and drove them back across the frontier with loss in February, 1747.

After the battle of Fontenoy, Marshal Saxe, vigorously pursuing his career of victory, invested Brussels in the middle of winter, and forced that capital to surrender after a siege of three weeks. The capitulation of Antwerp followed in May, 1746, and that of the

fortress of Namur in September. The French general then concentrated his whole army, gained a decisive victory over the Austrians under Charles of Lorraine at Raucoux on the Meuse, near Liège, and became master of the whole of Belgium. In the following year Louis declared war against Holland (17th of April, 1747). The French army, numbering 120,000 men, under the orders of Marshal Saxe, immediately crossed the Dutch frontier, and in less than a month took possession of the whole line of fortresses which defend the Scheldt from the sea to Antwerp. These startling successes produced an insurrection in Holland in favour of the house of Nassau, and William IV, of Orange was proclaimed stadtholder by the popular party. The prince, however, was possessed of no particular talent or sagacity, and proved quite incapable of arresting the triumphs of the invader. Great Britain now succeeded in inducing Russia to join the confederation against France; and the court of St. Petersburg engaged to place at the disposal of the allies a fleet of fifty sail, and a land force of 37,000 men. But before these succours could arrive, the consummate generalship of the French marshal had made him once more a conqueror at Lawfeld near Maestricht, where the Duke of Cumberland, after a murderous conflict, was routed with a loss of 8000 men, and forced to retire beyond the Meuse.

§ 14. While France and England thus contended for predominance in Europe, a similar struggle had begun in the East Indies, where the influence and authority of France were at this time decidedly superior to those of her rival. The establishments founded by the Compagnie des Indes-Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Calicut, Surat. Mahé-were in the most flourishing condition; and the power of France in the East had been greatly advanced by the efforts and policy of three able men, Dumas, La Bourdonnais, and Dupleix. The active genius of Dupleix had conceived the idea of an immense French empire extending over Bengal, the Deccan, and the Carnatic; and with this object he laboured to associate the native races, especially the Mahrattas, with the various European settlers-French, Portuguese, Danes, and Dutch,—in one irresistible confederation against Great Britain. La Bourdonnais and Dupleix attacked the English settlement of Madras in September, 1746; and after a short resistance all the British subjects, civil and military, were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Mutual jealousy now produced a violent rupture between the two French commanders, which ended in the recall of La Bourdonnais; on reaching France he was consigned to the Bastille on the accusation of his late colleague, and died in prison some years afterwards. Madras was recovered by the English with the aid of the Nabob of the Carnatic; and in the summer of 1748 the fleet of Admiral

Boscawen, in its turn, attacked Pondicherry; the siege was formed, and carried on for two months, but with total want of success. Dupleix made a heroic defence, and, the enemy being at length compelled to retreat with signal loss, his reputation, together with that of the nation which he represented, rose to the highest pitch throughout India.

§ 15. The final operation of this war was the successful siege of Maestricht by Marshal Saxe in April, 1748. A suspension of hostilities was declared immediately on the fall of that fortress; preliminaries of peace were signed by England, France, and Holland on April 30th, and the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded in the following October. All conquests were mutually restored between France and England; the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla were ceded by Austria to Don Philip of Spain: the possession of Silesia was confirmed to the King of Prussia: Francis I. was recognised as emperor, and the Pragmatic Sanction once more guaranteed. It seems to have been expected by the allies that, after the success of the French arms, and especially after such important conquests in the Low Countries, Louis would have exacted either some territorial extension, or some other advantage. That monarch, however, announced that he wished to negotiate not like a merchant, but like a prince; and France obtained no sort of recompense for the sacrifices of this exhausting conflict, which had ruined her commerce, crippled her navy, and augmented her national debt by twelve hundred millions of livres. Nor was England at all more fortunate. All the substantial benefits secured by the peace were gained by Prussia, Spain, and Sardinia.



St. Georges de Boscherville.*

CHAPTER XXII.

REIGN OF LOUIS XV. CONTINUED. II. FROM THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS, A.D. 1748-1774.

§ 1. Private life of Louis XV.; Madame de Pompadour; the Parc aux Cerfs; Machault comptroller-general of finances; Beaumont, Archbishop of Paris; the "billets de confession." § 2. Struggle between the court and the parliament of Paris; attempt of Damiens on the life of Louis; the parliament recalled. § 3. War breaks out with England; hostilities in North America. § 4. Alliance of France with the Empress Maria Theresa; the Seven Years' War; successful expedition of the French against Minorca; Admiral Byng; convention

^{*} The most complete example of an unmixed Norman minster remaining. Freeman, History of Architecture, chap. xii. p. 232.

of Kloster-seven. § 5. Exploits of Frederick of Prussia; battles of Rosbach and Leuthen; Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. § 6. The war in North America; the Marquess of Montcalm; General Wolfe; capture of Quebec; loss of the French possessions in Canada; the Duke of Choiseul minister; naval engagements; battle of Minden. § 7. The Family Compact; reverses of the King of Prussia; negotiation for peace; definitive treaty of Paris. § 8. Suppression of the Jesuits in France; death of Madame de Pompadour, of the dauphin, and of the queen; Lorraine and Bar annexed to France. § 9. Madame du Barry; annexation of Corsica to France. § 10. Coalition against the Duke of Choiseul; proceedings against the Duke of Aiguillon, governor of Brittany; dismissal of Choiseul; suppression of the parliament of Paris; the "Conseils supérieurs." § 11. Terray minister of finance; the "Pacte de Famine;" partition of Poland; death of Louis XV. § 12. The "new opinions;" the Encyclopædists; Jean Jacques Rousseau; agitation of the public mind; alienation of the people from the throne; clamorous demands of reform.

§ 1. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle procured for Europe several years of tranquillity, and, for the most part, of progress and prosperity. France was rapidly increasing in material wealth, intellectual activity, and all the refinements of modern civilization; nevertheless her condition, if regarded in a social point of view, was such as to excite in all thoughtful minds grave misgiving and alarm. Louis XV. had given proofs, at intervals during the war, of considerable intelligence, energy, and courage; but no sooner was peace restored than he relapsed at once into his habits of voluptuous indolence. Upon the death of Madame de Châteauroux, the royal affections were transferred to a new mistress, Madame Lenormant d'Etioles, a person of low birth, but of decided talent and great accomplishments, who was soon afterwards created Marquise de Pompadour. Louis abandoned himself slavishly to her influence, and for twenty years she was the most powerful personage in France. All the great affairs of state were discussed and arranged under her guidance. Generals, ministers, ambassadors, transacted business in her boudoir; she dispensed the whole patronage of the government; the rich prizes of the Church, of the army, of the magistrature, were to be obtained solely through her favour. When her personal attractions began to wane, she had the address to maintain her empire over the king by sanctioning the establishment called the Parc-aux-Cerfs, which was neither more nor less than a seraglio, after the fashion of the Oriental monarchs. formed by Louis in a beautiful retreat belonging to his mistress near Versailles. The favourite thus secured herself against the rise of any dangerous rival who might dispute her supremacy; but the spectacle offered thenceforth by the French court was a flagrant

outrage to society, and produced results in the highest degree

prejudicial to the royal authority.

The financial condition of the kingdom, which had greatly improved under the ministry of Fleury, became once more seriously damaged through the reckless extravagance of the king and the scandalous misgovernment of Madame de Pompadour and her creatures. The comptroller-general, Machault, was entirely devoted to the marchioness; and with his connivance she commenced the ruinous practice of drawing bills at sight (acquits au comptant) upon the treasury, under the king's signature, and that to a prodigious extent: matters thus fell into inextricable confusion. In 1749 Machault imposed a tax of a twentieth upon all incomes. including those of the privileged orders. This excited general discontent, and was successfully resisted, especially by the clergy. It was followed up, however, by an edict of mortmain, which prohibited the foundation of any new religious establishment, and thus deprived the Church of future endowments; while at the same time an official survey (cadastre) was ordered of all ecclesiastical property, with the avowed purpose of taxing it for the benefit of the state. Upon this the clergy throughout the kingdom became violently exasperated, and their indignation found vent in several ill-advised measures. The Archbishop of Paris, Christophe de Beaumont, a prelate of earnest but intolerant zeal, renewed the persecution against the Jansenists, who were supposed to be the authors of the late obnoxious edicts. The curés of his diocese received orders to demand from the sick certificates of confession attesting their acceptance of the bull Unigenitus; in default of which they were to be denied the last sacraments of the Church, and, by consequence, the privilege of Christian burial. This led to a struggle which embroiled all orders and parties in the state, and shook the very foundations of society. The curé of St. Etiennedu-Mont refused the sacraments to an ecclesiastic suspected of Jansenism. The parlement of Paris promptly interposed, and caused the priest to be arrested. The agitation spread throughout the country; the bishops fulminated angry pastorals against the parlements; the parlements ordered these documents to be publicly burnt; the court, siding alternately with both parties, exposed itself to contempt; and the general confusion turned to the advantage of a dangerous school now rapidly advancing in influence, that of the philosophers or freethinkers, headed by Voltaire, who scoffed at all religion, and were industriously plotting that total overthrow of established ideas and principles which was eventually accomplished in the Revolution.

§ 2. The contest reached its crisis in 1753, when, upon an attempt made by the parlement to seize the temporalities of the

archbishop, and bring him to trial in the Court of Peers, the king banished and imprisoned most of the refractory magistrates, and established a provisional court, called the Royal Chamber, to undertake their duties. This measure excited such determined opposition, that Louis was compelled to recall the parlement in the following year. A compromise was now effected through the good offices of the Cardinal de Rochefoucauld. The bishops agreed to give up insisting on the billets de confession, upon condition that the tax of the twentieth should no longer be enforced upon the clergy. Machault was transferred from the ministry of the finances to that of the marine. The Royal Chamber was suppressed, and the parlement re-entered Paris in triumph on the 4th of September, 1754, having acquired, by its spirited resistance to the court, the warm sympathies of the great mass of the nation. The occasion chosen for this reconciliation was that of the birth of the Duke of Berry, second son of the dauphin-afterwards the unfortunate Louis XVI.

The Church party, however, although by their turbulent, persecuting policy they had gained their point of remaining exempt from ordinary taxation, evaded the terms of the late agreement, and persisted in demanding the vexatious billets de confession. The court upon this changed sides, banished the archbishop to his country house, and dismissed several other prelates to their dioceses. The parlement, resolving to make the most of their advantage, now renewed their attacks upon the bull Unigenitus, suppressed a brief issued by the pope with a view of settling the dispute, and obstinately refused to register an edict imposing some additional taxes in preparation for the war which was about to commence. This contumacious conduct was met by a vigorous stroke of despotic authority. Holding a bed of justice at Versailles in December, 1756, Louis enforced the registration of the edicts in his presence, strictly forbade the parlement to interfere at all with the ecclesiastical question in dispute, suppressed two of the chambers, and ordered that no member should henceforth have the right of voting till he had completed ten years of service. The magistrates withdrew in silence; and the next day no less than one hundred and eighty of their number sent in their resignation.

So universal was the discontent, that Paris seemed ready, had the signal been given at the moment, to break out into revolt. As it was, this outbreak of popular wrath impelled a crazy fanatic named Damiens to make an attempt upon the life of the sovereign. As Louis was stepping into his carriage at Versailles on the 5th of January, 1757, Damiens stabbed the king in the side with a penknife. The wound was very slight, but considerable alarm was excited, as it was feared that the weapon might have been poisoned. Damiens declared that his purpose was to punish the king for his

tyrannical treatment of the *parlement*, and to force him to take measures for preventing the refusal of the sacraments. After being cruelly tortured, the wretched criminal was executed with all the frightful barbarities which the law denounced on parricides.

This event led to a reaction of feeling among the contending parties, and at length put a period to their tedious strife. The exiled members of the *parlement* were recalled, and the prelates were reinstated, upon the understanding that they would desist from all persecutions with regard to the bull Unigenitus. The ministers Machault and the Comte d'Argenson were dismissed. Peace was apparently restored; but neither the Jesuits nor the *parlements* had any reason to congratulate themselves on the con-

sequences of this unhappy conflict.

§ 3. While France was thus convulsed by internal dissension, her ancient rivalry with England involved her once more in hostilities abroad. Various grounds of complaint existed between the two governments. In particular, differences had arisen with regard to the boundary between the British colony of Nova Scotia and the French possessions in Canada, which had been left undetermined by the treaties of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle. The English claimed the whole line of the St. Lawrence, as far as Lakes Erie and Ontario; the French desired to limit them strictly to the peninsula of Acadia, or Nova Scotia proper. A commission was appointed to deliberate on the question; but in the mean time the French erected a series of forts along the course of the Ohio, in order to connect their widely-separated provinces of Canada and Louisiana. This was resented by Great Britain as an aggression, the banks of the Ohio being regarded as belonging to the colony of New England; remonstrances were made, but unavailingly; and in May, 1754, an English force under Major Washington (afterwards the great American hero) was sent to the Ohio, with orders to interrupt and put a stop to the French operations. A French officer, proceeding with a small detachment to summon the intruders to decamp, was surprised and cut to pieces with his whole party; and the French promptly avenged his fall by attacking Washington in his entrenchments, and forcing him to sign a capitulation, by which he sacrificed a half-finished fort, with its artillery, and quitted the contested territory.

After this, war was no longer a matter of uncertainty; but still it was not actually declared till January, 1756, though hostilities had been carried on by sea during the whole of the preceding year.

§ 4. Alliances were diligently negotiated by both the hostile courts. Prussia was closely connected with France, and in Poland the French were successfully combating the growing predominance of Russia in that country. Though Kaunitz, the rising Austrian

statesman, came to Paris to try and form a close alliance between the courts of Versailles and Vienna, Louis XV. refused to give up the ancient system of French policy. In 1755 matters assumed a very threatening aspect. For the defence of Hanover from an attack by France, England in September arranged for Russian troops to occupy the electorates. This arrangement forced Frederick the Great to a decision. He resolved to give up the French alliance, and to unite with England in order to secure the neutrality of Germany. On January 16th, 1756, the convention of Westminster was signed by England and Prussia. The news of this treaty came as a thunderclap to the French court, which now found itself without an ally in Europe. Its policy in Poland was abandoned, and negotiations for an Austrian alliance were reopened in earnest. On May 1st, 1756, the first treaty of Versailles united Louis XV. with the imperial house of Austria, which for upwards of two hundred years had been the inveterate enemy of France.

By this treaty Austria undertook to remain neutral in the struggle between England and France, but to support France against any other power. France engaged not to attack the Netherlands, and to aid Austria generally. Frederick of Prussia, learning through the treachery of a clerk in the Saxon service that Austria and Russia in conjunction were proposing to attack him the following spring, decided to strike a vigorous blow by seizing Leipsic and Dresden. The Seven Years' War had begun.

Great Britain having entered into a close alliance with Prussia, the Duke of Cumberland took the command of the Hanoverian army to oppose the French on the Lower Rhine. But the French, under the command of the Duc de Richelieu, forced the English commander to evacuate almost the whole of Hanover and Brunswick, and at length to sign an inglorious convention at Kloster-seven on the Elbe, by which Hanover was surrendered to the enemy until the conclusion of a peace, and the Hanoverians and other troops were disbanded and dismissed to their respective territories. The Duc de Richelieu had distinguished himself in the preceding year by a successful expedition against the island of Minorca. The English fleet under Admiral Byng had failed to relieve Fort St. Philip, had allowed the French squadron to escape without bringing it to a serious engagement, and had retired to Gibraltar. Port Mahon was thus abandoned to its fate, and surrendered to the French after a gallant resistance of nearly three months. The news of this affair was received with violent indignation in England. Admiral Byng was tried by a court-martial, found guilty of negligence and error of judgment, and, notwithstanding every

exertion to save his life, was shot in Portsmouth harbour in March, 1757.

§ 5. Frederick of Prussia, pursuing his successes, burst into Bohemia in May, 1757, and routed the Austrians in a desperate battle under the walls of Prague. Flushed with victory, he now rashly attacked a far superior force of the imperialists under Marshal Daun, and sustained a severe defeat, which compelled him to repass the Bohemian frontier into Saxony. Prussia was invaded at the same moment by an army of 70,000 Russians; the Swedes landed in Pomerania; the Austrians threatened Silesia; and a second French army, under the Prince of Soubise, with an auxiliary corps of Germans, advanced upon Saxony. Frederick confronted his enemies with consummate military genius. He first turned his arms against the French and imperialist forces, over whom he gained a decisive victory on the 3rd of November, at the village of Rosbach, the enemy, although vastly superior in number, being driven from the field in total disorder, with a loss of 12,000 killed and wounded. A second victory over the Austrians at Leuthen, on the 5th of December, concluded the campaign, which had been signally unfavourable to France and her allies.

The war was now prosecuted with redoubled energy by England, under the powerful Pitt-Newcastle ministry. An enormous subsidy was granted to the King of Prussia; the humiliating convention of Kloster-seven was repudiated; the troops of Hanover, Brunswick. and Hesse were recalled to their standards; and the army was placed under the command of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the ablest of the lieutenants of the King of Prussia, who not only drove the French out of Hanover, but even over the Rhine, whither he followed them, and gained, on the left bank, a victory at Creveld. The Prince of Soubise, however, having rallied and reunited his army after the disaster of Rosbach, re-entered Hanover. and gave battle to the allies at Lutterberg on the 7th of October with decided success. Meanwhile Frederick of Prussia defended himself with his usual skill and vigour against the Austrians and Russians, beating the former at Schweidnitz in Silesia, and totally overthrowing the latter in the bloody battle of Zorndorf. The Russians retired into Poland, and, although Frederick received a severe check from Marshal Daun at Hochkirchen, the imperialists were unable to keep their ground in Saxony.

§ 6. The hostilities in North America were marked by brilliant valour and fluctuating fortune. The city of Louisburg, assailed by General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen, capitulated after a siege of six weeks; a French squadron was burnt in the harbour, and near 6000 soldiers and sailors remained prisoners. The whole island of Cape Breton now fell into the hands of the English, and they

obtained the command of the navigation of the St. Lawrence. An attempt to penetrate into Canada, however, was repulsed by the Marquis de Montcalm, the governor of that province, an officer of distinguished talent and merit; General Abercromby totally failed in an attack on Fort Ticonderoga, between lakes George and Champlain, and lost upwards of 2000 men. But the gallant Montcalm was strangely neglected and abandoned by the home government; no reinforcements reached him from France; and in the following year (1759) the British resumed their operations with an overwhelming force of near 40,000 men, in three grand divisions under Generals Amherst, Prideaux, and Wolfe. The latter, a commander young in years, but of pre-eminent gallantry, energy, and skill, ascended the St. Lawrence, and appeared before Quebec on the 25th of June, 1759. Montcalm, with admirable judgment, encamped in a position of great strength between the rivers Montmorency and St. Charles; and on the enemy's attempting to cross and land by a narrow ford close to the falls of the Montmorency, they were received with so terrible a cannonade, that the plan was soon abandoned as hopeless. Meanwhile Wolfe received intelligence of the reduction of the forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point by General Amherst; and resolving to make another effort for the possession of Quebec, he landed his troops on the night of the 12th of September within a mile and a half of the city, and, scaling the precipitous heights of Abraham, hitherto deemed inaccessible, he established himself before morning in a position almost commanding Quebec. Montcalm instantly crossed the St. Charles, and assailed the English; the battle was resolutely sustained on both sides; but the French were considerably outnumbered, and in the end were driven back in great confusion on the town. The two heroic leaders met death in the hottest of the action; and five days afterwards the governor of Quebec signed a capitulation by which the French evacuated the city, and retired to Montreal. This misfortune decided the fate of the French North-American territories. In the following year General Amherst concentrated his army, and surrounded the French at Montreal. Here the governor, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, finding his situation hopeless, signed a convention on the 8th of September, 1760, by which his garrison became prisoners of war, and the French possessions in Canada were surrendered to the British crown.

Nor was France at all more fortunate at this period in her maritime enterprises. The Duc de Choiseul, who succeeded the Cardinal de Bernis as minister for foreign affairs in November, 1758, had formed the adventurous project of attacking England on her own shores; and vast preparations were made for a descent, in the spring of 1759, in all the harbours from Dunkirk to Toulon. The Toulon squadron,

under M. de la Clue, in attempting to pass the straits of Gibraltar in order to unite with that of Brest, was attacked by the English under Admiral Boscawen off Cape Lagos, and a furious engagement followed, in which the French were defeated with the loss of five of their largest ships. The Brest fleet, consisting of twenty-one sail of the line, put to sea on the 14th of November, under the command of the Comte de Conflans, and, falling in soon afterwards with twenty-three English vessels under Admiral Hawke, was almost annihilated off Belleisle. A few months later an armament left Dunkirk, and, effecting a descent on the north coast of Ireland, seized the town of Carrickfergus. Here the French commander, Thurot, was killed, and the whole of his followers were made prisoners of war. In short, the naval genius and resources of Great Britain, under the vigorous direction of Pitt, were now so manifestly superior, that the cabinet of Versailles desisted from all attempts to maintain the contest by sea.

On the continent the French forces were intrusted to the command of Marshal Contades and the Duc de Broglie. They obtained several successes over Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick in the beginning of the campaign of 1759, but were unable to bring him to a general action till the 1st of August, when the two armies encountered near Minden on the Weser, and the French received a severe defeat, sacrificing upwards of 7000 men. They now retreated precipitately upon Cassel, thus abandoning the electorate of Hanover, and almost the whole of Munster and Westphalia.

§ 7. Choiseul now formed a treaty of close alliance with the Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon. This treaty, so celebrated under the name of the Family Compact, was signed at Versailles (Aug. 15, 1761). Louis XV. and Charles III. guaranteed their respective possessions in all parts of the world; whatever power might be hostile to the one was henceforth to be treated as an enemy by the other, and peace was never to be made but by mutual consent. No power external to the house of Bourbon was to be admitted as a party to the treaty. Other articles stipulated the amount of forces by land and sea to be furnished by each court on demand.

This famous alliance, however, by no means realized the hopes of its author. It soon became known to Pitt, who resigned office because his colleagues would not consent to an immediate rupture with Spain. Nevertheless his successor, Lord Egremont, found it necessary to adopt the same views, and war was proclaimed by Great Britain against Spain on the 4th of January, 1762. The flourishing city of Havannah, the capital of Cuba, was successfully attacked by the English during the next summer; a considerable fleet was captured in the harbour, together with treasure amounting

to several millions. The islands belonging to France in the Caribbean Sea—Martinique, Grenada, Tobago, and others—fell into the hands of the British during the same year. Spain was also compelled to surrender her rich colonies in the Philippine Islands.

The King of Prussia, meanwhile, had maintained the war with unabated vigour and ability, though by no means with uniform success. At one time his capital itself was occupied by the Austrians and Russians; he afterwards defeated the Austrians at Torgau, but was again seriously crippled by the loss of Schweidnitz and Colberg, and the general posture of his affairs became to the last degree critical and disheartening. An unexpected change in his favour occurred on the accession of Peter III. to the throne of Russia, in January, 1762. The new emperor, who was an ardent admirer of Frederick, immediately established friendly relations between the two courts; his example was followed by Sweden; and although the emperor died within a few months, his successor, the Empress Catherine, refused to renew the war, and observed a strict neutrality. But Prussia, exhausted by her terrible sacrifices, was now anxious for the restoration of peace. Lord Bute, who had lately succeeded to the direction of affairs in England, was animated by similar views; and peace was concluded by the treaty of Paris on the 10th of February, 1763.

The extraordinary good fortune which had attended the arms of England justified her on this occasion in exacting humiliating conditions from her rival. France surrendered the whole territory of Canada, Cape Breton, and other islands in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence, and all that part of Louisiana which lies east of the Mississippi. She also ceded the West Indian islands of Granada, Tobago, St. Vincent, and Dominica, and the settlement of Senegal on the coast of Africa. Minorca was restored to Great Britain; Martinique, St. Lucia, and Belleisle to France. The French likewise recovered their factories in the East Indies, but on the express condition of maintaining no troops and erecting no fortifications in Bengal. The right of fishery on the coast of Newfoundland was conceded to France, with the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon for the protection of the fishermen. The fortifications of Dunkirk, it was once more stipulated, were to be demolished.

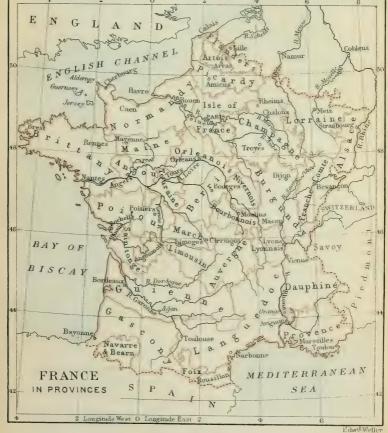
The peace of Paris was immediately followed by a treaty signed at Hubertsburg between Austria and Prussia, which left the former power in the enjoyment of precisely the same extent of territory as before the war. Thus, after this struggle of seven years, which had cost Austria 140,000 men, and Prussia 180,000, the general balance of power on the Continent of Europe remained apparently unchanged.

§ 8. The peace of Paris was closely followed by the suppression

of the Order of the Jesuits in France. We have already noticed the extraordinary power acquired by this celebrated community. After having successfully combated the Lutheranism and Calvinism of the sixteenth century, it had become dominant among the clergy of France,—had gained the confidence of royalty,—had governed the consciences of three monarchs in succession,—and had thus exercised a vast though secret influence upon the political movements and fortunes of the state. The first serious blow against the order was that aimed by the Jansenists. Its system of morals which had been so mercilessly exposed by the reasonings and sarcasms of a Pascal and an Arnauld never afterwards recovered its hold upon the public mind. The persecution of the Port-Royalists, which was presumed to be instigated by their rivals, increased their discredit; and the contest between the court and the parlements drew upon them the deadly hatred of the magistracy, backed by the popular party throughout the kingdom. The Encyclopædists, again-the school of sceptical philosophers, led by Voltaire, Diderot, and Alembert-had joined in the outcry against the Jesuits, and contributed not a little to their final downfall. The Duc de Choiseul was their bitter enemy, and had for some time resolved on their ruin, in secret concert with Madame de Pompadour, whom they had mortally offended.

These manifold seeds of hostility produced at no distant period their natural fruits. Having incurred the enmity of the Portuguese minister Pombal, the Jesuits were expelled from Portugal in 1759, upon an accusation of having fomented sedition in their settlements in Paraguay, and of being concerned in a mysterious attempt to assassinate the King of Portugal, Joseph I. This gave a new impulse to the intrigues against the company in France; and an occasion soon presented itself of proceeding actively against them, of which their enemies were not slow to take advantage.

The immense extent and success of the missions conducted by the Jesuits had encouraged them to embark largely in commercial enterprises; and the enormous wealth thus accumulated was one of the abuses in the order against which public opinion most loudly exclaimed. Among other speculations, Father Lavalette, the superior of the missions in the Antilles, had established a mercantile and banking firm at Martinique, which corresponded with all the principal houses in France and Europe. In consequence of the extensive damage inflicted by the English on French commerce during the Seven Years' War, Lavalette became a defaulter to the amount of three millions of francs; two of his creditors, merchants of Marseilles, regarding the whole order as responsible for its bankrupt member, demanded compensation from the general, Ricci; when this was refused, they appealed to the courts of justice, and



London: John Murray.



obtained a decision in favour of their claims. The Jesuits, with fatal indiscretion, now carried their cause before the *parlement* of Paris; that tribunal examined the constitutions of the society, and, having ascertained that by these rules the whole of the corporate property was absolutely vested in the general, gave judgment that the order as a body was answerable for Lavalette, and bound to discharge all his liabilities.

The publication of this decree gave the signal for an attack upon the Jesuits by most of the provincial parlements. After much hesitation, Louis at length yielded to the persuasions of his minister and his mistress, and abandoned the Jesuits to the parlement of Paris. That tribunal passed a decree on the 6th of August, 1762, by which the Society of Jesus was abolished in France, its members secularized, and the whole of its property confiscated. The sentence was executed with unrelenting rigour; and two years later the suppression of the Jesuits was finally confirmed by a royal edict of the 26th of November, 1764. After having been successively banished from Spain, Naples, and Parma, the order was formally abolished by a bull of Pope Clement XIV. in 1773.

Madame de Pompadour did not long survive her triumph over the Jesuits; she died in April, 1764, at the age of forty-four, having maintained her ascendency over the king, and her influence in the councils of the state, to the last hour of her life. The dauphin, a prince of excellent character, but of no political importance, was carried off by consumption in the following year, at the age of thirty-six, leaving three sons, who became in the sequel Louis XVI., Louis XVIII., and Charles X. The dauphiness, a princess of Saxony, expired in 1767; and the patient, neglected queen, Maria Leczynski, died in June, 1768. Her father, the excellent Stanislas, after a prosperous and useful reign of twenty years in Lorraine, had died in February, 1766; upon which the duchies of Lorraine and Bar were definitively incorporated with the French monarchy.

§ 9. After a short interval of grief at the loss of his queen, Louis XV. found a new mistress in a woman named Jeanne Vaubernier, who, having been married, by the king's command, to a nobleman of the court, was soon introduced at Versailles as the Comtesse du Barry. Choiseul remonstrated indignantly with Louis against this new degradation of the throne of France, and treated the upstart countess with undissembled scorn. He thus created for himself a powerful enemy; and a sort of coalition was before long formed against the minister between Madame du Barry, the Duc d'Aiguillon, governor of Brittany, the Chancellor Maupeou, and the Abbé Terray, comptroller-general of the finances. Choiseul, however, continued for the present to hold the reins of power; and his administration was on the whole wise, enlightened, upright, and beneficial to

France. From 1763 to his fall in 1770, Choiseul devoted himself to the work of reorganization. He was determined to prepare France for a future struggle with England. The navy was increased and improved, considerable reforms in the army were effected. Paying little heed to the alliance with Austria, he carefully continued to preserve close relations with Spain, for he recognised the value of that country's assistance in a war with Great Britain. But he neglected the course of events in the east of Europe, and did little to check Russia in her war with Turkey (1768–1774), or in her aggressions in Poland, which led to the partition of that country in 1772.

In 1768 the annexation of the island of Corsica to the French dominions took place. Corsica had been for a long series of years subject to the Genoese republic; twice the inhabitants had shaken off this foreign voke, and declared themselves independent; and twice had France interfered, at the request of Genoa, to reduce them to submission to their former masters. On the second occasion, however, the popular cause was so vigorously maintained by the celebrated General Pascal Paoli, that the Genoese gave up all hope of ever re-establishing their power. Choiseul resolved to avail himself of these circumstances to obtain possession of Corsica for France. A convention was concluded, by which the Genoese relinquished all their rights in favour of Louis XV.; a large military force was immediately despatched to the island; and although Paoli made a stout resistance, and kept up hostilities for more than a whole year, he was compelled to yield in the end; and the whole island submitted to the sovereignty of France.

§ 10. A violent and complicated struggle now commenced between the parlement of Paris and its enemies, which at length ended in the overthrow of Choiseul. It was in point of fact a vindictive movement of the vanquished Jesuitical party, to retaliate upon those who had caused their downfall. The Duc d'Aiguillon, the leader of the faction opposed to Choiseul, had made himself unpopular by his administration in Brittany. The parlement of Rennes instituted a process against him for abuse of power; but the king transferred the hearing of his cause from Rennes to Paris, on the ground that the accused was a peer of France; and as the Parisian parlement showed itself disposed to still more violent measures. Louis at last forbade them altogether to proceed with the trial. Upon this the parlement declared the duke suspended from his privileges and functions as a peer; the king instantly held a bed of justice, and annulled the decree; and the rebellious magistrates at once put a stop to the administration of justice. The Duc d'Aiguillon, warmly supported by his friends Maupeou and Terray, now urged Louis to take decisive steps against the body which

thus braved his sovereign authority. They represented that the parlement must be humbled, if the king would avert a civil war; and as a necessary preliminary measure, they insisted on the dismissal of Choiseul, by whom the magistrates were known to have been mainly encouraged in their resistance to the court. Seconded by the entreaties of Madame du Barry, these intrigues against the minister were at length successful. Other considerations, too, told against Choiseul. Spain had quarrelled with England over the Falkland Islands, and had appealed to France for support. Choiseul was ready to give the aid required, but Louis XV. had no wish for war, and, finding that France was on the verge of hostilities with England, consented to dismiss his minister. A royal order of the 24th of December, 1770, deprived Choiseul of his offices, and banished him to his estate at Chanteloup. He carried with him into retirement the sincere admiration, respect, and regret of the greater part of the nation.

The government was now carried on by the triumvirate, d'Aiguillon, Terray, and Maupeou, d'Aiguillon being secretary of state for foreign affairs. The parlement soon felt the vengeance of the new ministry. On the night of the 19th of January, 1771, the magistrates were awakened in their several dwellings by gendarmes, who presented to them a royal command to resume their judicial duties, to which they were required to answer on the spot either yes or no. Out of near two hundred, barely forty answered in the affirmative, and these retracted their assent the next day. They were at once removed from their posts, and banished by lettres de cachet into different parts of France. The court next took the hazardous step of suppressing altogether the ancient parlements of the realm, both in the capital and in the provinces. Six new tribunals, under the name of conseils supérieurs, were instituted in the towns of Arras, Blois, Châlons-sur-Marne, Clermont, Lyon, and Poitiers; the central court of justice being still maintained at Paris. In order to recommend the new parlement, known as the Parlement Maupeou, to public favour, Maupeou announced that justice would be administered gratuitously, and that the delays, perversions, and venality of the old system would be swept away.

This coup d'état was not accomplished without protests and expostulations, in which even princes of the blood took part; but it excited no determined opposition. The president of the court of aides at Paris, Lamoignon de Malesherbes, complained indeed to the king of the systematic infraction of the ancient constitution of France, and declared that no resource was left for the nation but the calling together of the States-General. His words were echoed by several distinguished members of the parlements of Besançon, Toulouse, and Rouen. But the king, absorbed in selfish apathy,

took no heed to these presages of the coming storm, and suffered nothing to disturb his self-complacency.

§ 11. The closing years of Louis XV. present but few events deserving of special notice. The finances of the state being still in a chaotic condition, Terray resorted to various desperate remedies, such as that of breaking faith with the national creditor by sudden reductions of the interest on government securities, and the imposition of excessive taxes. His utmost efforts only succeeded in reducing the annual deficit to twenty-five millions of francs; the total amount of the public income being three hundred and seventyfive millions, while the annual expenditure reached four hundred millions. At the same time the distress of the lower classes was grievously augmented by a scandalous association called the "Pacte de Famine," which produced artificially an immense rise in the price of corn.

The triumvirate which had procured the disgrace of Choiseuld'Aiguillon, Maupeou, and Terrav-remained in office till the end of the reign. D'Aiguillon in 1772 was unable to prevent the disgraceful partition of the kingdom of Poland between Russia, Austria, and Prussia, or to aid the Turks; but with regard to Sweden, however, he was more successful. Following Choiseul's example, he encouraged Gustavus III, with subsidies, and, in August, 1772, that monarch carried out one of the most successful revolutions of the eighteenth century. In Sweden Louis XV, took revenge for the French failures in Poland and Turkey.

In the midst of the accumulated abuses and embarrassments of a disorganized and decaying monarchy, Louis XV. at length died at the age of sixty-four, on the 10th of May, 1774, after a reign of fiftyeight years. He was buried without pomp at St. Denis, amid the

scarcely suppressed curses of the people.

§ 12. Encouraged by the scandalous misgovernment, corruptions, and social disorders of this reign, the "new opinions," as they were called, had made rapid progress. All institutions, religious, political, and domestic, were alike criticized in a spirit of daring independence. The great principle of authority was attacked; and as the reformers employed with ability every available weaponwit, sarcasm, invective, argument, appeals to the passions—the agitation they created was felt ere long in the remotest corners of the kingdom. The president Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, Alembert, Helvetius, Condillac, the Abbé Raynal, were the chief apostles of the new philosophy. Their principal work was the celebrated Encyclopédie, a huge storehouse of general information in seventeen volumes folio, deeply imbued throughout with materialist, democratic, and irreligious doctrines. But the writer who acquired the most extensive and pernicious influence over the

mind of France at this period was undoubtedly Jean Jacques Rousseau. In his works on the Inequality of the Condition of Mankind, in his Emile, Contrat Social, and Nouvelle Héloise, he developed his notions on the reconstruction of society with a subtlety, a charm of style, a specious air of philanthropy, a false morbid sensibility, peculiarly attractive to the French character, but the effects of which went directly to undermine and subvert the very foundations of religion, morality, and government.

Under such guides the French people had become penetrated with an intense anxiety for change. Freedom of thought and belief,—complete security for person and property,—radical administrative reform,—equality of taxation,—the abolition of state monopolies,—free competition in trade and manufactures,—were demanded on all sides. The lower classes were in a state of alienation from their rulers, and thoroughly determined to obtain redress of their manifold wrongs. The court and the privileged orders, on the other hand, seemed given over to a blind infatuation. Devoted to their pleasures, they refused to recognise the signs of the times, and disregarded the miseries and murmurs of the nation. When at length they awoke to a sense of the danger, it was too late to retrieve their error; they had been slumbering on the ashes of a volcano, which suddenly burst and overwhelmed them in destruction.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

AUTHORITIES FOR THE REIGN OF LOUIS XV.

For this period the chief general histories are—Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV.;
Tocqueville, Histoire Philosophique du Règne de Louis XV.; l'Ancien régime et la Revolution; Lacretelle, Histoire de Siècle.
France pendant le Dix-huitième Siècle;

Taine, Les origines de la France contemporaire, t. I.: l'Ancien régime; Henri Martin, Hist. de France. The works of the Duc de Broglie on this period ought to be studied; as well as Rocquain, L'Esprit revolutionaire avant la Revolution: and Aubertin, L'Esprit public au AVIII.me Siècle.



Medal struck to commemorate the alliance of France and the United States against England.

CHAPTER XXIII.

REIGN OF LOUIS XVI. I. FROM HIS ACCESSION TO THE MEETING OF THE STATES-GENERAL, 1774-1789.

- § 1. Accession of Louis XVI.; his character; Marie Antoinette; the Comte de Maurepas; Turgot; Necker. § 2. France supports the Americans in their contest with England; naval action in the Channel; hostilities in the West Indies; the war of the Bavarian succession; Vergennes and the treaty of Teschen. § 3. The "Armed Neutrality;" naval actions of Grasse; his defeat by Admiral Rodney; siege of Gibraltar. § 4. The Bailli de Suffren in the East Indies; Peace of Versailles. § 5. "Compte Rendu" of Necker; his resignation; ministry of Calonne; Assembly of Notables. § 6. Administration of Cardinal de Brienne; the parliament exiled to Troyes; arrest and imprisonment of Epremesnil; the "cour plénière." § 7. Necker recalled; the States-General summoned; questions as to their composition. § 8. Sièves' pamphlet on the Tiers Etat; meeting of the States-General at Versailles.
- § 1. Louis XVI., the third son of the dauphin, only legitimate son of Louis XV., ascended the throne in the twentieth year of his age, having been born at Versailles on the 23rd of August, 1754. His education had been directed by the Duc de Vauguyon, a frivolous and narrow-minded courtier, who totally neglected to instruct his pupil in the art of government, the affairs of state, and the duties of his future station. Louis was full of excellent intentions, virtuous, pious, and sincerely anxious for the welfare of his subjects; but he was diffident and timid to a fault, wanting in strength and

energy of character, and, by an unfortunate fatality, always disposed both to be firm and to give way at the wrong moment. He was also too decidedly under the influence of his young and lovely queen, Marie Antoinette, a daughter of the Empress Maria Theresa, whose extravagance and inability to understand the exigencies of the time soon rendered her unpopular, and whose counsels, in the difficult circumstances in which the court was placed, were often

deplorably ill-judged.

The first act of the new monarch was to displace the Duc d'Aiguillon, and to appoint as principal minister the Comte de Maurepas, a nobleman upwards of seventy years of age, who had little political insight, and who had formerly been disgraced and banished from court for having offended Madame de Pompadour. His chief colleagues were the Comte de Vergennes, minister of foreign affairs; the Comte de St. Germain, minister of war; Turgot, who was at first minister of marine, but was soon transferred to the comptrollership of the finances; and Lamoignon de Malesherbes, who was placed at the head of the king's household. Turgot was a disciple of Quesnay, and the head of the party called "Economistes;" a man of character and genius, of whom his friend Malesherbes said that he possessed "the heart of l'Hôpital, and the head of Bacon." He was a successful author, and had gained a high reputation for administrative talent as intendant at Limoges. Turgot addressed himself immediately to several measures of reform of the highest importance; his leading principle was that of making all orders and classes contribute in just proportion to the burdens of the state. He therefore proposed the abolition of the corvée, or compulsory repair of the high roads by the peasantry of the district; the imposition of a moderate land-tax on the nobles and clergy; the establishment of free-trade in corn within the kingdom; and the suppression of the government of privileged corporations (jurandes) and monopolies, which fettered the national industry. "No bankruptcies, no augmentation of taxes, no loans; "-such was the financial programme of Turgot; and during his brief tenure of office he succeeded in retrenching no less than one hundred millions of francs from the liabilities of the state. But the plans of this enlightened minister were unhappily thwarted by the blind selfishness of the noblesse, the court party, and all the numerous classes interested in keeping up the prevailing abuses. On the appearance of the edict for the free circulation of grain much opposition was excited, and disturbances took place in the agricultural districts; bands of rioters even invaded Versailles and the environs of Paris, and committed excesses which it was found necessary to repress by force. The parlement of Paris, which, with the other parlements, Louis, by the mistaken advice of Maurepas, had re-established in August,

1774, refused to accept the projects for abolishing the corvée and other unequal burdens; and, although the registration of these six edicts was compelled in a bed of justice, on the 12th of March, 1776, ... the current of hostility now set in so strongly against Turgot, that Louis, who disliked his minister's dictatorial manner and his views on religion, became afraid to support him, and the fair prospect of a safe conservative reformation was accordingly sacrificed to selfish and ignorant clamour. Turgot was dismissed from office on the 1 th of May, 1776; his friend Malesherbes, who also had attempted to remove abuses, had sent in his resignation on the 10th of May. The schemes of reform were now abandoned, and the corvées and jurandes reimposed. Maurepas continued at the head of the government, and after a brief interval, during which Clugny was controller-general, M. Necker, a wealthy banker of Geneva, who enjoyed high credit in the commercial world, was named to the management of the finances in October, 1776. Necker was a man of liberal principles and clear views; but he was not so bold and determined as his predecessor, Turgot, in attacking the root of the evils which afflicted France. The expedient upon which he chiefly relied for the relief of the finances was that of negotiating successive loans; which, owing to the confidence inspired by his great talents and brilliant reputation, he was enabled to raise with wonderful facility. Necker also swept away no less than six hundred superfluous and sinecure offices connected with the court and the administration—a measure which produced an immense saving to the public service; and he effected a further reduction of expenditure by changes in the mode of collecting the revenue. In order to be in a more favourable position for suppressing the salaries of others, Necker steadily declined to accept the emoluments of his own office.

§ 2. But fresh and serious embarrassments, upon which Necker had not calculated, arose not long after his accession to power, from the unwise intervention of France in the quarrel between Great Britain and her North American colonies. Shortly after the American declaration of independence, signed on the 4th of July, 1776, three deputies from the new Republic—Benjamin Franklin, Arthur Lee, and Silas Deane—arrived in Paris to solicit aid from France in the struggle against the mother country. Their presence created an extraordinary sensation; and the enthusiasm thus produced was undoubtedly one of the causes which contributed powerfully to the subsequent outbreak of the Revolution. From 1774 Vergennes had secretly given the Americans invaluable assistance, but no direct alliance had been made. Louis XVI. was strongly averse to any proceeding at this moment which might involve him in a war with England. Necker shared his sentiments, which were in

accordance with those held by Turgot, Maurepas, and Malesherbes; but the expression of popular sympathy with the Americans was so general that it was deemed imprudent to resist it. After the capitulation of Saratoga on the 17th of October, 1777, the views of Vergennes prevailed, and in February, 1778, a treaty of commerce and alliance was signed with the United States, by which it was agreed that peace should not be made until Great Britain had fully recognised the independence of the colonies. Immediately on the receipt of this intelligence the British government directed its ambassador to withdraw from Paris; and, without any regular declaration of war, orders were given for the seizure of vessels found in the ports of the two countries. It was now that the young Marquis de la Fayette, afterwards so celebrated in the Revolution, equipped a ship at his own expense, and proceeded to join the American army under General Washington.

Immense exertions had been made since the conclusion of the last war to reorganize the French marine; a very powerful navy had been collected in the various harbours; and the hostilities which followed were almost entirely maritime. A fleet of thirty-two sailof-the-line quitted Brest under the command of the Comte d'Orvilliers, and on the 27th of July (1778) encountered the English Admiral Keppel, with thirty ships, within sight of the isle of Ushant. A running-fight of some hours ensued, but without decisive result. not a single ship being lost on either side; the French, however, were the most seriously damaged, and escaped into Brest to refit. Still it was regarded as almost equivalent to a victory to have fought a general naval action with the English without sustaining a total defeat. Another French squadron, under the Comte d'Estaing, appeared off the American coast, and afterwards steered for the West Indies. In the following year, having received a considerable reinforcement, the Comte d'Estaing fought an action with Admiral Byron off St. Lucia, and obtained a partial success.

It was during the year 1778 that the Emperor Joseph II. attempted to involve France in European complications. The death of the Elector of Bavaria, on the 30th of December, 1777, had been followed by an attempt of Austria to seize the electorate. Frederick the Great took up the cause of the heir-presumptive, and a European war seemed likely to break out. Joseph II. appealed to France for aid, but Vergennes refused to be drawn into the quarrel, and Russian mediation, the treaty of Teschen, in May, 1779, closed the so-called war of the Bavarian Succession, and Austria withdrew her claims to the Electorate of Bavaria. The wisdom shown by Vergennes in refusing to support Joseph II. is undoubted.

Henceforward, however, the coolness between the courts of Versailles and Vienna increased.

In 1779 Spain, in accordance with the Family Compact, decided to take part in the contest with Great Britain. War was accordingly declared, and, the fleet of d'Orvilliers having united with thirty Spanish sail-of-the-line near Cadiz, this second Armada entered the British Channel. The English force under Admiral Hardy, then cruising in the Bay of Biscay, numbered only thirty-eight sail, while that of the enemy amounted to sixty-seven. There was a moment of considerable alarm in England; but, to the general surprise, the allied fleet, on coming up with Hardy off Plymouth, made no attempt to bring on an engagement; the French and Spanish crews were suffering from epidemic sickness; tempestuous weather ensued; and Orvilliers, not venturing to risk a battle, effected his retreat to Brest in a shattered state. A Franco-Spanish armament, meanwhile, made an abortive attempt to reduce Gibraltar. The hope of recovering that commanding fortress seems indeed to have been the main motive of the court of Madrid in engaging in the war. Sir George Rodney, however, defeated a Spanish squadron off Cape St. Vincent on the 8th of January, 1780, after which he relieved and revictualled Gibraltar, and, proceeding to the West Indies, fought two indecisive actions with the French Admiral Guichen.

§ 3. A coalition was formed in 1780 by the northern powers, under the name of the "Armed Neutrality," for protecting merchandise carried in neutral vessels against the right of search which had been hitherto exercised by the cruisers of Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden were the original members of this league; the Two Sicilies and Portugal afterwards acceded to it. In December, 1780, a rupture ensued between England and the States of Holland, which joined the Armed Neutrality in January, 1781. The British fleets received orders to attack the Dutch colonies both in the East and West Indies; and, the Dutch government appealing to France for protection and succour, the war was prosecuted with renewed vigour. At the urgent request of General Washington, a powerful armament was now despatched to his assistance, under the Comte de Rochambeau, who placed himself under the orders of the American leader. A splendid fleet of twenty-eight sail, commanded by the Comte de Grasse, crossed the Atlantic early in 1781 to support this movement; and, having fought an indecisive action with the English Admiral Graves, anchored in the Chesapeake on the 10th of September. The combined French and Americans now blockaded the English under Lord Cornwallis at York Town, cut off his communications with New York, and reduced him to

the necessity of capitulating with his whole force on the 19th of October, 1781. On this occasion the whole of the shipping in the harbour of York Town was surrendered to the King of France. This transaction had a decisive effect upon the course of the war in America, and may be said to have scaled the triumph of the insurgent colonies. Among the many French volunteers we find, besides Lafayette and Rochambeau, the names of the Duc de Lauzun, the Vicomte de Noailles, Alexandre Berthier, Mathieu Dumas, and Charles de Lameth.

The French were on several occasions successful in their naval operations in the West Indies. Grasse captured Tobago, and recovered the Dutch island of St. Eustatius, which had been taken by the British; after which his fleet, in conjunction with a land force under the Marquis de Bouillé, attacked and reduced the islands of St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat. The French commanders next projected an attempt upon Jamaica; for this purpose Grasse sailed from Martinique with thirty-two ships, intending to form a junction with the Spaniards at Hispaniola; but on the 12th of April, 1782, he was overtaken by Admiral Rodney with a somewhat superior English fleet, and a general action followed, in which the British admiral practised for the first time the daring manœuvre of breaking through the enemy's line, and in the end gained a decisive victory, capturing seven ships-of-the-line and two frigates. The Ville de Paris, the French admiral's flagship, a vessel of one hundred and twenty guns, was compelled to strike her colours after a most gallant defence, and Grasse himself became a prisoner. The rest of his ships bore away for St. Domingo in a very disabled condition. This great disaster put an end to the enterprise against Jamaica, and dealt a fatal blow to the maritime power of France and Spain in the West Indies.

An expedition against Minorca, under the Duc de Crillon, met with better success. The combined French and Spanish fleets disembarked 14,000 men upon the island; and the English garrison under General Murray, after sustaining a siege of five months, capitulated in February, 1782. After this exploit the allied commanders made extraordinary exertions to accomplish the reduction of Gibraltar, the siege of which had already lasted, in a desultory manner, for upwards of three years. The gallant defence of this fortress by General Elliot was one of the most celebrated and glorious achievements of the war. A fleet of forty-eight sail blockaded the bay, while an army of 40,000 men was massed upon the shore; two princes of the blood-royal of France, the Comte d'Artois and the Duc de Bourbon, were present in the besieging lines. The expedient of immense floating batteries, invented by a French engineer, the Chevalier d'Arçon, was tried; but it was

found after a time that they were not proof against the tremendous cannonade of red-hot balls from the English batteries; their powder magazines exploded, and the whole flotilla was destroyed. Lord. Howe, despatched with a large fleet to the relief of the besieged, contrived to reach the harbour of Gibraltar during the temporary absence of the blockading force; ample supplies were furnished to the garrison, and the assailants continued the siege till the close of the war, without the slightest prospect of a successful result. Such was the final failure of the repeated efforts of the Spanish crown to recover Gibraltar by force of arms.

§ 4. One of the most distinguished of the French commanders in this war was Bailli de Suffren, who was sent to the East Indies with a powerful fleet in 1781, to co-operate with the famous Hyder Ali, Sultan of Mysore, against the British dominion in the Carnatic. On his way out he fought a sharp action with Commodore Johnstone off the Cape de Verd Islands; and, having reached the coast of Coromandel, he engaged in several encounters with the squadron of Sir E. Hughes, in which the advantage was on the whole on the side of the French. Suffren recovered the Dutch post of Trincomalee, which the English admiral had captured a short time before. Hyder Ali died towards the close of 1782, but his son Tippoo Saib continued the war with the English, and was supported by Suffren. After another hard-fought action with Admiral Hughes off Cuddalore, Suffren relieved the garrison of that place, and hostilities were soon afterwards terminated by the arrival from Europe of the tidings of a general peace.

The ministry of Lord North, having resigned in March, 1782. was succeeded by that of Lord Rockingham, which immediately opened negotiations with the Comte de Vergennes, French minister of foreign affairs. Louis XVI, and his ministers were now anxious for peace, for the war had already cost the country fourteen hundred millions of francs, and the treasury was exhausted; and Vergennes, alarmed at the schemes of Russia in the East, hoped to secure the co-operation of England in opposing the policy of Catherine II. Considerable difficulties, however, intervened; and it was not till the States of America had signed a separate treaty with Great Britain, without the knowledge of their allies, that the three European powers at length effected an accommodation. The preliminaries were signed at Versailles on the 20th of January, 1783, and the definitive treaty on the 3rd of September following. France obtained on this occasion advantageous terms, which effaced in great measure the humiliation of 1763. All the stipulations of former treaties with respect to the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk were now cancelled. France recovered all her possessions in the East Indies, with a considerable addition of

territory round Pondicherry and Carical. Tobago and St. Lucia were ceded to her in the West Indies, Senegal and Goree in Africa.

The West India islands which she had captured were restored to

England.

Between 1783 and the 13th of February, 1787, the date of the death of Vergennes, France regained to some extent her position in Europe. Taking advantage of Joseph IV.'s quarrel with the Dutch over the question of opening the Scheldt, France arranged a peace between the two powers, and on the 10th of November, 1785, made a close alliance with Holland. In 1786 a treaty of commerce was made with England, and, when Vergennes died, France seemed powerful and prosperous. But though her foreign policy had been

successful, she was in reality on the verge of bankruptcy.

§ 5. Great changes had taken place in the French administration since the commencement of the war. Necker persuaded the king to sanction, early in 1781, the publication of his famous Compte rendu, which, for the first time, professed to place before the eyes of the nation a complete account of the receipts and expenditure of the state. According to his official report, the deficit in the finances had already disappeared, and the public revenue exceeded the expenditure by ten millions of francs. The grounds of this result, however, were not very clearly demonstrated, and were probably to some extent fallacious; indeed, the wisdom of the whole proceeding seems extremely questionable. The implied appeal to the sense and judgment of the nation rendered it popular among the middle classes, and the great capitalists readily furnished two new loans upon the strength of its representations; but, on the other hand, it awakened the jealousy of Maurepas-it offended the privileged orders, as being an exposure of the glaring abuse of their exemption from taxation—and after a time the king himself resented it, having been persuaded by the queen and the courtiers that such a publication tended to degrade the supreme authority of the crown in the eyes of the subject. Another scheme of Necker's-a plan of administrative reform by the creation of provincial representative assemblies—roused against him the bitter hostility of the parlement of Paris, which body, since its restoration, had shown an obstructive and factious spirit. Necker found himself surrounded by intrigues; he was even denied by Maurepas a seat in the council of state, on the ground of his being a Protestant; and the result was that, in disgust, he tendered his resignation, which was accepted by the king on the 25th of May, 1781. Maurepas died a few months afterwards; and Vergennes, without being named prime minister, succeeded to the chief place in the confidence of the king. From the date of Necker's fall reactionary tendencies won the day, and the opposition to the continued

survival of parts of the effete feudal system grew apace. Joly de Fleury now undertook the direction of the finances, in which he proved himself signally incapable; Ormesson, his successor, retained the office for only seven months; and at length M. de Calonne. formerly intendant at Lille, was given the control of the finances. chiefly by the recommendation of Marie Antoinette, in October, 1783. Calonne possessed talents of a high order, and was celebrated for his wit, his elegant manners, and his luxurious, extravagant habits of life. Such a man was ill-fitted to direct the helm of state in these threatening times; nevertheless Calonne obtained considerable influence over the king by his self-confidence and inexhaustible fertility of resource. His administration was characterized by reckless prodigality; the courtiers were gratified without hesitation in all their demands; all thought of economy was cast to the winds; every possible expedient for raising money was exhausted in succession, with a total disregard of the future. In the course of four years Calonne borrowed no less than eight hundred millions of francs; and his later loans were not registered by the parlement without angry remonstrances. Meanwhile the distress of the people became more and more insupportable, and the conviction rapidly gained ground that no real improvement in their condition could be looked for except through great and radical changes in the entire system of government.

The royal family and the court sank sensibly in the popular estimation during the ministry of Calonne. The enormous debts of the Comte d'Artois-the ruinous extravagance of the queenthe outrageous amount of the pensions and other gratifications lavished upon idle, worthless favourites-all furnished matter of resentment throughout the country. The mysterious affair of the "collier"—a diamond necklace said to have been purchased by the Cardinal de Rohan for Marie Antoinette-belongs to this period, and tended, however unjustly, to render that unfortunate princess an object of widespread suspicion and obloguy. Affairs at last arrived at such a pitch that it was found impossible to pay the interest of the various loans contracted by the state, and the minister could no longer disguise the alarming truth either from himself or from the king. Roused to earnestness by the crisis, Calonne now prepared and submitted to Louis a plan of reform, comprising various measures already proposed by his predecessors -such as the equal distribution of taxes, the suppression of unjust privileges, the diminution of the tailles, the abolition of the corvée and the gabelle. In order to procure the semblance of national sanction for his scheme, Calonne determined to convoke the Assembly of notables, of which several precedents had occurred under former reigns. Louis, after some hesitation, consented to the step,

and a list was drawn up of 144 individuals, belonging almost exclusively to the privileged classes, whom the sovereign was to appoint on this important occasion to represent the nation. The meeting of the notables took place at Versailles on the 22nd of February, 1787, shortly after the death of Vergennes. Calonne addressed them in a brilliant but specious and disingenuous speech, in which, after acknowledging that the actual deficit in the finances amounted to one hundred and twelve millions of francs, he ascribed the blame to the mistakes of former statesmen, and especially inculpated Necker. He then proceeded to unfold his propositions of reform, which met with the reception that might have been expected from the composition of the assembly; for it was little less than absurd to suppose that the privileged orders would willingly vote the abrogation of their own privileges. Calonne's demands were indignantly rejected; his enemies, headed by Loménie de Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, accused him of systematic fraud and malversation; his friends and supporters, including even the queen and the Comte d'Artois, disavowed and abandoned him: and Louis found it necessary in the end to banish him into Lorraine.

§ 6. The fallen minister was succeeded in power by his rival. the intriguing Archbishop de Brienne, who owed his appointment entirely to the influence of Marie Antoinette. This prelate, who was soon created Archbishop of Sens and a cardinal, presented to the notables several of the measures of his predecessor, which after much stormy discussion were approved; and the king then dissolved the sessions of this body on the 25th of May, 1787. But Brienne now found himself confronted by a much more intractable and formidable assembly, namely, the parlement of Paris. Here it soon appeared that a powerful opposition had been organized against the crown, under the leadership of four eloquent and determined magistrates, Duport, Robert de St. Vincent, Freteau de St. Just, and Eprémesnil. The spirit by which the parlement was animated at this juncture seems at first sight wholly unaccountable; for instead of stoutly defending popular rights and liberties, as of old, it now contested measures of salutary reform directed against the privileged classes. But the simple truth is that these reforms were resisted solely because they were proposed by the court and the government. So long as they were combating the royal authority, the opposition leaders felt sure of popular sympathy and support, whatever might be the nature and real merits of the struggle. A few of the ministerial propositions, including that relating to the new provincial assemblies, were adopted; but upon the presentation of two edicts for levying a tax upon landed property without distinction of orders, and for a duty upon stamps, a violent

outburst of indignation ensued, and the registration was peremptorily refused. The parlement even went so far as to declare its own incompetence to enforce the establishment of any new impost: maintaining that, according to the ancient constitution of France, that power belonged to the States-General only. The mention of the States-General worked like a charm; the cry was caught up by multitudes throughout the kingdom, and it was speedily recognised as the rallying word for all who desired to apply a searching and effectual remedy to the chronic maladies of the state. Brienne, however, resolved on attempting to overawe the parlement by an extreme exercise of sovereign authority; he caused Louis to hold a bed of justice, in which the edicts were registered by force; and as the parlement persisted in remonstrating, and declared the registration null and void, it was exiled by royal proclamation to Troyes. This step was followed by serious popular riots both in Paris and the provinces.

The mistakes and incompetence of Brienne greatly hastened the march of events towards the catastrophe which was already inevitable. He was soon forced to enter into a sort of compromise with the rebellious parlement, which was recalled to Paris upon the understanding that the projected imposts on stamps and land should be withdrawn, and that the States-General should be convoked within the period of five years. The parlement agreed in return to grant certain subsidies for the present exigencies of the public service, and to consent to renewed loans for the future. But mutual confidence was now at an end between the parties, and neither seems to have acted in sincerity. The minister required the sanction of the parlement to a loan of four hundred and twenty millions of livres, to be raised in five years; and in order to secure compliance, Louis held what was called a "royal sitting," an expedient which differed very slightly from the despotism of a bed of justice. This was a fatal indiscretion; the parlement was instantly in arms, and, amid violent agitation, refused to consent to the loan. The king still insisted on implicit obedience, arrested and imprisoned two of the magistrates, and banished the Duke of Orleans, who had made hin self prominent in the discussion, to his château at Villers Cotterets.

The court and the parlement were now once more in open collision. A long and high-sounding statement of grievances, presented to the king in January, 1788, was promptly met by the arrest of two of the most obnoxious leaders of the opposition, Eprémesnil and Goislard. This act of rigour was followed up by a still bolder coup d'état, which entirely changed the constitution of the parlement, and transferred the duty of registering the royal edicts to a cour plénière, or council composed of nobles, prelates,

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and other personages of distinction, nominated by the king himself. This new institution, however, by which the court probably hoped to evade the necessity of convoking the States-General, was received with universal derision, and proved a lamentable failure. Even the heads of the clergy, and several noblemen of the highest rank and of unquestionable loyalty, absolutely refused to sit in the cour plénière; seditious disturbances broke out in the provinces, in Brittany, Dauphiné, Béarn;—the parlement of Rennes, in particular, denounced as criminals any one who should take part in carrying out the late decree. The Cardinal de Brienne had now completely exhausted all his resources, and was at a loss for funds to defray the most ordinary expenses of the government. In this extremity he counselled Louis to make the grand concession which was now demanded by the popular voice from one end of the kingdom to the other; and accordingly an official announcement was soon published that the States-General were summoned to meet on the 1st of May, 1789. This was the last act of the cardinal's administration; he resigned office on the 25th of August, 1788, and at once quitted France for Italy, leaving the government in a state of confusion.

§ 7. Louis took perhaps the wisest course that was open to him at this perilous crisis: he recalled Necker, and confided to him the chief direction of affairs. His choice was fully justified; the return of this popular financier was hailed by a general outburst of applause; the public funds rose instantaneously; and the government received voluntary offers of loans to an immense amount. Necker, although estimating but too truly the difficulties and dangers of his position, hastened to undo, as far as was possible, the grievous mistakes of the two preceding cabinets; he revoked the edicts establishing the cour plénière, reinstated the parlement, liberated numbers of political prisoners, and exerted himself to relieve the almost starving population in the rural districts. But the main subject of his solicitude was the approaching meeting of the States-General: which was indeed the topic which absorbed the anxious attention of the whole nation. That ancient constitutional assembly had been so long disused, that the greatest ignorance and confusion prevailed respecting it; even Necker himself deemed it advisable, as a preliminary measure, to convoke the notables a second time, and obtain their judgment as to the composition of this great national council, which was about to decide the destinies of France. The problem to be solved was this: what should be the relative proportion and importance of the commons, or tiers état, as compared with the representatives of the two privileged classes, the nobles and clergy. In ancient times, each of the three orders had returned to the States-General an equal number of deputies; 2 H

but it was now demanded on the part of the people that their representatives should equal those of the other two orders combined; and further, that, in voting, the assembly should form but one. united body, instead of three separate chambers as heretofore. Another point to be settled was whether the possession of landed property should be a necessary qualification for the deputies of the commons. This latter question—one of extreme importance—was at once decided by the notables in the negative; and the principle of the double representation of the tiers état was in like manner rejected by a very large majority. Necker was nevertheless induced to overrule this determination; and a royal ordinance prescribed that the total number of deputies should be at least one thousandthat the principles of election should be those of population and amount of taxes contributed in each bailliage—and that the representatives of the commons should be equal to those of the other two orders conjointly. Of the third question—that of the mode of voting-no mention was made at all.

§ 8. The elections took place amid great excitement throughout the country, and were in some instances attended with serious tumults. Meanwhile Paris was inundated with pamphlets upon the all-engrossing theme, no less than two thousand having been published in the course of three months. The most celebrated was that of the Abbé Siéyès, entitled, What is the Tiers Etat? which was circulated into every corner of the kingdom, and created an extraordinary and profound impression. Its main principles were thus enunciated: "What is the Third Estate? Everything. What has it been hitherto in a political sense? Nothing. What does it ask to be? Something."

The winter which preceded the meeting of the States was one of unusual severity; the harvest had partially failed, and provisions soon rose to an enormous price. This aggravated the sufferings of the people, and added greatly to the general discontent and agitation. Necker generously sacrificed a large part of his private fortune in endeavouring to provide food for the famishing poor of Paris.

It was under such gloomy auspices that the States-General met at Versailles, on the 5th of May, 1789. This memorable day was virtually the last of the old Monarchy of France, and the first of the Revolution.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

ON THE PUBLIC REVENUE, TAX-ATION, AND FINANCIAL AD-MINISTRATION.

The revenues of the early French monarchs consisted chiefly of the feudal dues accruing to them as lords of the domaine royal. Besides the ordinary seigneurial payments, the king was entitled, on his accession, to the droit de joyeux avenement, for confirming in their appointments all officers depending directly on the crown. Further revenues were derived from the régale, paid by every bishop and abbot on succeeding to his preferment; from the droit de franc fief, due from a roturier whenever he was raised to the possession of a fief; from the sale of charters and municipal privileges; from the droit d'aubaine, by which sovereign claimed the property of all foreigners dying on the soil; from the droit de gîte and droit de pourvoirie, or de prise, which furnished the king and his household with everything necessary to their accommodation during a royal progress. In later times one of the most fruitful sources of the royal revenue was the sale of public offices, vénalité des of ces,-chiefly magisterial and judicial, -which was first introduced by Louis XII. on undertaking his Italian wars, and was afterwards carried to an enormous extent under Francis I, and succeeding monarchs.

The first approach to a regular system of taxation dates from the reign of Philippe de Bel. This prince levied a taille, or general property-tax, amounting at first to a hundredth part, and afterwards to a fiftieth, of the value of the property, assessed. This measure provoked a violent resistance; revolts broke out at Paris, Rouen, and Orleans; and Philip found himself unable to maintain the taille as a permanent burden. His necessities compelled him to resort to other fiscal expedients. He imposed a duty on articles of consumption; greatly increased the gabelle, or salt-tax; and obtained from the States-General of 1314 a percentage of six deniers in a livre on the sale of all provisions. He also established customsduties (droit de haut-passage) of seven deniers per livre on the import and export of merchandise. These imposts received the generic name of maltôtes (from the two corrupt Latin words mala tolta), and the officers who collected them were called maltotiers.

Charles V., after the suppression of the insurrection under Marcel, took further steps towards a regular fiscal revenue, and in 1369 renewed the taille under the name of fouage, at the rate of four livres for every house in the towns, and thirty sous in the rural districts. (Fouage is derived from feu, answering to the English hearthtax.) But on his deathbed Charles revoked the fouages. Various changes and fluctuations followed; and the taille did not become perretual until granted to Charles VII. by the celebrated edict of the States of Orleans, in 1439, for the maintenance of the standing army. From this date the financial system was administered with greater precision; its principal resources may be classed under the two heads of tailles, or direct taxes, and aides or indirect taxes, otherwise excise duties.

I. The taille was at the same time a tax on persons and on landed property. It produced under Charles VII. 1,800,000 livres; but increasing with great rapidity. it was raised under Francis I. to upwards of nine millions of livres. It soon became odious, and excited grave discontent and agitation, not only from its burdensome amount, but from the glaring inequality of its assessment. The privileged orders, the noblesse and the clergy, were altogether exempt from the taille; the former on account of their ancient pretensions to feudal sovereignty; the latter because they voted supplies to the crown in their own ecclesiastical assemblies. In consequence, the tailles pressed exclusively upon the humbler classes; and in course of time the grievance became so insupportable that every finance minister of modern times made it a primary object to diminish the taille. It was considerably reduced by Sully in 1603, and afterwards by Richelieu and Colbert; the latter statesman, in a memorial presented to Louis XIV. in 1664, pointed out the ruinous oppressiveness of this unjust tax, and strongly urged the necessity of abolishing the exemptions enjoyed by the richer classes. He succeeded in suppressing a large number of false titles of nobility, and subjecting the usurpers to taxation; but after his death (1683) the tailles and other burdens were again enormously augmented; and the misery

thus occasioned became eventually one of the main causes of the Revolution.

Vauban proposed, in 1695, to replace the taille and other direct taxes by an uniform contribution under the name of the dime royale, to be payable by all classes alike. This project was unfavourably received by Louis XIV., and led to the disgrace of its author. A tax, however, of the same nature and amount—the discibne—was imposed upon the entire nation in 1710, towards the close of the great war of the Spanish Succession. The discibne was to lost till the expiration of three months from the announcement of peace; it was continued, in fact, for a much longer period.

II. The aides, or excise duties, date from the States-General of 1356. They were originally voted and assessed by the representatives of those who were to pay them; but the kings soon usurped the right of imposing them by their own authority. They became permanent at the beginning of the 15th century. The aides were of three kinds:-1. Ordinary, consisting of the vingtième, or one sou per livre on all liquors sold wholesale, and of the fourth-or, in later times, the eighthpart of the retail price. 2. Extraordinary, which were duties levied in time of war or other special exigency; and 3. Octrois, or duties imposed on all provisions exposed for sale in towns, a certain proportion of which, usually one-half, was paid into the royal treasury. To these may be added other indirect taxes, such as those on gold and silver plated articles, on cards and dice, on wrought iron, on weights and measures, and on brokerage. The government monopolies of gunpowder, saltpetre, salt, and tobacco, were also immensely lucrative sources of revenue.

The customs, or douanes, were in ancient times of a very complicated and vexatious nature; including the droit de haut-passage, or export duties; the rêve, a duty paid by aliens for carrying on traffic in France; and the traite foraine, or import duty. These customs were established, not only between France and foreign countries, but between different provinces of France. Artois, Picardy, Anjou, Poitou, Auvergne, Lyonnais, and Languedoc, possessed each its separate douane with a local tariff; and this multiplicity of duties operated as a very serious hindrance to commerce. Colbert induced twelve provinces to unite in establishing freedom of commercial intercourse within their limits. These were styled the cinq

grosses fermes. The rest were classed in the two categories of provinces réputées etrangères, and provinces traitées comme pays étrangères. He thus greatly diminished, though he could not extinguish, the diversity of export and import duties. He also revised and simplified the tariff.

The system of farming the public revenue obtained in France from an early period. The indirect taxes, especially, were leased by the crown upon terms which enabled the holders to realize enormous profits by oppressive exactions from the people. Hence arose the general hatred of these farmers of the taxes, both in ancient and modern times. Their extortions became so scandalous, that both Sully and Colbert were compelled to cancel the greater part of the leases, and to apportion them afresh upon more equitable terms. But these reforms proved ineffectual, and ere long the abuses became more inveterate than ever. In 1720 the farmers of the taxes formed a regular association, called the ferme générale; it included originally forty fermiers généraux, who possessed for a specified number of years the exclusive management of the gabelle, the monopoly of tobacco, the octrois of Paris, and other excise duties. The number of the fermiers généraux was increased ultimately to sixty. They were supported by a crowd of inferior agents, called croupiers, who, without being named in the leases, advanced large sums of money upon their credit, and shared amply in their profits. The enormous wealth and predominant influence acquired by these fermiers généraux grew into a serious public evil in the latter days of the old monarchy. Ministers of state, noblemen, courtiers, and functionaries of all classes were salaried and pensioned by the fermiers, and were thus directly interested in keeping up the ruinous system. Necker made a vigorous attempt to remedy the evil, by withdrawing some of the taxes from the fermiers, and placing them under the direct control of the crown; but the project succeeded only partially, and the old arrangement remained substantially in force until it was swept away by the revolutionary constitution of 1791.

FINANCIAL JURISDICTION AND ADMINI-STRATION.—The administration of the finances was originally in the hands of the civil and military officers of the crown, the baillis, sénéchaux, prévôts, and vicomtes. Philip IV. took the first step towards separating these functions, by instituting the Chambre des Comptes for

the supreme control of all matters relating to the finances. This court became permanent at Paris by an edict of Philip V. ·in 1319. It consisted of two presidents, ten maîtres des comptes, and other officers called correcteurs, clercs, and auditeurs. A further change took place by the creation of the Cour des Aides, which was first fully organized in the reign of Charles This tribunal tried and decided, en dernier ressort, all legal actions and causes connected with matters of taxation and finance; the chambre des comptes being thenceforth restricted to the collection and management of the revenue. In process of time auxiliary chambres des comptes and cours des aides were established in the provinces-at Dijon, Grenoble, Nantes, Rouen, Blois, Montpellier, etc.; but they were all subject to the supreme jurisdiction of the courts at Paris. In the time of Louis XIV. the chambre des comptes comprehended no less than 220 judges and officers of various ranks. At the moment of its suppression in 1790 it numbered in all 289 members.

The earliest ministers of finance were designated surintendants des finances; the unfortunate Enguerrand de Marigny was the first appointed to this office by Philip the Fair. Afterwards they were called trésoriers de France, and sometimes, as in the case of the famous Jacques Cœur, had the title of argentier du roi.

In 1523 Francis I. instituted a central treasury, under the name of the épargne, into which were paid all receipts on account of the public taxes, the excise, and the domaine royal. At the head of this was placed the trésorier de l'épargne, assisted by two contrôleurs généraux. It was their duty to make all payments out of the funds of the state, upon the authority of orders signed by the surintendant des finances; these vouchers were to be produced when they passed their accounts before the chambre des comptes. A few years later France was divided for fiscal purposes into seventeen districts, called généralités; these were afterwards added to and subdivided; in the 18th century there were twenty généralités des pays d'élection, six généralités des pays d'états, and seven intendances. To each of these circumscriptions belonged a Bureau des Finances, composed of two trésoriers, two receveurs-généraux, a garde du trésor, and other officers. These bureaux were created by Henry III. in 1577. They were charged with the distribution of the taxes within their several limits, with the superintendence of subordinate agents, and with the general jurisdiction in matters affecting taxation, subject to appeals to the parliaments. All these offices were venal, and were for that reason multiplied by the crown from time to time on various pretexts.

This complicated and cumbrous machinery existed without material alteration down to the Revolution of 1789. In 1661 the office of surintendant des finances was suppressed, and replaced by that of contrôleur-général. The first holder of the new office was Jean Baptiste Colbert.

The chambre des comptes, cour des aides, and bureaux des finances, were all abolished in 1790. A bureau de comptabilité was named to undertake their functions provisionally, and an entirely new financial administration was introduced under the Consulate, framed chiefly by the minister Gaudin, afterwards Duke of Gaeta. Under this system the supreme control of the public treasury was intrusted to the ministre des finances. In the cheflieu of each department was established a receveur-général for the revenue of the whole department; each arrondissement or sous-prefecture had its receveur-particulier; and each canton, or group of three or more communes, its percepteur, to whom all the direct taxes were payable.

The contributions indirectes, or excise, together with the customs, the administration des domaines, the enrégistrement, and other branches of the revenue, formed several distinct jurisdictions. All cases of complaint against the fiscal government were to be heard in the first instance before the conseils de préfecture, from which an appeal lay to the final judgment of the Council of State.

The cour des comptes was restored by a decree of the first Napoleon in 1807, as a supreme tribunal for the revision and auditing of the public accounts.

The financial organization of the first Empire has remained in force, with slight modifications, down to the present time.





Medal commemorative of the night of August 4, 1789. (For reverse see p. 477.)

BOOK VI.

REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE.

FROM THE MEETING OF THE STATES-GENERAL TO THE ACCESSION OF NAPOLEON III. A.D. 1789-1852.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM THE MEETING OF THE STATES-GENERAL TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS XVI. A.D. 1789-1793.

§ 1. Proceedings of the States-General; The National Assembly; the oath of the Jeu de Paume; the Royal Sitting; fusion of the three orders. § 2. Troops drawn round Paris; insurrection; Camille Desmoulins; fall of the Bastille; Louis at the Hôtel de Ville; murder of Foulon. § 3. Vote of the 4th of August; debates on the Veto; banquet at Versailles; the mob of Paris march to Versailles and attack the château; the king and royal family brought back to Paris. § 4. Measures of the National Assembly; confiscation of Church property; the assignats. § 5. Emigration of the nobility; fête of the Federation; retirement of Necker. § 6. Intrigues of the court with Mirabeau; death of Mirabeau; the flight to Varennes; affair of the Champ de Mars. § 7. The Legislative Assembly; state of parties;

the Feuillants; the Girondins. § 8. Decrees against the emigrants and the nonjuring priests; Pétion mayor of Paris; declaration of Pilnitz: the Girondist ministry; France declares war against Austria. § 9. Position and strength of the French armies; reverses in the Netherlands; dismissal of the Girondist ministers; Lafayette's letter to the assembly; insurrection of the 20th of June. § 10. The country proclaimed to be in danger; march of the Federates to Paris; proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick; popular indignation at Paris; preparations for insurrection. § 11. The 10th of August; capture of the Tuileries; massacre of the Swiss guard; deposition of Louis. § 12. The royal family committed to the Temple; the Prussians invade France and take Longwy and Verdun; defection of Lafayette. § 13. Consternation at Paris; massacres of September. § 14. Successful operations of Dumouriez; battle of Valmy; retreat of the Prussians to the Rhine; battle of Jemmappes; conquest of Belgium. § 15. THE NATIONAL CONVENTION; the Girondists, the Montagne, the Plaine; debates on the trial of the king. § 16. The king brought to trial before the Convention; his defence by Desèze. § 17. Violent scenes in the Convention; Louis sentenced to death; his execution.

§ 1. THE States-General met on the 5th of May, 1789, in the hall of the "Menus Plaisirs" at Versailles, which had been prepared for the occasion. The king, after the imposing pageant of a magnificent procession from the church of Notre Dame to the hall of meeting, opened the session in a speech which failed to satisfy the expectations of his hearers. Barentin, the keeper of the seals, and Necker followed, the latter making a financial statement which, although lucid and well-arranged, wearied the audience by the length of its details; his tone with regard to projected reforms was also considered vague and unsatisfactory. The first business to be transacted by the chambers was to verify their writs of return. The assembly consisted of 1145 members; of whom 291 belonged to the clergy, 270 to the nobility, and 584 to the tiers état. Thus the deputies of the Third Estate more than outnumbered the united force of the nobles and clergy; and when we add to this that two-thirds of the clerical representatives were parish priests, who from habit and association would naturally sympathize with and support the tiers état, it is plain that the predominance of the Third Estate was, from the first, undoubted. The commons, who on account of their numbers occupied the great hall of assembly, invited the attendance of the nobles and clergy, in order to perform this duty in conjuction; -- a proceeding designed to settle, by tacit implication, the all-important question of the mode of voting—that it should take place, not by separate orders, but together and numerically. The nobles declined this proposal, verified their powers in their own chamber, and declared themselves constituted.

The clergy made a similar decision, but proposed a conference to adjust the difficulty; this accordingly took place, but without effect beyond that of increasing the disunion and irritation between the orders. The tiers état, conscious of its overwhelming strength, persisted in its system of passive obstruction; the deputies refused to enter on any business, and announced that, in the absence of the other two orders, they remained unconstituted for the purposes of legislation. Several weeks were thus passed in inaction, a conciliatory attempt on the part of the court proved fruitless; and at length, on the 10th of June, after bold and inflammatory speeches from the famous Mirabeau and the Abbé Siéyès, the commons proceeded to the verification of powers for the whole body of representatives, whether present or absent. They were now joined by a few members of the clergy, but the nobles resolutely continued to stand aloof. On the 17th, again at the instigation of Siévès, the commons, rejecting the title of States-General, assumed that of the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, and proclaimed that, being now recognised as the sole legitimate representatives of the French people, they would at once address themselves to the great and urgent questions of the state of the nation, and imperative measures of reform. The clergy, on the next day but one, determined, though by a small majority, to unite itself with this self-constituted legislature.

The king, the royal family, the court, even Necker himself, were dismayed by this audacious conduct. The nobles besought Louis to repress with a vigorous hand this rebellious action on the part of the commons. It was resolved, by the advice of Necker, to hold a Royal Session, or Séance Royale, in the assembly, in which, with every appearance of gracious concession, the alarming aggression of the tiers état should be firmly met and arrested; and the meeting of the deputies was suspended by proclamation for three days, under the pretext of making the necessary preparations in the hall. On the 20th of June, the president, Bailly, accompanied by several members, presented himself notwithstanding at the doors, where he found a guard of soldiers posted, and was refused entrance. Builly, indignant at this invasion of the rights of the assembly, protested strong'y against the violence; the deputies hurriedly gathered round him, and it was resolved to adjourn to a neighbouring tennis-court (jeu de paume), where, with every demonstration of patriotic ardour and enthusiasm, the members took a solemn oath "that they would continue to meet for the despatch of business wherever circumstances might require, until the constitution of the kingdom had been established upon sound and solid foundations." A further attempt was made by the court to prevent the meeting of the assembly on the 22nd; it took place, nevertheless, in the church of Saint Louis, and here 149 deputies of the clergy, headed by

the Archbishop of Vienne, associated themselves with the tiers étut. The Royal Session, or Séance Royale, was held on the 23rd of June, according to arrangement. The king severely condemned the proceedings of the commons, and afterwards announced a series of extensive concessions, which included the right of the representatives of the people to control the taxes. But the financial privileges of the nobles and clergy were declared to be unassailable, and the States-General were bidden to vote par ordre. Louis concluded his speech by ordering the deputies to adjourn immediately, and to reassemble the next day in the separate chambers assigned to them, for the despatch of business. expression was added, which resembled a threat to dissolve the assembly, in case of a refusal to comply with his commands. Then followed one of the remarkable scenes of the Revolution. When the king withdrew, the nobles and the greater part of the clergy also quitted the hall; the tiers état retained their seats. After a time the Marquis de Brézé, grand master of the ceremonies, reappeared, and said, "Gentlemen, you have heard the orders of the king." "Yes," replied the president; "and I am now about to take the orders of the assembly." Mirabeau then rose, and said, "Yes, sir, we have heard the king's intentions; and you, who have no seat or voice in this assembly, are no fit organ of communication to remind us of his speech. Return and tell your master that we are here by the power of the people, and that nothing short of the bayonet shall drive us hence." The marquis retired; and the assembly, having been reminded by Siévès that "they were to-day neither more nor less than they had been yesterday," proceeded to vote the personal inviolability of its members, and to denounce the penalty of death against any one who should attack their liberty.

The king now ordered the rest of the deputies of the nobility and clergy to join the *tiers état*. With great reluctance they complied; and the fusion of the three orders took place on the 27th of June.

§ 2. Dissatisfied with the results of Necker's advice, Louis now listened to the queen and the court party, and began to concentrate an army of 40,000 men upon Paris and its vicinity. As a protest against this action, Mirabeau, who took the lead in the assembly, carried a motion requesting the king to remove these troops. Louis replied by dismissing Necker on the 12th of July, appointing Marshal de Broglie to the command of the troops, and forming a new ministry.

No sooner were these events publicly known, than a violent insurrection burst forth in the capital. A young lawyer named Camille Desmoulins harangued the populace in the Palais Royal; the cry "To arms!" resounded on all sides; a procession was

started towards the Hôtel de Ville; and a charge made by the Prince de Lambesc at the head of a German regiment, in which several persons were killed and wounded, inflamed their indignation to fury. An assembly of electors, sitting at the Hôtel de Ville, governed the movements of the insurgents; they ordered the immediate enrolment of national guards, and took vigorous measures for providing these enthusiastic volunteers with arms; 50,000 pikes were manufactured in two days, and an immense quantity of muskets, swords, and cannon were seized at the Hôtel des Invalides. The royal troops, meanwhile, remained inactive in their encampment in the Champs Elysées; their officers, it is supposed, having good reason to believe they would not act against the people. Thus the mob found themselves, in fact, masters of Paris; and on the 14th of July a desperate attack was made on the Bastille. The governor, Launay, defended himself with his scanty garrison of two hundred Swiss; but an entrance was at length effected by treachery, and after a conflict of five hours this detested stronghold of despotism was stormed and captured. Launay and three of his officers were barbarously murdered; and the prévôt des marchands Flesselles, whom the savage victors accused of treachery to the popular cause, shared the same fate.

From the first moment of the outbreak at Paris, Versailles had been a scene of extreme agitation and terror. The assembly sent a deputation to the king to request him to dismiss the troops; this Louis declined, but offered, if the members felt alarmed, to transfer their sittings to Soissons, and to proceed himself to Compiègne. When the Duc de Liancourt came to announce to him the fall of the Bastille, the king exclaimed, "This is revolt!" "Sire," replied the duke, "it is a Revolution." The next morning Louis went to the hall of the assembly, on foot and without guards, and in a few simple and touching words assured the representatives that they had nothing to fear, promised to dismiss the foreign troops and to recall Necker, and expressed the utmost confidence in the loyalty of his hearers. He was received with transports of applause, and reconducted by a deputation of the members to the palace. On the following day, the 17th of June, Louis set out from Versailles to the capital, escorted by an immense multitude of the lowest rabble, hastilv armed with pikes, hatchets, and muskets, and dragging with them some pieces of artillery. Louis and his escort reached the Hôtel de Ville in safety, although an outbreak of violence had been fully expected. Bailly welcomed the king with specious professions of loyalty, and placed in his hands the keys of the city, observing that they were the same keys that had been presented to Henry IV. "Then," continued the orator, "it was the king who had reconquered his people; now it is the people who

have made a conquest of their king." Having assumed the tricoloured cockade, and confirmed the appointment of Lafayette as commandant of the newly-formed national guard, and that of Bailly as mayor. Louis then withdrew, and returned to Versailles under the protection of his body-guard.

The fury of the people, however, demanded victims. Their rage was directed against Foulon, who had succeeded Necker as one of



The lantern at the corner of the Place de Grève.

the new ministry. He attempted to escape, but was seized on his way to Fontainebleau, and dragged back to Paris, to the Hôtel de Ville, on the 22nd of July. Lafayette attempted to save him by proposing to conduct him to the prison of the Abbaye; but the mob, impatient for revenge, hanged him by the lantern at the corner of the street. His son-in-law Berthier was seized later in the day, and was hanged in the same way. This was the beginning of mob-law, and of the fatal cry of à la lanterne, which was so frequently heard in the streets of Paris.

§ 3. The spirit of lawlessness and insurrection now spread rapidly into the provinces. The peasants in various districts, especially in Dauphiné, Provence, and Burgundy, rose against the landed proprietors, and fearful scenes of plunder, devastation, and bloodshed ensued. The National Assembly, upon receiving the news of these excesses, entered upon an animated discussion of the measures to be taken for the restoration of order; and two noblemen, the Viscomte de Noailles and the Duc d'Aiguillon, proposed as a remedy that all feudal rights and exclusive privileges should be redeemed at a valuation, and that all seigneurial corvées, and other antiquated claims of personal service, should be absolutely abolished. The impulse thus hastily given was followed up with wild and reckless enthusiasm; the members eagerly vied with each other in devising acts of self-sacrifice for the public benefit; and on the memorable night of the 4th of August a general surrender was



Reverse of medal commemorative of night of August 4, 1789. (For obverse see p. 471.)

voted of the ancient feudal constitution which had reigned for so many centuries in France. The decree passed by the assembly on this occasion was an act of revolution more profound and sweeping than even the destruction of the Bastille. It entirely changed the face of society; and like so many of those sudden schemes of reform which spring up in times of popular agitation, it ended in extremes which were by no means contemplated when it was first

proposed. The ecclesiastic tithes, which in the first instance had been declared redeemable, were abolished, a few days later, without compensation; the assembly simply undertaking in vague terms to provide a maintenance for the clergy. Against this act of spoliation the Abbé Siéyès protested, and the debate was protracted to some length; but the measure was eventually carried by an immense majority. "You have unloosed the bull, M. l'Abbé," observed Mirabeau to Siéyès; "and you must not be surprised if he makes use of his horns." The king, compelled, however reluctantly, to accept the whole of these alarming decrees, was saluted by the assembly as the "Restorer of French Liberty."



OH! BRAVO, MESDAMES; C'EST DONG À VOTRE TOUR. Patriotic Gifts. 7th September, 1789. (From an engraving of the time.)

The assembly next occupied itself in drawing up a "Declaration of the Rights of Man," in imitation of a similar document published in North America. Then followed lengthened deliberations upon the form of the new constitution, and especially upon the questions whether the legislature should consist of two chambers or of one, and whether the Royal Veto upon laws proposed by the assembly should be absolute or only suspensive. It was decided by large majorities that the power of legislation should reside in a single chamber, and that the veto of the crown should be suspensive during the term of two sessions. This restrictive clause, which left the crown little more than a nominal prerogative, was carried in opposition to Mirabeau, who argued with eloquence in favour of the absolute veto. Mounier, Lally Tollendal, Clermont de la

Tonnerre, Malouet, and other wise and moderate members, also voted in the minority.

Meanwhile the court party, alarmed by rumours of a fresh insurrectionary outbreak at Paris, laboured to persuade the king to withdraw to Metz, the head-quarters of a considerable force under the Marquis de Bouillé. Failing in this, they induced him to recall to Versailles one of the regiments of the line, called that of Flanders. On the 3rd of October the officers of this regiment were entertained at a grand banquet by their comrades of the body-guard, in the theatre of the palace. Great enthusiasm was manifested; loyal toasts were given, loyal airs played by the band; the boxes were crowded by the noblemen and ladies of the court; the king and queen, with the infant dauphin, made their appearance among the guests, and their presence raised the prevailing excitement to the highest pitch; the white cockade of the Bourbons were distributed with rapturous applause, and it is said that the national tricolour was trodden under foot.

When the news of this indiscreet proceeding reached Paris, it was instantly denounced by the popular leaders as an attempt on the part of the court to create a counter-revolution; and as the lower classes were suffering at this moment from a scarcity of provisions, the prospect of famine made it easy to excite them to fresh acts of violence. The outbreak which followed is generally attributed to the agency of the Duke of Orleans, who probably aimed at obtaining, by means of the deposition of Louis, the first place in the government. The mob of Paris was instigated to march to Versailles. Headed by a band of half-frantic women, they set out on the morning of the 5th of October, under the leadership of one Maiilard, a notorious ruffian who had distinguished himself at the capture of the Bastille. On their arrival in the afternoon, they rushed to the hall of the assembly, and Maillard, attended by a crowd of women, proceeded to harangue the dismayed legislators. exposing to them the miseries of the famished people, and demanding instant redress. Mounier, the president, was directed to go at once to the palace, whither several of the female rioters insisted on accompanying him. The king received them with his wonted affability, and such was the impression made on his strange visitors by the kindness of his language and demeanour, that their fury was for the moment completely overcome, and they retired from the presence with acclamations of "Vive le Roi!" In the mean time, however, a fierce brawl had broken out in the square before the château between the rest of the Parisian rabble, the body-guard, and the national guard of Versailles. Two of the body-guards were killed, and several women wounded. The irritation of the mob now rapidly increased; they broke out into furious curses and

threats against the court, especially against the queen; and caused general terror by establishing themselves for the night by the side of large fires in every part of the town. About midnight Lafavette at length arrived from Paris at the head of the national guard, and, hastening to the palace, reassured the king and the roval family by answering for the fidelity of his troops. Louis intrusted the exterior posts of the château to his charge, and then retired to rest; Lafayette, worn out with fatigue and anxiety, himself sought repose at five in the morning. Before daylight a party of the rioters gained entrance to the château through a gate which had been left unfastened, and penetrated with horrid threats to the door of the queen's apartment. The sentinel, assaulted and severely wounded, had just time to alarm the ladies in waiting, who warned the queen, and she escaped into the king's bed-chamber. The palace now became a scene of indescribable tumult. The multitude rushed in, and were nobly confronted by the faithful body-guard, several of whom lost their lives; Lafavette, roused from his slumbers, at last made his appearance with a party of grenadiers, rescued seventeen body-guards who were on the point of being massacred, and by energy and resolution succeeded in expelling the murderous brigands from the château. The disturbance was thus quelled; but it was found absolutely necessary to comply with the demand of the populace that the king and his family should return immediately to Paris, where their movements would be under the eve and control of the municipality and the revolutionary leaders. This humiliating journey accordingly took place on the 6th of October, the royal carriages moving at a slow pace in the midst of a vast tumultuous throng of the lowest of the people, madly exulting in their triumph over their captive sovereign. "We shall not die of hunger now," cried the furious poissardes, "for here is the baker, his wife, and the little apprentice!" On alighting at the Tuileries at the close of this agitating day the unhappy Louis must have felt that he was entering a prison rather than a palace. The national assembly in like manner transferred its sittings to the capital.

§ 4. Notwithstanding the excesses of these days of October, nearly a year now elapsed in comparative tranquillity. The assembly pursued its labours in organizing the new constitution, although many of its most valuable members, at the head of whom were Mounier and Lally Tollendal, had retired, despairing of the state of affairs. The constitution was characterized by a love of equality, by a mania for election, and by a jealousy of the executive. Still it was, in many ways, admirable and animated by a sincere patriotism. The king and ministers had little actual power; the attempts to establish a Gallican church was a failure. But many valuable measures were introduced. The right of succession by primogeniture

was abrogated, and parents were compelled to make an equal division of their property among all their children; the liberty of the press was proclaimed; hereditary titles of nobility were suppressed; all Frenchmen who paid taxes equal in value to a "silver mark," without distinction of class or creed, were declared alike eligible for employment by the state; the criminal code was reformed, and juries were allowed in criminal, though not in civil, cases. The ancient division of France into provinces was replaced by the creation of eighty-three nearly equal departments, which were again subdivided into districts, cantons, and communes, all administered by elected authorities. The electoral franchise was placed virtually in the hands of every active citizen, i.e. every man who paid in taxes an amount equivalent to three days' wages. These were momentous changes, all tending alike to the total abolition of the old monarchical system, and the consolidation of the supreme power in the hands of a centralized government, directed really by the representatives of the people.

The assembly was also anxiously engaged on the all-important subject of national finance. Necker, on resuming office, had found it necessary to propose two loans, of thirty and of eighty millions of francs, and also an extraordinary tax amounting to a fourth part of the contributors' income. These measures had been sanctioned. after long debates, by the assembly, but the loans could not be negotiated, and the income-tax, being assessed by the proprietors themselves, and very partially collected, proved quite inadequate to the necessities of the state. In this emergency it was resolved to confiscate the entire possessions of the Church of France. Upon the motion of Talleyrand de Périgord, Bishop of Autun, the church estates were declared the property of the nation, and a decree was passed authorising their sale for the public benefit, to the amount of four hundred millions of francs. Such, however, was the state of confusion and alarm which now prevailed throughout the country. that it was found extremely difficult to obtain purchasers. To meet the urgency of the moment, the corporation of Paris contracted to take a certain portion of the sequestered estates, which was to be resold in course of time to private individuals; other municipalities followed this example; and as they were unable to pay in specie, they were allowed to issue bonds or promissory notes, secured upon the property, which the creditors of the state were to accept instead of money. It was thus that the famous system of assignats took its rise. These assignats were afterwards issued upon the credit of the government, and, a forced currency given to them, they were made to answer all the purposes of coin. But as the value of the assignats depended wholly upon public credit, the subsequent rapid march of the Revolution reduced them at length to a state of utter FRANCE.

depreciation. They were reissued from time to time in immense quantities, but became altogether worthless in the end, the amount in circulation far exceeding the whole value of the property which

they professedly represented.

§ 5. Lafayette and Necker now united their influence to procure the exile of the Duke of Orleans, who quitted France under cover of a diplomatic mission to England. The emigration of a higher nobility, which had commenced almost immediately after the fall of the Bastille, also greatly increased. The Comte d'Artois, brother of the king, the Princes of Condé and Conti, the Dukes of Bourbon and Enghien, several members of the Polignac family, and others bearing the most illustrious names in the kingdom, abandoned their country and sought shelter in Piedmont, Switzerland, the towns on the Rhine, and in England.

The fête of the Federation, celebrated on the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, July 14th, 1790, was one of the few days during the progress of the Revolution which gave some faint promise of the restoration of social order. An altar was erected in the midst of the Champ de Mars; in front of this the king took his seat upon a throne, the president of the assembly occupying one precisely similar at his side. The royal family were seated immediately behind, and the vast square was througed by the members of the legislature, the national guard, the troops of the line, sixty thousand federates, and a countless multitude of the population of Paris. High mass was celebrated by the Bishop of Autun; after which Lafavette recited the oath of fidelity to the new constitution, and, taking it first himself, was followed by the whole body of the federates, each raising his right hand and exclaiming, "Je le jure!" Louis took the oath in the form prescribed for him by the assembly, and the queen at the same moment held up the dauphin in her arms, as if to associate him with his father's act. This demonstration produced widespread enthusiasm; but as one of the historians remarks, it was a fête which "had no morrow." Fresh revolutionary agitation broke out immediately afterwards, and serious riots occurred, especially at Marseilles, Valence, Nismes, and Toulouse. Several regiments mutinied in the garrison at Nancy, and were not reduced to submission by the Marquis de Bouillé till after a combat in which two thousand lives were lost. Necker, finding that his popularity had greatly declined, and that he had lost his influence both with the king, his colleagues, and the assembly, now resigned his office, and retired, for the last time, into Switzerland (September, 1790).

§ 6. An attempt was made during 1790 by the court to avert the ruin which but too clearly threatened the monarchy, by entering into a secret correspondence with Mirabeau. This remarkable man

was keenly alive to the dangers which threatened the monarchy from the rapid progress of anarchy in France. He insisted that the intervention of foreign powers should at all costs be prevented. and that the executive power should be strengthened. If the king could convince the nation that in no circumstances would be consent to the restoration of the ancien régime, Mirabeau felt confident that the anarchy could be quelled. Mirabeau accepted a large monthly pension from Monsieur, had an interview with Marie Antoinette in the park of St. Cloud, and endeavoured till his death to benefit France and the royal family. To prevent international complications, he became a member of the diplomatic committee, and averted a war with England over a quarrel about Nootka Sound. Spain had attacked an English ship in Nootka Sound, and demanded the assistance of France. Mirabeau persuaded the assembly to decline to give aid, and the war was avoided. In December, 1790, he drew up a plan for arresting the torrent of democratic anarchy, and establishing the authority of Louis as a constitutional sovereign. The king was to take his departure secretly from Paris, and proceed either to Lyons or Metz, where he would be surrounded by troops and generals faithfully devoted to him. He was then to repudiate all the proceedings and decrees of the existing legislature, to pronounce its dissolution, and summon another to meet forthwith. Mirabeau conceived himself strong enough to ensure a majority of moderate men, disposed to maintain a limited monarchy, in the new assembly; he reckoned on the zealous adhesion of the clergy, who since the confiscation of their property were bitterly exasperated against the present leaders and the whole revolutionary movement; the nobility and the heads of the army might be depended on for rallying round the throne; and the Parisian mob was to be coerced and overpowered, in case of necessity, by armed force.* This scheme, in the existing state of parties, might possibly have proved successful. Louis, however, from natural indecision of character, and from an insurmountable horror of civil war, long hesitated to accept it; and when at last he had reconciled his mind to its adoption, the course of events had rendered it no longer practicable. Mirabeau, who had ruined his constitution, expired, after a few weeks of intense suffering, on the 2nd of April, 1791. His death was a serious misfortune to the cause both of royalty and constitutional liberty, as it threw the chief authority in the assembly into the hands of agitators pledged to the most extreme doctrines of republicanism. Mirabeau predicted in his last moments the approaching ruin of the monarchy: "When I am gone," said he, "the factions will soon rend it into fragments."

^{*} Dumont, Souvenirs sur Mirabeau.

Finding his position more and more critical, and exposed daily to fresh mortifications and insults. Louis, after the events of April 18, when the mob prevented him and the queen from going to Saint Cloud for Easter, adopted the project of escaping to the frontiers: and measures were concerted for this purpose with Bouillé, who had collected a large body of troops, upon whose loyalty he placed great reliance, in his camp at Montmedy. The king also entered into negotiation with several foreign princes, especially with his brother-in-law the emperor, to obtain their armed intervention in his favour in case of necessity. The emperor massed 35,000 men on the Flemish frontier, and 15,000 more in Alsace. The king now drew up a manifesto, to be presented to the assembly after his departure, in which he recapitulated all the acts of violence perpetrated against the crown and the constitution during the past two years, and declared that he found it absolutely necessary to withdraw to the army, in order to recover his own freedom of action, and to effect the restoration of public order and security. Bouillé having made his preparations, by stationing various detachments of hussars along the road, under pretence of escorting a large sum of money expected from Paris for the payment of the troops, Louis quitted the Tuileries in disguise at midnight on the 20th of June. with the queen, his sister Madame Elizabeth, the dauphin, the princess royal, and Mme. de Tourzel, governess to the royal children. The fugitives drove rapidly to Bondy, where they entered a travelling-carriage which awaited them, and proceeded in safety as far as Châlons-sur-Marne. Here it seems that the king was recognised by more than one person, who, however, made no attempt to impede his progress. The carriage advanced to Ste. Ménéhould, where Louis was identified by Drouet, the son of the postmaster, a young man of violent republican opinions. Having overheard the direction given to the postilions to drive to Varennes, a small town which lay off the high road to Montmédy, Drouet rode at full speed across the country to that place, and alarmed the municipality. The royal carriage was stopped on its arrival late at night, and detained on various pretences until a sufficient force of national guards had been collected, when Sausse, the procureur of the commune, informed the king that he was a prisoner. All this time a detachment of Bouille's hussars was waiting on the other side of the river, in the lower town of Varennes, the commanding officer being ignorant of the events which were passing beyond the bridge. A messenger arrived at five in the morning with a decree of the assembly for the immediate return of the royal family to Paris; the hussars, who might have rescued them, refused to obey their officers, and fraternized with the national guard; the king's carriage was turned back, and retraced the road to the metropolis.

An hour and a half afterwards, Bouillé himself reached Varennes, after a forced march of twenty-seven miles, with a whole regiment of cavalry; but he found the bridge broken down, and the passage of the river strongly guarded; the difficulties were insuperable; he was compelled to give up the enterprise as hopeless, and consult his own safety by crossing the frontier into Germany. The king was joined at Châlons by three commissioners from the assembly, under whose charge he re-entered Paris on the 25th of June.

The failure of this attempt was a cruel blow to the hopes of the royalists, and was followed by the gravest consequences. It was now recognised by moderate men that the king's position was intolerable; but the extreme revolutionists and the people generally regarded him as a traitor to the constitution. The assembly suspended him provisionally from his royal functions, and assumed the executive power; the ultra-democrats demanded that he should be brought to trial, and clamoured openly for the proclamation of a republic. The assembly, however, determined that there was no ground for proceeding judicially against Louis on account of the flight to Varennes, and that therefore he should be restored to his throne upon the promulgation of the new constitution; but that, if he should retract his oath of fidelity, or repeat the attempt to leave the kingdom, or place himself at the head of foreign troops, or permit an invasion of France to be made on his behalf, he should be deemed ipso facto to have abdicated, and should become amenable to the law like a private citizen.

This decree enraged the republican party; and by the instigation of the Jacobin and Cordelier clubs, a popular demonstration in opposition to it was made in the Champ de Mars on the 17th of July. The assembly instructed Bailly and Lafayette to take all necessary measures for preserving the public tranquillity. On proceeding to the Champ de Mars they were received with showers of stones and other outrages. All remonstrances proving fruitless, the mayor proclaimed martial law, and ordered the soldiers to fire upon the multitude, when fifty persons fell dead or wounded. This affair entirely destroyed the popularity of Bailly, and brought both Lafayette and the assembly into discredit with the revolutionists.

§ 7. The scheme of the remodelled constitution was at length complete; it was presented to the king, who, on the 21st of September, signified his acceptance of it, and, repairing to the hall of the assembly, took an oath to maintain and execute it faithfully. Louis was upon this declared to be reinstated in the exercise of his regal office; the president then announced that the Constituent National Assembly had terminated its mission, and it was accordingly dissolved on the 30th of September;

1791, having decided, in May, on the motion of Robespierre, that none of its members should be re-eligible to the forthcoming

legislative body.

The LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY commenced its sittings on the 1st of October. It consisted of 745 members, chosen most exclusively from the middle class; a large proportion being provincial avocats, who had no experience in politics. It was soon found that, notwithstanding the general diffusion of revolutionary principles and doctrines, the new legislature contained within itself several distinctly marked parties, with smaller subdivisions. The Right was occupied by the Constitutionalists, or Feuillants,* who were for some time the preponderant section, until they lost the command of the municipality of Paris, which was wrested from them by their opponents of the Left. The Feuillants professed to be satisfied with the political changes which had already taken place, and upheld the new system as giving sufficient security for popular liberty, while it preserved at the same time the forms and restraining authority of the monarchy. The leaders of this party were Mathieu Dumas, Remond, Vaublanc, Girardin, and Lemontey; it was also joined by Barnave, Duport, and Lameth, through whom friendly and even confidential relations were kept up with Louis and the court. The most powerful adherent of the Feuillants beyond the walls of the assembly was Lafayette. The Left, or party opposed to the Feuillants, consisted of revolutionists, more or less violent and extreme in their views and purposes. Many of the ablest men in the assembly were ranged on this side; the most conspicuous were Vergniaud, Guadet, and Gensonné, members of the department of the Gironde, from whom the party obtained the name of Girondins; Brissot, a man possessed of great eloquence, capacity for business, and extensive acquaintance with foreign affairs; and Condorcet, a metaphysical writer of considerable eminence. In close connection with the Girondins was a small knot of extreme politicians, whose avowed object was to overthrow the monarchy and establish a republic; they were styled la Montagne (the Mountain) from their occupying the highest rows of benches on the extreme left of the hall. These were the demagagues of the ferocious rabble of Paris, upon whom they relied for the execution of their designs. Their power was chiefly exercised and maintained by means of the Jacobin and Cordelier clubs, the former of which was governed by Maximilian Robespierre, and the latter by Danton, Marat, Camille Desmoulins, and Fabre d'Eglantine.

^{*} So called from their club, which was held in the convent of the Feuillants, a branch of the order of St. Bernard.

The Centre of the assembly was composed of members professedly moderate and independent in their principles. They acted, however, with timidity and vacillation, and soon lost all influence.

They voted for the most part with the Girondins.

§ 8. The first question which occupied the Legislative assembly was that relating to the emigrants, who had organized a regular army on the banks of the Rhine, at Coblentz under Artois, and at Worms under the Prince of Condé, and were intriguing to bring about a counter-revolution. After a long and stormy discussion two decrees were passed; the first enjoining the Count of Provence (afterwards Louis XVIII.) to return to France within two months, under pain of forfeiting his eventual rights to the regency of the kingdom; the second declaring the emigrants in general suspected of conspiring against France, and enacting that, if still found assembled in arms on the 1st of January, 1792, they should be punishable with confiscation and death. To the former of these measures the king assented, but upon the latter he imposed his veto. This greatly irritated the assembly; and, although Louis immediately afterwards issued a proclamation to the emigrants, urging them to return, and threatening them with severe treatment in case of refusal, his sincerity was loudly called in question, and he was denounced as implicated in all the criminal schemes of the refugees against their country. The next subject which came under discussion was that of the priests who had refused to take the prescribed oath of fidelity to the new constitution; and here again the king and the assembly came into direct collision. The house decreed that the nonjuring clergy should be deprived of the scanty provision which had been assigned to them instead of their confiscated property, and should be placed under the surveillance of the authorities. Louis declared that nothing should induce him to sanction such an act of persecution, and a second time interposed his constitutional veto.

By the end of the year changes had been made in the Feuillant ministry, which now included Narbonne, de Lessart, and Bertrand de Molleville. Of the new ministers Narbonne was the most prominent. He was a democratic royalist, and looked to the outbreak of a war with Austria as the best means of saving the monarchy. In the contest for the office of mayor of Paris, the court supported Pétion, a zealous Girondist, in opposition to Lafayette. Lafayette was never in the confidence of the royal family, and was regarded by the queen with peculiar aversion; she insisted that "he wished to be mayor of Paris only in order to be at the same time mayor of the palace." The court accordingly intrigued in every way against Lafayette; Pétion gained his election; and the enemies of the constitution and the throne thus acquired the immense advantage

of directing the civic government of the metropolis. The municipal council was now filled with men notoriously pledged to the cause of revolution, such as Danton, Robespierre, Tallien, and Billaud-Varennes.

Meanwhile there was another question, which became every day more urgently important, and which involved eventually the triumph of the Revolution and the fate of Louis, -namely, the relations between France and the foreign powers, especially the states of Germany. The Emperor Leopold and the King of Prussia, at a meeting held at Pilnitz in August, 1791, had issued a declaration announcing that they regarded the situation of the King of France as of common interest to all the sovereigns of Europe, and appealing to the other powers to support them in an armed intervention for the purpose of re-establishing the monarchical government, with all the rights and prerogatives, in the hands of Louis. Troops had consequently been assembled, and an army of émigrés under the Prince of Condé assumed a threatening attitude at Worms. Another pretext for hostilities arose out of the alleged grievances of certain princes of the empire, who had inherited claims to feudal jurisdiction in the provinces of Alsace, Lorraine, and Franche Comté. There feudalism had been swept away by the constituent assembly; but the proprietors—"princes possessionés," as they were called had made vehement complaints to the emperor and the German diet, insisting on complete restitution; and angry communications on the subject were exchanged between the courts of Vienna, Berlin, and Paris. At length, upon the death of Leopold, on the 1st of March, 1792, and the accession of Francis II., the Austrian minister Kaunitz despatched an ultimatum to Paris, demanding that the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine should be immediately compensated, that the pope should receive compensation for the loss of Avignon, and that the Church of France should be replaced in the enjoyment of the whole of its confiscated property. These proceedings filled the Legislative assembly with suspicion and alarm. The Girondists openly advocated hostilities against Austria, hoping thereby to overthrow the king and establish a republic; while Robespierre and his followers strongly opposed the outbreak of war, lest it should lead to the increase of the royal authority. Quarrels took place between the constitutionalist ministers of Louis -Bertrand de Molleville, de Lessart; Narbonne, and others; the king found it impossible to support them against a vote declaring them to have forfeited the confidence of the nation; they resigned abruptly, and were succeeded, in March, 1792, by a ministry chosen from the party of the Girondins; Roland being made minister of the interior. Clavière of finance. Servan of war. Duranthon of justice: while the portfolio of foreign affairs was given to General

Dumouriez, an ambitious adventurer, a man who united to a considerable acquaintance with European politics the qualities of boldness and sagacity.

The advent of the Girondist, or Sans Culotte, ministry to power was the signal for an immediate declaration of war. Indeed, after the recent manifesto from Vienna, the step had become unavoidable. It was announced in person by Louis to the assembly on the 20th of April, 1792, and was received with marks of profound emotion, and general acclamations of "Vive le roi."

Like all the Girondist leaders, Dumouriez was strongly opposed to the Austrian alliance entered into in 1756. His policy was to attack Austria in the Netherlands, and to annex Savoy and Nice. The war, in his opinion, should be, if possible, confined to hostilities with the Hapsburgs. He hoped to detach Prussia from its Austrian alliance, and to neutralize England, Sweden, and Denmark, and the empire, and by giving the Milanese to Sardinia to secure Nice and Savoy. He did not at first propose to annex the Austrian Netherlands, but merely to form it into a federative republic, so as to avoid rousing the fears of England; he fully anticipated that the small German states, anxious, in view of the coalition between Austria and Prussia, for their independence, would willingly accept French protection. A French agent was sent to the diet, and special negotiations were opened with Bavaria. Events, however, proved too strong for Dumouriez, and the development of a war of defence into a war of aggression brought upon France the hostility of the whole of Europe. The war which now began raged with slight intermissions for twenty-three years, and led to many momentous results.

§ 9. Three considerable armies covered at this moment the line of the French frontier from Belgium to the borders of Switzerland. Forty-eight thousand men under General Rochambeau lay between Dunkirk and Philippeville; the corps of Lafayette, between Philippeville and Lauterbourg, amounted to 52,000; Marshal Luckner was at the head of 42,000 between Lauterbourg and Basle. The first operations, directed against the Austrian Netherlands, were unfortunate for the arms of France. A column of 4000 men under General Biron, marching from Valenciennes upon Mons, dispersed and fled in a sudden panic, abandoning their camp to the enemy; a second division, commanded by General Dillon, also broke their ranks before a shot had been fired, and massacred their commander and another officer, whom they accused of betraying them to the Paris was violently agitated on the news of these strange reverses, and bitter recriminations were exchanged among the different parties, all imputing the disaster to treachery, of which, however, no distinct proof could be produced. The assembly instantly declared itself en permanence, and adopted three decrees, the first of which empowered the departmental authorities to banish the refractory priests from France, the second disbanded the king's household troops and sent their commandant for trial before the high court of Orleans, and the third ordered the establishment of a camp of 20,000 provincial federates in the immediate vicinity of Paris. Louis consented to the dismissal of his guards, but resolutely placed his veto upon the other two proposals. The ministers remonstrated, and Roland published a long letter which he had addressed to the king, conceived in a tone of harsh and insolent menace; * a rupture ensued between Louis and his cabinet; Roland, Clavière, and Servan were dismissed from office on the 12th of June, and Dumouriez, after vainly attempting to persuade the king to sanction the two decrees, sent in his resignation. Louis named as successors to the Girondists certain obscure members of the Feuillant party, who found themselves utterly powerless in the assembly, and were loaded with abuse, insults, and derision by the populace. He also despatched a secret envoy, Mallet Dupan. with confidential instructions to the emigrants and the princes of the coalition. At this moment Lafavette, especially, took the bold step of addressing from his camp at Maubeuge a letter to the legislative body, denouncing the Jacobins in strong terms, and peremptorily demanding their suppression. This open declaration of war produced an explosion. The Girondists combined with the Jacobins to instigate an insurrectionary movement of the mob, in order to strike terror into the councils of the king and his advisers. and compel their acquiescence in the obnoxious decrees.

On the 20th of June, the anniversary of the memorable oath of the Jeu de Paume, the multitude assembled, to the number of 20,000, in the Faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marçeau, and, led by the brewer Santerre and the *ci-devant* Marquis de St. Huruge, overawed the assembly, and forced their way into the Tuileries. The king never lost for a moment his calm dignity and self-possession. He replied quietly but firmly to the spokesman of the mob, and, when he placed on his head the red cap of liberty, the tumult gradually ceased.

§ 10. The courage which the king and his family had manifested on the 20th of June, and the outrageous treatment to which they had been subjected, produced a momentary reaction of public feeling in their favour. The Constitutionalists endeavoured to avail themselves of this to regain the confidence of the assembly

^{*} This document was composed in reality by his wife, the celebrated Madame Roland, whose influence in the Girondist ministry was equal, if not superior, to that of any of its ostensible members.

and overthrow their republican rivals. Lafayette hastened from his camp to Paris, appeared at the bar of the assembly, and demanded the prompt and signal punishment of those who had instigated the rising. His petition was referred to a committee; but his attempt to collect an armed force to attack and overpower the Jacobins ended in failure; not a hundred persons assembled at his summons. After an ineffectual effort to induce the king to try once more the chances of an escape from Paris, the general returned, bitterly disheartened, to his head-quarters on the frontier; and he and his party thenceforth abandoned Louis to the fate which they now saw to be inevitable.

The tide of rebellion and anarchy had indeed set in with uncontrollable force. All France was seized with consternation at the near prospect of an invasion by the Prussians and Austrians, at a moment when internal factions were threatening the outbreak of a disastrous civil war, and when the government, manifestly powerless, was more than suspected of being secretly in league with the invaders. The Legislative body, impelled by the eloquence of Vergniaud, proclaimed on the 11th of July that "the country was in danger." This was the signal for a general armed rising throughout France. Thousands of volunteers, or fédérés, hastened by forced marches towards the capital, headed by a battalion enrolled in Marseilles and its neighbourhood. A formidable insurrectionary army was thus marshalled under the walls of Paris, implicitly devoted to the Jacobin leaders. At this moment of intense excitement appeared a most impolitic proclamation by the Duke of Brunswick, commander of the central Prussian army, in which he summoned all the authorities, military and civil, to make an immediate submission to their lawful king, declared the whole French nation to be individually responsible for whatever opposition might be made to the invading army, and threatened, in case of the smallest outrage being offered to the king or his family, to take exemplary vengeance, by delivering up the city of Paris to complete demolition. Upon this popular indignation was roused, and the Jacobins and Girondists began to plan a fresh attack on the monarchy. In vain did Bertrand de Molleville endeavour to persuade the king to fly to Normandy. On the 3rd of August the sections of Paris, with Pétion at their head, proceeded to the assembly, and unanimously demanded the deposition of Louis. On the 6th the same demand was repeated by a deputation of the fédérés. The assembly hesitated; and on the 8th, after a debate upon the recent conduct of Lafayette, they resolved, by a large majority, against the proposal for arresting and bringing him to trial. This exhausted the patience of the conspirators, and they determined to bring matters to a summary conclusion in their own way. During the night between the 9th and 10th of August all the members of the commune of Paris were expelled from office, and their places filled by commissioners named by the forty-eight sections; the entire municipal authority was thus usurped by the leaders of the insurrection. Their arrangements for the attack having been made under the eye of Danton, and his accomplices Westermann, Santerre, Barbaroux, Desmoulins, and Alexandre, at midnight the tocsin pealed throughout the city, and before daylight the mob, well provided with arms and artillery, began their march upon the Tuileries.

§ 11. By seven in the morning the rioters had invested the palace in overpowering numbers, and fifty pieces of cannon threatened it with destruction from the opposite quays of the Seine. The greater part of the national guards now openly passed over to the side of the insurgents, and the artillerymen in the Carrousel absolutely refused to fire upon the people. The defence of the Tuileries depended entirely on a Swiss regiment numbering about 900 men. Yielding to the urgent solicitations of Rederer, procureurgénéral of the department, the king retired from the Tuileries with his family, and sought protection in the hall of the legislative assembly. They were scarcely arrived when the struggle commenced between the rebels and the defenders of the Tuileries. It appears that the Swiss at first showed a disposition to treat with the assailants with a view to reconciliation; meanwhile a cannonshot was fired in the court below, and the Swiss, concluding that their post was attacked, replied by a deadly volley from the windows, which spread consternation amid the rebel forces; this was followed up by a vigorous sally from the château, which cleared the courts and dispersed the populace in terror on all sides. The Swiss remained victorious; but at this instant they received an order from the king to cease firing, to abandon the château, and to proceed to the hall of the assembly. In the confusion, the order was not communicated to the entire regiment; the greater part marched out into the garden, but some three hundred remained in the palace. Meanwhile the multitude rallied, and returned furiously to the assault; the remnant of the guards maintained for twenty minutes an heroic contest, and in the end were cut down and massacred to a man. A deputation of the victorious municipality then appeared in the assembly, and dictated their own terms to the terrified legislators. The president, Vergniaud, announced their decision: it declared that "the chief of the executive power" was provisionally suspended from his functions, and assigned the Luxembourg palace as his temporary residence. A national convention was to be named immediately, to determine the future form of government, and secure the sovereignty of the people, and

the reign of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Thus terminated the celebrated Texth of August, the reply of France to Brunswick's manifesto.

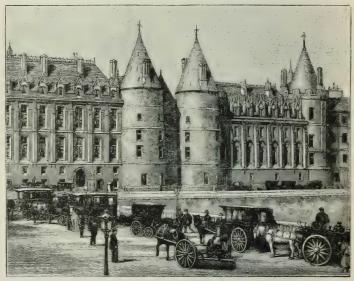
§ 12. The supreme authority was now seized by the Jacobin municipality, or commune, of Paris, by whom this last decisive act of the revolutionary drama had been planned and executed. The assembly became the subservient instrument of the commune, and was used simply for the purpose of giving a colour of legality to its tyrannical decrees. The three Girondist ministers, Roland, Clavière, and Servan, were immediately recalled; Danton was named minister of justice; Monge and Lebrun were placed at the head of the marine and of foreign affairs. The bloodthirsty Marat was appointed president of a committee of "surveillance" or "sûreté générale," which established a terrible system of espionage and domiciliary visitation in Paris, under pretence of preventing conspiracies against the state. A special criminal tribunal was instituted, for the trial of all persons accused of sharing in the pretended "conspiracy against the nation " on the 10th of August. This court, consisting of nine judges, proceeded by martial law, and its decisions were without appeal. Three days after the insurrection, the dethroned king and his family were imprisoned in the gloomy fortress of the

Temple.

While these momentous events were passing in the capital, the grand army of the allies, numbering 110,000, with the King of Prussia in person at their head, had entered the French territory on the 30th of July, and advanced upon Longwy, which fortress was invested on the 20th of August, and capitulated three days afterwards. The invaders then marched upon Verdun, detaching at the same time a corps to form the siege of Thionville. The French army, amounting to about 90,000, was disposed in three great divisions, under Luckner, Lafayette, and Dumouriez; the headquarters of Lafayette were at Sédan. Three commissioners were despatched to that place by the assembly to give intelligence of the revolution of the 10th of August, and secure the adhesion of the troops to the new order of things. Lafayette, however, refused to recognise the authority of the assembly, arrested their commissioners, and caused his soldiers to renew their oath of fidelity to the king and the constitution. The assembly met this action by declaring the general a traitor to his country, and decreed his impeachment. The corps of Dumouriez sided with the republicans, and gradually induced their comrades to adopt their sentiments; and Lafayette, finding himself abandoned and in personal danger, fled on the 20th of August to the camp of the allies. Detained as a prisoner of war, and sent eventually to the Austrian fortress of Olmütz, he remained in confinement for five years. Dumouriez

was now appointed to replace Lafayette in the chief command; and soon justified the confidence reposed in him by a masterly defence of the French frontier.

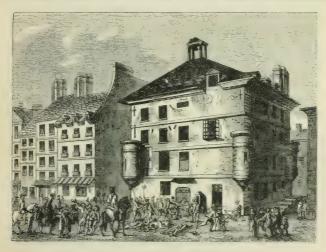
§ 13. The news of the capture of Longwy, followed by the surrender of Verdun on the 2nd of September, was received at Paris with universal consternation and dismay. The army was known to be divided by faction and defective in discipline; the generals were inexperienced and of doubtful fidelity; an insurrection was on the point of breaking out in La Vendée; Servan and other ministers stated plainly that they saw no means of preventing the



The Conciergerie.

Prussians from marching to Paris, and proposed that the assembly and the authorities should retire behind the Loire. At this critical moment Danton rose, and, having warmly combated the project of quitting Paris, declared that, in order to save the country, "it was necessary to strike the royalists with terror." It was then that the atrocious resolution was taken by the committee of surveillance to arrest and imprison, under the name of suspected persons, all who, for whatever reason, were considered likely to be hostile to the Revolution, and to exterminate them by a deliberate and organized massacre. On the night of the 30th of August all the barriers were closed and strictly guarded; domiciliary visits were made

throughout the city by the officers of the commune; 3000 persons were arrested, and distributed in the various prisons, which were all crowded to overflowing. On the Second of September, the toesin was rung, the générale beat, alarm-guns fired; a rumour was set on foot that the royalists were about to attack the prisons and betray the city to the Prussians; and under this pretext the hired ruffians of the commune rushed upon their prey, and the work of blood began. Twenty-four priests, who were being conducted from the Hôtel de Ville to the Abbaye, were all inhumanly butchered by a band of cut-throats led by the infamous Maillard. Two hundred priests, confined in the church of the Carmelites, were all mercilessly slaughtered. Returning to the Abbaye, these miscreants



Massacres at the Abbaye, 2nd of September.

formed a sort of mock tribunal, in which Maillard assumed the office of president; the unhappy captives were summoned from their cells one by one, and after a brief examination were dismissed, almost without exception, with the expressive formula "Monsieur à la Force!" At this appointed signal they were thrust forcibly through a wicket into the court, where they were instantly hewn in pieces.

These horrible murders—the answer to the Prussians' advance—continued for four days in succession. At the Châtelet, at the Bicêtre, at the Conciergerie, at the Salpétrière, at La Force, similar revolting scenes were enacted; at the latter place the beautiful Princesse de Lamballe, the confidential friend of Marie Antoinette, perished

beneath the blows of these infuriated monsters. The murderers were regularly paid for their labour by the commune, and Billaud Varennes, one of the magistrates, appeared personally among them to applaud their patriotic zeal, and assure them that France knew not how to recompense their services. At length all the prisons were emptied, and the massacres ceased. It is impossible to ascertain positively the total number of those who were sacrificed in these September massacres; it seems probable that at least 2000 were put to death in Paris alone; while many more suffered in the provinces, at Versailles, Lyons, Reims, Meaux, and Orleans. The assembly maintained during the whole time a cowardly silence, coolly transacting the most ordinary and even trivial business, and affecting ignorance of the horrors which were passing almost before their eyes.

§ 14. It is a relief to turn to the operations of the military campaign, After the fall of Verdun, the Duke of Brunswick, instead of boldly advancing on the road to Paris, distributed his army along the line of the Meuse, and lost ten days in inactivity. This gave Dumouriez time to concentrate 30,000 men, and to occupy the defiles of the forest of Argonne, which, with admirable intuition, he called the Thermopylæ of France. He was well supported by Generals Kellermann, Dillon, and Beurnonville, and established himself in a strongly entrenched position at Grandpré, having collected in his rear every available means of arresting the further progress of the enemy. On the 11th of September the French were rigorously assailed on several points, but the attacks were decisively repulsed. On the 13th, however, the position of the Croix-auxbois was forced by the Austrians, and the situation of Dumouriez, attacked in front by 40,000 Prussians, while the Austrians menaced him in flank, became extremely critical. On the 16th he decamped from Grandpré, but, instead of falling back upon Châlons, he ascended the river Aisne, and took post at Ste. Ménéhould. consequence of this movement, the road to Châlons and Paris now lay open to the Prussians; of this, however, they took no advantage, but advanced towards the French position, and on the 20th an action took place with the corps commanded by Kellermann at VALMY, which was confined chiefly to a cannonade, the loss on both sides being about equal. An attempted charge, however, of the Prussians was met by the French with so much steadiness and gallantry, that the Duke of Brunswick countermanded the movement, and the engagement ceased. The Prussian general now made overtures for negotiation: but received for answer from the convention (which opened its sittings on the day after the victory at Valmy), that "the French republic could listen to no propositions until the Prussian forces had entirely evacuated the French

territory." The duke, whose army was in a deplorable condition, and greatly reduced by disease and searcity of provisions, gave orders for a retreat on the 30th of September. Dumouriez, who hoped to induce Prussia to withdraw from the coalition, permitted the enemy to traverse the dangerous passes of the Argonne without molestation; they restored Longwy and Verdun, recrossed the frontier, and reached Coblenz towards the end of October, having sacrificed in this ill-conducted and inglorious expedition nearly 30,000 men.

Meanwhile General Montesquieu, with 20,000 men, had invaded Savoy, where he met with an enthusiastic reception; another corps, under General Anselme, took possession of the county of Nice; General Custine seized without opposition the cities of Worms, Spires, and Mayence; and the imperial forces of the Netherlands, having bombarded Lille, retired hastily across the frontier on the news that the victorious Dumouriez was in full march against them. These rapid successes highly elated the republican dictators at Paris, restored the confidence and courage of the nation, and inspired Europe with astonishment and admiration.

Dumouriez, having obtained the consent of the ministers to a plan of offensive operations against Austria, now undertook the conquest of Belgium. He marched from Valenciennes upon Mons on the 23rd of October, and, finding the Austrians, under General Clairfait, strongly posted on the wooded heights near the village of JEMMAPPES, he attacked them on the 6th of November. The combat was severe, upwards of 2000 being slain on each side; but the position of the Austrians was triumphantly carried, and they made a precipitate retreat towards Brussels. The submission of the whole of the Netherlands was the fruit of the victory of Jemmappes. Dumouriez took possession of Brussels on the 14th of November, amid general acclamations, and the Belgians immediately renounced the dominion of the Emperor and proclaimed a republic. The revolutionists of Paris now gave way to transports of joy and self-congratulations. On the 19th of November the convention published a vainglorious decree, proffering fraternity and succour to all nations of the world who might desire to recover their liberty; and, on the 15th of December, it was resolved that, wherever French generals might carry the arms of the Republic, they should at once proclaim the sovereignty of the people, the abolition of the ancient system, the confiscation of the property of priests and nobles, and the appointment of new officers for the civil and municipal administration.

Meanwhile Nice and Savoy had been annexed, the Scheldt opened to navigation, and Antwerp declared a free port. It seemed probable that Holland, England's ally, would be next attacked, and FRANCE.

the Belgian Netherlands annexed. The conduct of the convention gave little hope of the adoption of a policy of moderation in the

hour of victory.

§ 15. The NATIONAL CONVENTION met for the first time on the 20th of September, 1792. Its members were exclusively of republican sentiments, but it contained, nevertheless, two bitterly hostile parties-the Girondists, who now occupied the Right, and the Montagne, who formed the Left, and were the organ of the commune, the Jacobin club, the sections, and the Parisian rabble. Between these two lay, as usual, the neutral party of the Centre, which was now styled La Plaine or Le Marais; they voted sometimes with the Girondins, sometimes with their opponents; but, being destitute of any independent firmness or vigour, found themselves unable in decisive moments to prevent the defeat of the former or to restrain the excesses of the latter. On the first day of its session the convention resolved by acclamation, on the motion of Collot d'Herbois, that "royalty was abolished in France," and that from that day should be dated the year One of the French Republic. A decree of perpetual banishment was passed against the emigrants, who were to be punishable with death if they re-entered France or were taken with arms in their hands. The usual titles of courtesy. Monsieur and Madame, were now suppressed, and replaced by citoven and citovenne; tu and toi were also substituted for vous.

The fierce antagonism between the Girondists and the Montagnards became apparent from the earliest days of the convention. The Girondists accused the Jacobins of being the authors of the September massacres, and Robespierre of aiming at a dictatorship, while the Jacobins accused the Girondists of being federalists, and desirous of destroying the unity of the Republic. But the great occasion of conflict between the rival parties at the close of 1792 was the question of the trial of the deposed king. Much discussion took place upon the preliminary points whether Louis (whose person was declared inviolable by the constitution) could be tried at all; and again, if tried, before what tribunal should the cause be brought? The report of the committee, presented on the 7th of November, recommended that the king should be tried at the bar of the convention itself; and that his fate should be determined by the votes of the whole body, taken separately and delivered aloud. To this the Girondists, who were desirous of saving the king's life, but lacked the honesty and courage to avow their real sentiments, assented; intending, without doubt, in case of a condemnation, to sentence Louis, not to capital punishment, but to imprisonment or exile.

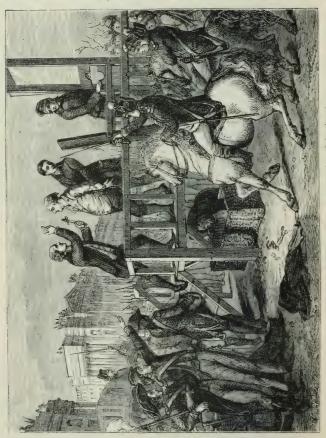
§ 16. On the 11th of December the king appeared before this self-constituted tribunal, where he conducted himself with an

unmoved calmness, self-possession, and resignation. Barrère, the president, proceeded to read the long catalogue of imputed crimes by which the king had attempted to "establish his tyranny by destroying the liberty of the French people." The charges related chiefly to his negotiations with foreign powers with a view to the invasion of France, the flight to Varennes and the arrangements which preceded it, various instances of resistance to the popular will, and refusal of his sanction to the decrees of the legislature, and, above all, to the bloodshed of the 10th of August, which, by an outrageous perversion of truth and justice, was alleged to have been caused by his orders. Louis replied to the lengthened interrogatory with great patience. The examination being at length concluded, the king was remanded to the Temple, and from this time was refused all communication with his family. He obtained permission, however, to name advocates to conduct his defence, and selected two eminent lawyers, Tronchet and Target; the latter declined the office, and his place was instantly supplied by Lamoignon-Malesherbes, one of the most distinguished of the former ministers of Louis, who eagerly volunteered his services. To these was afterwards added a young barrister of brilliant talent named Desèze. These courageous men fulfilled with the utmost zeal, ability. and devotion, the honourable but perilous duty assigned to them.

Louis appeared before the convention for the second and last time on the 26th of December. The speech of Desèze in his defence was a masterpiece of argument and oratory, demonstrating that the charges relating to the period before the king's acceptance of the constitution were answered by the very fact of that acceptance, while the declared inviolability of his person shielded him from judicial censure for whatever had occurred since that date. As soon as Louis withdrew, the chamber became a scene of extraordinary agitation and tumult. The Girondists endeavoured to compound with their consciences by proposing to submit the question of the king's guilt or innocence to the judgment of the people. The opposite party exposed with powerful effect the inevitable tendency of an appeal to the people to stir up furious animosities throughout France, and produce a civil war; nor did they forget to taunt the Girondists bitterly with this manifest proof of their complicity with the fallen monarch. The appeal was earnestly advocated by Vergniaud in one of his most magnificent orations; but his eloquence had no effect, and the house debated and adjourned day after day without arriving at any decision.

§ 17. At last, on the 14th of January, 1793, the Parisian populace tumultuously surrounded the hall of the convention, vociferating, "Death to the tyrant!" "Death to him or to us!" Under the pressure of this fierce intimidation it was resolved to

proceed immediately to the appel nominal on the three following questions:—1. Is Louis Capet guilty of having conspired against the liberty of the nation and the general safety of the state? 2. Shall the sentence be submitted to the sanction and ratification of the people? 3. What shall be the penalty inflicted? The first of these questions was decided in the affirmative, by a house of



Execution of Louis XVI. (From an engraving of the time.

721 members present, with only 35 dissentients. On the second, 280 votes were recorded in favour of appealing to the people, while 425 voices pronounced against it. The third and most momentous decision was taken on the 16th of January, when Louis was sentenced to death by a small majority, which included many of the

Girondists and Philippe Egalité, Duke of Orleans. Finally, on January the 20th, it was decided that there should be no respite, and that the sentence should be executed within twenty-four hours.

Louis received the announcement of his fate with perfect calmness. He forwarded a letter to the convention, containing three requests: that a delay of three days might be granted him to prepare for death; that he might be allowed the attendance of a confessor of his own choice; and that he might see his wife and family without witnesses. The first of these demands was refused; the two latter were granted. The Abbé Edgeworth de Firmont. the priest designated by the king, was immediately sent for, and Louis received from him the last rites and consolations of religion with profound devotion. The parting scene with his family, by whom he was tenderly beloved, was of the most affecting and heartrending nature. The king afterwards slept peacefully for several hours. About ten in the morning of the 21st of January, 1793, he was conveyed in a carriage, guarded by Santerre and a band of municipal officers and gendarmes, from the Temple to the Place de la Révolution, formerly Place Louis XV., in the centre of which the guillotine had been erected. He mounted the scaffold with firmness, and addressed a few words to the vast assembled multitude, declaring that he died innocent of the crimes imputed to him, that he pardoned the authors of his death, and praved that his blood might cement the happiness of France. Santerre brutally interrupted him by waving his sword and ordering the drums to beat; upon which the execution took place. The chief executioner held up the bleeding head to show it to the people, who rent the air with prolonged shouts of "Vive la République! Vive la nation! Vive la liberté!" The remains of Louis were carelessly interred in the cemetery of the Madeleine. Louis XVI. was only in the thirty-ninth year of his age at the time of his death; his reign had lasted nearly nineteen years. He left two children-Louis Charles, a boy of eight years old, who nominally succeeded his father as Louis XVII., and Marie Thérèse, afterwards Duchess of Angoulême.



Installation of the Directory on the 13th of Brumaire, year III. (4th of November, 1795).

(From an engraving of the time.)

CHAPTER XXV.

THE REPUBLIC. A.D. 1793-1799.

§ 1. War against Great Britain, Holland, Spain, Russia, and Austria; treason of Dumouriez. § 2. Fall of the Girondists. § 3. Insurrection in La Vendée and other parts; reduction of Lyons and Toulon. § 4. Reign of Terror. § 5. Death of Hébert and Danton. § 6. Dictatorship of Robespierre. § 7. His death. § 8. Trial and punishment of the Terrorists; Jacobin attacks on the convention; final defeat of the Montagnards. § 9. Military operations; battle of Fleurus; French occupy Brussels; the Austrians driven across the Rhine; French successes in Piedmont and in the north of Spain; conquest of Holland by Pichegru; peace signed with Prussia and Spain; death of Louis XVII. § 10. Expedition to Quiberon; defeat and execution of the Chouans; conclusion of the war in La Vendée. § 11. Political changes; constitution of the year III.; revolt of the Sections; installation of the directory. § 12. Financial difficulties; suppression of the assignats; mandats territoriaux. § 13. Napoleon Bona-PARTE; his marriage and appointment to command the army of Italy; his campaign in Piedmont; peace signed with Sardinia. § 14. Battle of Lodi; the French enter Milan; relations of Bonaparte with the directory; siege of Mantua; armistice with the Pope and the Grand Duke of Tuscany. § 15. Bonaparte's campaign in Lombardy against

Marshal Wurmser; operations of Jourdan and Moreau in Bayaria; retreat of Moreau through the Black Forest. § 16. Bonaparte's campaign against Marshal Alvinzi; battle of Arcole. § 17. Battle of Rivoli; fall of Mantua; Bonaparte overruns the territories of the Pope. § 18. Bonaparte carries the war into Austria; armistice of Leoben; fall of the Venetian Republic. § 19. Internal disorder of France; dissensions in the directory; Coup d'état of the 18th Fructidor. § 20. Treaty of Campo Formio; return of Bonaparte to Paris; proposed invasion of England. § 21. The Egyptian expedition; battle of the Pyramids; battle of the Nile; the French invade Syria. § 22. Siege of St. Jean d'Acre; battle of Mount Tabor; the French retreat into Egypt; battle of Aboukir; Bonaparte returns to France. § 23. Misgovernment and unpopularity of the directory; wretched state of the finances; the 22nd Floréal; Suvórov's campaign in North Italy; successful campaign of Massena in Switzerland; expedition of the English to the Helder. § 24. Cabals against the directory : the 30th Prairial; intrigues of Siévès; coalition between Siévès and Bonaparte. § 25. Revolution of the 18th and 19th Brumaire; overthrow of the directory; Siévès, Bonaparte, and Roger Ducos appointed consuls.

§ 1. The news of the execution of Louis XVI. was received in France with horror, and excited throughout Europe an outerv of indignation. "There is no going back now," exclaimed Marat; "we must either prevail or perish!" and the army sent a deputation to thank the convention for having reduced them to the necessity of conquering. Louis XVII. was proclaimed by the emigrant army of the Prince of Condé, and the Count of Provence assumed the title of regent. A formal rupture ensued almost immediately between the Republic and the great powers of Europe. Ever since Dumouriez's conquest of the Austrian Netherlands, the relations between France and England had been becoming more and more strained. Pitt himself earnestly desired peace; he distrusted the designs of Austria and Prussia; he wished to check Russian policy in Poland and Turkey. A war with France would ruin his plans at home, force him into alliance with Austria and Prussia, and leave Russia unchecked in the East. But while he was resisting the attempts of Burke, of George III., and of all property holders in England to drive him into war, the aggressions of the French, and the misconceptions under which the revolutionary leaders laboured with regard to English public opinion, brought on the conflict which he so strongly deprecated. By the Triple Alliance of 1788, England had guaranteed to the stadtholder Holland with all its rights. The French had not only thrown open the navigation of the Scheldt, but Dumouriez threatened to conquer Holland. Chauvelin, the French agent in London, acted with

extraordinary indiscretion, and endeavoured to stir up revolution in England. After Louis's death, he was ordered to leave the country within eight days; and on the 1st of February, 1793, the convention declared war against Great Britain and Holland. The Empress of Russia ordered all Frenchmen to quit her dominions within twenty days; and Austria, placing the Prince of Saxe-Coburg at the head of her forces, assumed the offensive on the line of the Meuse. Spain, the emperor, Portugal, Tuscany, the Two Sicilies, and the Papal States joined the coalition. Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland remained neutral.

Dumouriez had made a rapid visit to Paris while the convention were deliberating on the fate of Louis, and exerted himself actively to save the king. Soon after his return to the army, he was ordered by the convention to march against the Austrians under the Prince of Coburg. In a battle fought at Neerwinden on the 18th of March, Dumouriez was totally defeated with a loss of 4000 men, and driven out of the Netherlands. Resolved to overthrow the regicides, and to place on the throne the young Duke of Chartres, eldest son of the Duke of Orleans (afterwards king of the French as Louis Philippe), who had fought under him with distinguished gallantry in both his campaigns, he took the desperate step of entering into a treaty with the Austrian generals for the overthrow of the Republic and restoration of the constitutional monarchy. Meanwhile intelligence of the treasonable projects of Dumouriez had been secretly conveyed to Paris; the convention immediately passed a decree summoning him to appear at their bar to answer for his conduct, and transmitted the order to the camp by the hands of Beurnonville, minister of war, and four other commissioners. Dumouriez arrested the commissioners, and issued a proclamation to his army, exhorting them to follow him in a march to Paris, to deliver France from the sanguinary tyranny of the convention. His troops, however, abandoned him; and Dumouriez, with the Duke of Chartres and some 800 men, took refuge in the camp of the imperialists. Dumouriez was never afterwards permitted to return to France. He resided chiefly in England, where he died at an advanced age in 1823.

§ 2. The murder of Louis XVI, and the desertion of Dumouriez at once brought to a crisis the struggle between the Girondists and the Jacobins. A strong government became a necessity. Shortly after the battle of Neerwinden, the "Committee of Public Safety" (Comité du Salut Public), consisting of nine members, was appointed. This committee, whose deliberations were secret, was empowered to take whatever measures might appear necessary to the welfare of the Republic, both internal and external. It controlled the proceedings of the ministers, acted with supreme independent

authority in matters of urgency, and made a report every week to the convention.

The Revolutionary Tribunal had already been established on the 9th of March, with power to inflict summary punishment. While recruits were being collected in the provinces, and while La Vendée was rising against this attempt at conscription, the final scenes in the struggle between the Girondists and Jacobins were being enacted in Paris. In the convention Robespierre was attacking Brissot, Vergniaud, and other leading Girondists, when the Commune of Paris, roused by the bad news from the frontiers, decided to intervene.

On the 31st of May the Tuileries were completely surrounded by an armed multitude of 80,000 men, with a formidable park of artillery commanded by Hauriot; and the commune required the arrest of the Girondist members. This demand was conceded on the 2nd of June, and thirty-two Girondist members, including Brissot, Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, and Pétion, were arrested.

§ 3. Many of the expelled deputies made their escape from Paris, and repaired to Caen, where they placed themselves at the head of an insurrectionary movement of the western departments against the convention. A rival administration was formed, and regular communication established with the disaffected in other parts of France, especially at Bordeaux, Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon; armed levies were made, and civil war broke out in various quarters. It was now that a young woman belonging to an ancient but decayed family, Charlotte Corday, an enthusiastic admirer of the Girondists, set out from Caen to Paris, and, having obtained an interview with Marat under pretence of giving him information about the progress of the revolt, stabbed him to the heart as he lay in his bath. She was instantly arrested, glorying in her deed; and having been condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal, suffered with extraordinary fortitude on the 15th of July.

The Jacobins, triumphant over their rivals in Paris, were no less successful over their opponents in the provinces and the foreign armies on the frontiers. They issued a constitution known as the Constitution of 1793, which, though it never came into effect, was a reply to those who declared that the Jacobins aimed at establishing a despotism. They next dealt with the civil war with energy and decision. The Girondists' resistance was put down in Normandy; Marseilles and Bordeaux yielded; Lyons was besieged and conquered by Kellermann, and suffered terribly. Thousands of its citizens perished, its public buildings were destroyed, and it was named "la commune affranchie." The resistance to the Jacobins was weakened by the existence of a general sentiment that a strong central power could alone save France from invasion and conquest.

In La Vendée the rising was of a different character. The population of this district were remarkable for their ardent and devoted attachment to the throne, the resident nobles, and the Church. The banishment of the orthodox priests, and a decree of



House in which Charlotte Corday was born, at Roncerac, département de l'Orue.

the convention ordering a compulsory levy of 300,000 men, drove this loyal and high-spirited peasantry into open revolt in March, 1793. They chose for their leaders several noblemen and gentlemen of high local reputation—La Rochejacquelein, Lescure, Elbée. Bonchamps, Charette,—together with others of their own class, Cathélineau and Stofflet; and within two months made themselves complete masters of that part of the country, having repeatedly defeated the Republican generals, and driven them beyond the Loire. Fresh forces were sent against them, under Marceau and Kléber, and after a fierce and gallant struggle the insurrection was crushed by the end of the year, though Charette and Stofflet continued to carry on a desultory warfare among the marshes of Lower Brittany.

On the frontiers, from February to August, success had attended the efforts of the allies. The Duke of York besieged Dunkirk and Coburg, and the Austrians invested Le Quesnoy, while Wurmser and another invaded Alsace. Condé, Valenciennes, and Mayence were taken. The Spaniards conquered Roussillon, and Admiral Hood and an English fleet held Toulon. But there was no union among the allies, and no attempt was made to march on Paris. The King of Prussia was resolved to prevent the emperor from exchanging Belgium for Bavaria, while the Austrian court devoted its energies

to acquisitions in Northern France and Alsace. Coburg and York quarrelled, and the former refused to aid in the siege of Dunkirk. Taking advantage of the disunion, self-seeking, and half-heartedness of the allies, the Jacobins threw themselves with fierce energy into the work of defending France. No less than thirteen armies were organized by Carnot. The siege of Dunkirk was raised, and the English and Hanoverians defeated at Hondschoten, on the 8th of September; while at Wattignies, on the 16th of October, Jourdan overthrew an Austrian army. Further south Hoche had, on the 25th of September, defeated a combined Austrian and Prussian force, and Pichegru had forced Wurmser across the Rhine. On the 18th of December, Toulon was recaptured from the English, and thus by the close of 1793 France was practically free from foreign foes. The success of the French nation against its domestic and foreign enemies was due to the vigour of the Committee of Public Safety, which, owing to the dangers then threatening France, had been entrusted with enormous powers. This great committee, elected on the 10th of July, 1793, was the successor of the first Committee of Public Safety, appointed after the desertion of Dumouriez in March, and was composed of men who worked continuously in their respective departments for the welfare of France. Of these the most celebrated are Robespierre, Carnot, Saint Just, Barrère, Jean Bon Saint André, Prieur of the Marne, Lindet, Couthon, Prieur of the Côte d'Or, Hérault de Sechelles, Billaud-Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois.

§ 4. In this committee, whose rule is known as the Reign of Terror, Robespierre was the most conspicuous figure. His incorruptibility, his oratorical powers, his sagacity in opposing the war of 1792 and the Girondists, his well known patriotism, were the sources of the great reputation that he enjoyed. Under the committee worked the Committee of General Security, which dealt principally with police matters; and the Revolutionary Tribunal, which punished political offences with death. Numerous laws and edicts testified to the increased vigour resulting from the establishment of the Reign of Terror. In August was issued a decree for a levy en masse of all citizens capable of bearing arms; another for a forced loan amounting nearly to one year's revenue; another extorting from all landowners and farmers a contribution of two-thirds of their produce in grain for the consumption of the army; another imposing a maximum that is, a fixed arbitrary price above which no provisions could be sold-upon bread, meat, wine, salt, wood, and other articles. A further measure—the famous "loi des suspects" (17th of September)—placed the liberty and property of the whole population of France at the uncontrolled disposal of the government, and soon filled the prisons with upwards of 200,000 captives.

From September, 1793, to July, 1794, the Revolutionary Tribunal was brought into constant requisition, and victims of all classes, ages, and conditions were executed. General Custine suffered for his defeat at Mayence and for the fall of Valenciennes. The unfortunate queen, Marie Antoinette, was sacrificed on the 16th of October, 1793. Then followed the trial and execution of twenty-one of the proscribed Girondist deputies.

The despicable Egalité, Duc d'Orléans, was executed on the 6th of November. The enthusiastic and noble-hearted Madame Roland was led to the scaffold a few days afterwards. On passing before the statue of Liberty which was erected at the Place de la Révolution, she apostrophized it in the memorable words, "O Liberty! what crimes are committed in thy name!" Her husband, who with her aid had escaped the fatal decree of proscription on the 31st of May, deliberately stabbed himself on receiving the tidings of her death. The executions continued in rapid succession. Bailly, the ex-mayor of Paris, was guillotined on the Champ de Mars, the scene of his unpardonable offence in firing on the people on the 20th of July. Barnave, Duport, Lebrun; the unsuccessful generals Houchard, Brunet, and Biron Lauzun; and the notorious Madame du Barry, so long the reigning mistress of Louis XV..—all suffered in turn.

While these scenes passed in the capital, the agents of the committee carried out the same system of terror in the provinces. A revolutionary tribunal was established at Nantes, under the presidency of Carrier, who introduced the "noyades," or wholesale drowning of prisoners. Not less than 15,000 persons are computed to have perished at Nantes by Carrier's orders during the three months of October, November, and December, 1793.

§ 5. With the opening of 1794, it became evident that the committee would be opposed in Paris itself. The faction of the Hébertists now controlled the Commune of Paris. Hébert and other ultra-democrats made a furious assault on the Christian religion, the very profession of which they determined to root out from France. By their instigation a petition to this effect was presented to the convention by Gobel, the "constitutional" Bishop of Paris, and his clergy, who publicly renounced their belief and functions as ministers of the Catholic Church, and declared that henceforth they would recognise no public worship but that of liberty, equality, and reason. A decree was at once passed in accordance with these atheistic principles, and all Christian worship was prohibited. The churches were desecrated throughout France, and abbeys and religious houses were secularized and pillaged. It was at this time, too, that the Gregorian Calendar was abolished, and replaced by the revolutionary era, which commenced from the

22nd of September, 1792. The year was divided into twelve equal months of thirty days each, to which were added five intercalary days, ridiculously called Sansculotides. The months were fancifully named from the characteristic features of the different seasons—Vendemiaire (vintage month), Brumaire (foggy month), Nivose, Pluviose, etc. The observance of Sunday being forbidden, every tenth day, or decadi as it was termed, was proclaimed a public holiday. These grotesque innovations of the infidel Republic remained in force till the 1st of January, 1806.

Robespierre, who in religious matters never went beyond the profession of deism, attacked these outrageous extravagances of the Hébertists, who had also opposed the despotism of the Committee of Public Safety. They attempted to organize an insurrection of the sections; but the populace made no movement, and the fate of the Hébertists was sealed. They were impeached by St. Just in the convention on the 13th of March, 1794, arraigned before the Revolutionary Tribunal on the 20th, and, the trial having lasted for three days, were condemned to death by virtue of a regulation permitting the jury to declare itself satisfied at the expiration of that time. They were executed, to the number of nineteen persons, including Hébert, Vincent, Ronsin, and a fanatical Prussian baron named Anacharsis Clootz, on the 24th.

The fate of the Hébertists was received with universal joy. It was regarded as a proof that Robespierre had espoused the cause of moderation, and that the Reign of Terror was about to terminate. There remained, however, between Robespierre and the possession of that absolute, undivided possession of power at which he aimed, the party headed by Danton, who, having successfully advocated the creation of a strong executive, was now convinced that the Reign of Terror should cease. Danton became in consequence an object of suspicion and enmity to the merciless dictator. He was repeatedly warned of his danger, but, confident that his enemies dared not arrest him, disdained to fly. It was with extreme astonishment that Paris learned on the 1st of April, 1794, barely a week after the death of Hébert, that the redoubtable Danton had been seized, and, with his associates, was a prisoner at the Luxembourg.

The convention offered not a shadow of opposition. The prisoners—Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine, Hérault de Séchelles, and others, to the number of fifteen—were brought to trial without delay, upon various charges. Danton defended himself with vigour, and such was the sympathy manifested towards him by the Parisians, that Robespierre and his tribunal were for some time in fear as to the result. At length, by a skilful manœuvre, an order was obtained from the convention enjoining

the judges to put out of court (mettre hors des débats) any prisoners who might fail in respect to the tribunal, and to proceed at once to their condemnation. This was instantly acted upon; Danton and his friends were dragged away from the bar in the midst of their angry declamations, and on the 6th of April they all suffered by the guillotine.

§ 6. Having thus trampled down all opposition, Robespierre reigned for a brief period in undisputed despotism. No relaxation, however, took place in the system of terror; on the contrary, the judicial massacres greatly increased in numbers, and, in June and July, 196 victims a week were executed. At the same time Robespierre took an early opportunity of repealing those blasphemous acts which had made the French a nation of professed atheists. He proclaimed in the convention that belief in the existence of a God was necessary to those principles of virtue and morality upon which the Republic was founded; and on the 7th of May the national representatives, who had so lately prostrated themselves before the goddess of reason, voted by acclamation that "the French people acknowledged the existence of the Supreme

Being and the immortality of the soul."

The "Fête de l'Etre Suprême," held soon afterwards (June 8th), and which met with a cold reception, was a theatrical exhibition, in which Robespierre, as president of the convention, played the part of high-priest. Great dissatisfaction was excited by the preeminence assumed at the festival by Robespierre over his colleagues, and it was generally felt that, as France was freed from the invaders, the Reign of Terror had become unnecessary. In spite of this growing feeling, on the 22nd Prairial (June 10th) resolutions were presented to the convention by Couthon for conferring increased powers on the Revolutionary Tribunal. It was to be divided into four courts, for the more expeditious despatch of business; the "enemies of the Republic," against whom it was to act, were defined in the most arbitrary and comprehensive terms; the juries were empowered to convict without examining witnesses or hearing counsel, and upon any proof, material or moral, verbal or written, which they might deem sufficient; and the sole penalty to be inflicted for all offences was death. This frightful proposal, which placed the lives of the whole convention, and, indeed, of the whole French nation, at the absolute disposal of Robespierre, was vehemently combated, but was ultimately adopted. Its effects were appalling. Between the 10th of June and the 27th of July, 1794, as many as 2085 victims perished in Paris alone.

§ 7. At this crisis Robespierre absented himself for about six weeks from the Committees of Public Safety and of General Security, where his enemies had acquired considerable influence, and did not

conceal their active hatred. A powerful confederacy was gradually formed against him in the convention, headed by Tallien, Fouché, Barras, Bourdon, Carnot, and Barrère-able and determined men, all fully conscious that the struggle about to commence must be one of life and death. On the 22nd of July, St. Just proposed that Robespierre should be made dictator, and on the 24th Tallien's mistress was arrested. It was evident that immediate action was necessary. In the 26th of July the final conflict began; Robespierre suddenly made his appearance in the tribune at the convention, and delivered a vague and tedious, but angry and insolent, tirade against the two committees, the government functionaries, and all others who opposed him, denouncing them as traitors, calumniators, atheists, profligates, brigands. The house heard him without the smallest sympathy; and the tyrant withdrew disconcerted to the Jacobin club, where measures were arranged for the mortal strife expected on the morrow.

The 27th of July was the decisive day. A report on Robespierre's speech, read by St. Just, was tumultuously interrupted by Billaud-Varennes and Tallien, who were powerfully supported by Collot d'Herbois, the president of the day. "A chasm deeper than the catacombs," cried Billaud, "is dug at your feet, and either you must fill it with your dead bodies, or you must hurl down Robespierre and his fellow tyrants." Tallien drew forth a dagger, and declared that, if the convention had not the courage to order the arrest of Robespierre, he would instantly strike him to the heart. Vainly did the doomed man strive to obtain a hearing. His voice was drowned by the indignant shouts which arose from all sides of "Down with the tyrant!" "Death to the triumvirs!" and in the midst of great disorder the house voted itself in permanent session, and decreed the arrest of Robespierre, Couthon, and St. Just, to whom Lebas and the younger Robespierre were added by their own desire. The five members were removed, and were soon afterwards confined separately in different prisons. The ferocious Hanriot, commandant of the civic force, was taken into custody at the same time.

The cause of Robespierre, however, was not yet utterly lost. The commune was instantly in arms, roused the sections, released Hanriot, sent strong detachments of officers and troops to the five prisons, delivered the prisoners, and carried them in triumph to the Hôtel de Ville. The convention acted in this crisis with firmness. They passed a decree of outlawry against Robespierre and his four colleagues, Hanriot, and the whole commune of Paris. The greater part of the sections at once declared in favour of the national representatives. Barras was named to the command of their armed force; at midnight he surrounded the Hôtel de Ville

with his battalions, and, all resistance being hopeless, the conspirators surrendered at discretion. Lebas shot himself dead with a pistol, the younger Robespierre leaped from a window and fractured his leg, and his elder brother, attempting suicide, wounded himself in the lower jaw. On the 28th of July (10th Thermidor), Robespierre and his colleagues were executed amid the applause of the spectators.

§ 8. The revolution of the NINTH THERMIDOR put an end to the Reign of Terror, for the nation saw in the fall of Robespierre a reaction against tyranny and in favour of humane government. The committees of Public Safety and General Security were remodelled, and their power restrained. The prisons were visited, and upwards of 10,000 detained under the infamous "loi des suspects" were restored to liberty in the capital alone. An outcry for vengeance against the Terrorists soon arose among those whose relatives had perished under the late fearful system. An association was formed by the young men of Paris, to the number of several thousands, chiefly of the upper classes, who, known as the Jeunes Gens, or the Jeunesse Dorée, and wearing a fantastic costume "à la victime," devoted themselves to measures of summary retaliation upon the Jacobins. On the 9th of November they made a desperate attack on the Jacobin club; after a brief contest the members were driven forth, and the club was closed by order of the convention in December, 1794.

Retribution now fell fast upon the accomplices of Robespierre. Carrier was sent before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and suffered by the guillotine. The same fate was most deservedly inflicted on Fouquier-Tinville, the public prosecutor under the Reign of Terror. Collot d'Herbois, Billaud-Varennes, Barrère, and Vadier, all execrated as having been foremost among the Terrorists, were committed to prison, but were not brought to trial till some months later. A resolution was also passed in March, 1795, recalling to their seats in the convention seventy-three members, chiefly Girondists, who had been expelled after the 31st of May.

These reactionary measures, however, did not pass without opposition from the Jacobins. A rigorous winter, exorbitant prices, a ruinous depreciation of the assignats, numerous bankruptcies which occasioned great misery both in Paris and in the provinces, enabled the agitators to stir up once more the elements of insurrection; and on the 1st of April, 1795 (12th Germinal), the hall of the convention was invaded by a tumultuous mob, clamouring for bread, the constitution of the year II. (1793), and the liberation of Collot d'Herbois and the other Terrorists. But the sectional troops, led by the Jeunesse Dorée, soon dispersed the insurgents, and the danger was at an end. The victorious Thermidorians

proceeded forthwith with the trial of Collot d'Herbois and his accomplices, who were all convicted and sentenced to transportation.

Another and a more desperate attempt of the same kind was made six weeks later, on the 20th of May (1st Prairial). The armed rabble again surrounded the Tuileries, and burst into the hall of the convention. The fighting was partially renewed on the next day, but the convention remained finally victorious. This formidable outbreak was followed by severe measures of punishment. General Menou, at the head of an imposing force, marched upon the faubourg St. Antoine, and threatened a bombardment unless all arms were immediately delivered up. It was useless to resist; pikes, muskets, and cannon, in large quantities, were surrendered, and this stronghold of the mob became comparatively powerless. The Montagnards were now tried by a military commission, and six of their leaders were condemned to death. Several more were transported for life; many fled into concealment; and the political influence of the party was from this moment finally crushed.

§ 9. During this period of intestine struggle the armies of the Republic maintained their ground against the European coalition. and the foreign policy of Merlin of Douai proved successful. General Jourdan, taking the command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, defeated the allies at Fleurus, on the 26th of June. 1794. After this victory he formed a junction with General Pichegru and the army of the North, and the republicans entered Brussels in triumph on the 9th of July. The Duke of York now retreated rapidly towards Holland, abandoning the whole of Belgium to the French. Pichegru's army encamped on the line of the Meuse, and prepared for the invasion of Holland. Meanwhile Jourdan drove back the Austrians towards the Rhine, defeated them with great slaughter at Ruremonde, and forced them to refire to the German side of the river on the 5th of October. The French took possession of Cologne and Coblentz; Trèves submitted to their "army of the Moselle," and before the end of October they were masters of the entire course of the Rhine from Worms to Nimeguen.

During the same summer the republican arms achieved considerable success on the Sardinian and Spanish frontiers. By way of counterpoise, however, to these triumphs, it was in this year that Lord Howe won his celebrated victory of the 1st of June, off the Isle of Ushant, when the French were defeated with a loss or seven ships of the line and 8000 men.

The army under Pichegru, resuming the offensive in the depth of a severe winter, crossed the Meuse on the ice in the last week of December, and on the 11th of January, 1795, attacked the English FRANCE.

and Dutch at Nimeguen, and forced them to a disastrous retreat. The Dutch troops showed symptoms of disaffection, while the populace openly welcomed the republican invader. The stadtholder now fled to England, abandoning Holland to Pichegru, who entered Amsterdam in triumph on the 20th of January. The English, under General Walmoden, after enduring dreadful sufferings in their retreat, gained the port of Bremen, where they embarked for their own country. Their army had been reduced to a mere wreck by privation, disease, desertion, and the sword of the enemy. The conquest of Holland, thus accomplished without fighting a battle, and with very triffing loss, established the reputation of Pichegru as one of the foremost generals of the Revolution. A Batavian Republic was now organized in Holland upon the model of republican France, and a treaty was made with France in March, 1795. Negotiations were opened about the same time with the King of Prussia, who, in May, 1794, had practically deserted the allies and sought an equivalent in Poland for losses in the West, and peace was signed at Basle on the 5th of April; Prussia agreeing, in consideration of compensation elsewhere, to surrender her provinces on the left bank of the Rhine when a general peace was made; while France, on her side, allowed the Prussian neutrality to cover all the German states which desired peace. A treaty was concluded with Spain on the 22nd of July, France gaining half St. Domingo. On the 8th of June young Louis XVII, had died in prison, and his sister, afterwards Duchesse d'Angoulême, was now liberated from the Temple, in exchange for the commissioners of the convention whom Dumouriez had betrayed to the Austrians. Tuscany had already made peace with France, and in August a treaty was made with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. France had gained a signal triumph. The first coalition was broken up, and only England, Austria, and Sardinia continued the war.

§ 10. The Vendean insurgents, after signing a treaty of peace with the convention in February, 1795, once more assembled in arms in the June following, under the leadership of Charette and Stofflet. Having prevailed upon the British government to aid them, some thousands of French emigrants and prisoners were transported on board a British fleet to the peninsula of Quiberon, where they effected a landing on the 27th of June, and made themselves masters of Fort Penthièvre. But the expedition was ill planned, and the Chouans, as the royalists of Brittany were called, were by no means equal in military qualities to the soldiers of La Vendée. General Hoche, at the head of a large republican army, blockaded the invaders by throwing up entrenchments across the narrow isthmus which joins Quiberon to the mainland. Puisaye totally failed in an attempt to break through the enemy's lines; on

the night of the 20th of July Hoche stormed Fort Penthièvre; the defenders struggled desperately to regain the English vessels, but, the weather being stormy, by far the greater part of them perished miserably in the waters. The remainder surrendered to Hoche, under a vague and unauthorized promise of quarter. Upon a reference to Paris it was decided that the laws against emigrants must take their course; and some 700 nobles were shot at Auray. Charette retaliated by the wholesale massacre, in cold blood, of upwards of 1000 republicans who had fallen into his hands.

Hoche followed up his success at Quiberon by proceeding to attack the insurgents of La Vendée. The Comte d'Artois, who had joined them, behaved with gross incapacity, and at length abandoning them to their fate, embarked for England. Stofflet, defeated by Hoche near Bressuire, was captured soon afterwards, and executed at Angers in February, 1796. His brave comrade Charette, having disbanded his troops, was hunted for days together through the forests and marshes, and, being at last taken prisoner, was conducted to Nantes, where he was shot on the 29th of March. After this event Hoche, by a mixture of firmness and conciliation, gradually

succeeded in pacifying the north-west of France.

§ 11. At Paris, meanwhile, the convention had named a committee of eleven members, almost exclusively Girondists, to draw up the bases of a new constitution. The scheme which they proposed was accepted by the convention on the 22nd of August, 1795. By the new arrangement the legislative power was intrusted to two chambers, one of which, called the Council of Five Hundred. possessed the sole privilege of initiating laws, while the other, the Council of Ancients, consisting of 250 members, had the right of discussion, and could either accept the measures presented to it, or reject them by an absolute veto. The executive authority was to reside in a DIRECTORY, consisting of five members appointed by the two legislative chambers, one director retiring by rotation every year. The royalists, who, since the revolution of Thermidor and the restoration of the Girondist deputies, had recovered a certain amount of influence in the national councils, strenuously resisted this proposal, so manifestly designed to perpetuate the power of the authors of the Revolution. Considerable agitation followed both in Paris and throughout the country. The new constitution, with its supplementary article relating to the composition of the chambers, was submitted to the people in their primary assemblies; several of the Parisian sections, gained over by the opponents of the republic, formed a central committee, and made preparations for maintaining their opposition by force. In spite of this, the proposed arrangements were accepted in the

provinces by an immense majority; and the successful result of the appeal was publicly announced by the convention on the 23rd of September. The refractory sections, nevertheless, gave no signs of submission, and became more and more menacing. The convention gave the command of the armed force to Barras, who had acquitted himself with so much resolution in the crisis of the 9th Thermidor. Barras called to his aid Napoleon Bonaparte, at that time a general of brigade without employment, and intrusted to him the direction of the military operations against the insurgent sections. The young general planted his cannon upon all the approaches to the Tuileries, and occupied strongly with his troops all the neighbouring streets, the bridges, and the Place Louis XV. The expected struggle took place on the 5th of October (13th Vendemiaire), 1795. The troops of the sections, numbering between twenty and thirty thousand, advanced against the convention in two divisions, from each side of the Seine. A combat ensued in the Rue St. Honoré, where, the sections having established themselves in front of the church of St. Roch, Bonaparte opened a murderous fire of artillery upon the post, and completely routed the assailants with heavy loss. Then, hastening to the Pont Neuf, towards which the second column of the rebels was marching from the Quartier St. Germain, he pointed his artillery so as to command them both in front and flank. and met them as they came within range with a fire which scattered them in all directions. The fighting, which did not begin till late in the afternoon, was over in less than an hour and a half. The convention used its victory with moderation; only one of the conspirators was put to death, and a few others imprisoned. The important services of Bonaparte on the DAY OF THE SECTIONS were promptly rewarded; he was appointed second in command of the army of the interior, and, upon the retirement of Barras shortly afterwards, succeeded to the post of commander-in-chief. A general amnesty was decreed for political offences, from which, however, all emigrants and their families were expressly excluded. By another decree Belgium was declared to be incorporated with France. These were the last acts of the convention; the president announced that its mission and labours were terminated; and this assembly, so memorable in French history, broke up on the 26th of October, after a continuous session of three years and two months. The newly-adopted form of government came into immediate operation. The Council of Five Hundred presented to the Council of Ancients a list of fifty representatives, from which the latter selected five to compose the executive Directory. The persons named were Revellière-Lepeaux, Reubell, Siévès, Letourneur, and Barras, all stanch republicans, who had voted for the death of Louis XVI. Siévès declined to serve, and was replaced by Carnot.

The directors entered at once upon their office, with a considerable amount of state and dignity. The Luxemburg palace was assigned as their residence, a military guard surrounded them for protection, and they enjoyed an ample revenue.

§ 12. The new government, on commencing its labours, found the national finances in a deplorable state. The treasury was empty; the armies clamoured for arrears of pay; the dearth of specie became every day more and more pressing; public credit had fallen to the lowest ebb; the assignats, which were still a legal tender, realized no more than the two-hundredth part of their nominal value. At length, after the issue of paper money had reached the almost incredible amount of forty-five thousand millions * (eighteen hundred millions sterling), it was found utterly impossible to maintain it in circulation; the assignats were refused by all classes, from the highest to the lowest, throughout France. The government now determined to withdraw them, and substituted for them a new kind of paper currency, called mandats territoriaux; these mandats were charged upon the landed estates belonging to the nation, and entitled the holder to a certain specified amount of that property, according to the valuation made in the year 1790. The assignats were suppressed, and the plate used for engraving them broken up, in March, 1796. The issue of the mandats was an improvement, since they represented a substantial value in land, for which they were exchangeable at any moment; but after a time they also fell into discredit, and could only be negotiated at an enormous discount. The measure led eventually to a bankruptcy of no less than thirty-three milliards of francs.

The pressure of the financial crisis, and the generally unsettled state of affairs, exposed the directory to intrigues and conspiracies from various quarters. Their suppression, which was effected without much difficulty, contributed to strengthen the hands of the directory; but the chief glory of their administration was the brilliant success of Bonaparte in Italy.

§ 13. The fortunes of Napoleon Bonaparte had risen rapidly ever since the important service rendered to the government on the "Day of the Sections," for which, as already stated, he had been advanced to the chief command of the army of the interior. His marriage with Madame de Beauharnais † (afterwards the Empress Josephine), which took place on the 9th of March, 1796, was

^{*} Thiers, Hist. Rev., vol. viii. p. 199.

[†] This lady was the daughter of a West-Indian planter, and widow of the Vicomte de Beauharnais, who had been guillotined during the Reign of Terror. She had two children by her first husband; Eugene, afterwards Viceroy of Italy, and Hortense, afterwards Queen of Holland, and mother of the late Emperor Napoleon III.

another step in his prosperous career. The connection procured for him the good offices of Barras, Tallien, and Carnot—perhaps the three most influential men of the day. Bonaparte, who had not yet completed his twenty-seventh year, was now appointed general-in-chief of the army in Italy; and quitting Paris only twelve days after his marriage, he reached head-quarters at Nice, and assumed the command on the 27th of March, 1796.

The force under his orders, amounting to about 35,000 men, was at this time in a state of inefficiency from the want of provisions and clothing; neglect and disorder prevailed in all departments of the service. The French were opposed to the combined army of 60,000 Austrians and Piedmontese, commanded by Generals Beaulieu and Colli. Bonaparte lost no time in executing a forward movement towards Genoa. His plan was to pierce the centre of the enemy's line, thus separating the imperialists from their allies. In this he was completely successful; Beaulieu fell back towards Milan, Colli towards Turin; Bonaparte marched in close pursuit of the latter, and having defeated the Sardinians at Montenotte, Millesimo, and Dego, reached Cherasco, only ten leagues from Turin, where, on the 28th of April, he dictated the conditions of an armistice, which was soon afterwards converted into a definitive peace. The King of Sardinia ceded to the French Republic Savoy and the county of Nice, thus placing at the command of the victors all the great lines of communication between France and Italy; and Alessandria, Tortona, and other principal fortresses of the kingdom, were given up to the French in guarantee until the conclusion of a general

§ 14. Bonaparte now turned against the discomfited Austrians. The French crossed the Po at Piacenza on the 7th of May, and drove back Beaulieu upon the line of the Adda; the strongly fortified bridge of Lodi was carried, after a desperate struggle, on the 10th, and the enemy retreated in confusion on the Mincio. This movement left the road to Milan open to the march of the invaders; they advanced immediately, and Bonaparte made his entry into the capital of Lombardy on the 15th of May.

Meanwhile the success of the young general had inspired the home government with admiration, which was soon exchanged for feelings of jealous alarm. Finding that they had to deal with one who could not only direct manœuvres and win battles, but who also took upon himself to negotiate with sovereign princes, to sign treaties, to decide independently questions of the highest political importance, the directors made several attempts to fetter his movements. Bonaparte firmly resisted their interference; and a proposal having been made to divide the army—one half remaining in Lombardy under the orders of Kellermann, while with the other

Bonaparte was to march upon Rome and Naples—the latter positively declined to comply, and intimated that he would prefer resigning his command. So great already was his fame and popularity, that the directory dared not accept this alternative; and Bonaparte was consequently left in supreme authority. From that moment he not only directed the whole of the operations of the war in Italy, but acquired an influence over the government at Paris which could not be concealed, and which was destined to lead in due time to results of the greatest importance.

On the 27th of May the French army was again in motion, and commenced the siege of the strong fortress of Mantua. A second Austrian army was now despatched to Lombardy, under the orders of Marshal Wurmser, one of the ablest and most experienced Austrian generals. While he was on his march to the scene of action, Bonaparte, leaving a strong force to blockade Mantua, proceeded to Bologna, and there dictated the conditions of an armistice with Pope Pius VI. Twenty millions of francs, together with a hundred valuable pictures and other works of art, were extorted from the pontiff; he also consented to the occupation of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ancona by French troops. The Grand Duke of Tuscany was in like manner forced to receive a French garrison at Leghorn, in order to exclude the English from the commerce of that port.

§ 15. Marshal Wurmser, having concentrated an army of 70,000 men, advanced from Trent on the 29th of July. But he was no match for the young general. After repeated defeats the veteran marshal retreated with the remains of his army into Mantua, which, having been amply furnished with stores and provisions, was capable

of a prolonged resistance (September 19th).

During these memorable campaigns in North Italy, the course of the war in other quarters had proved unfavourable to the arms of the French Republic. The army of the Sambre and the Meuse, under Jourdan, and that of the Rhine and the Moselle, commanded by the famous Moreau, were confronted by the Austrians under the Archduke Charles, a prince of military capacity, with a force numbering upwards of 100,000 men. Moreau and Jourdan both crossed the Rhine, the former between Strassburg and Kehl, the latter at Mayence. Jourdan, defeated at Wurzburg on the 3rd of September, recrossed the Rhine soon afterwards into the French territory. Moreau, who had continued his advance as far as Munich, thus found himself in an exceedingly critical position. The archduke marched upon the Neckar, with the view of cutting off his communication with France, and Moreau determined to retrace his steps by the valley of the Danube. This was his masterly and celebrated retreat through the Black Forest and the defiles of the

Hollenthal, by which, in twenty-six days, he conducted his army, without serious loss, to the French frontier.

§ 16. The army under Bonaparte, notwithstanding its victories, was placed in a critical situation by the retreat of Jourdan and Moreau. The cabinet of Vienna, making a vigorous effort, assembled at Verona a third army, 60,000 strong, under the command of Marshal Alvinzi. The French were far inferior in number; and, in the earlier encounters which ensued, success was decidedly on the side of the Austrians. The French attempted in vain to storm the Austrian position on the formidable heights of Caldiero, in front of Verona. The troops lost heart; alarm, discontent, and murmuring became general. The genius of Bonaparte, however, did not desert him in this dangerous predicament. He conceived the bold scheme of turning the left flank of the enemy, and thus compelling him to abandon Caldiero and accept battle at a disadvantage in the plain. Marching secretly from Verona, the French descended the Adige as far as Ronco; there they crossed the Adige, and on the 14th of November made a furious attack upon the bridge and village of ARCOLE, which commanded the great road from Verona to Vicenza. The possession of Arcole, which is surrounded by marshes, was obstinately contested; Bonaparte himself, having seized a standard, which he planted with his own hand upon the bridge to animate the soldiers, was thrown into the marsh, and was for some time in imminent peril. At nightfall, however, the French recrossed the Adige, and fell back upon Ronco. The next day the struggle was renewed, but again with indecisive result; for Alvinzi had now descended from Caldiero. and Arcole was occupied with an overwhelming force. On the 17th the French advanced for the third time to attack this hotly contested village, and their perseverance was at length successful: the Austrians, driven out of Arcole, retreated on Montebello, with a loss, during the three engagements, of nearly 8000 men. Never had Bonaparte purchased victory so dearly; still he had triumphed -re-entering Verona by the eastern gate, the opposite side to that from which he had marched four days before.

§ 17. Six weeks of repose followed; but early in January, 1797, Alvinzi once more appeared on the Adige with an army recruited to 60,000 men; and on the 14th of that month was fought the memorable field of RIVOLI,—in which Bonaparte, with scarcely one half the numerical force of his opponent, obtained one of his most splendid victories. This victory was followed by the surrender of Mantua. Wurmser capitulated on the 2nd of February, 1797, and 20,000 Austrians became by this surrender prisoners to the French.

Bonaparte now led his army into the territories of the pope, against whom the directory had resolved to proceed to extremities. The states of the church were quickly overrun, the papal troops everpowered and dispersed after a feeble resistance; and Pius signed the humiliating treaty of Tolentino (February 19th, 1797), by which he ceded the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna, and Avignon with its territory; an additional contribution of fifteen millions of francs was likewise exacted, and the Vatican and other celebrated galleries of Rome were again plundered of their choicest treasures.

§ 18. Bonaparte, having vanquished in succession three imperial armies on the Italian side of the Alps, determined in the campaign of 1797 to transfer the war into the hereditary possessions of the house of Austria. He took the field on the 9th of March, forced the passes leading to Carinthia, and on the 9th of April took up his head-quarters at Leoben, within a few days' march of Vienna. The imperial cabinet, in consternation, hastened to demand a suspension of arms, which was granted; commissioners were sent to the French head-quarters, and on the 18th of April, 1797, the preliminaries of peace between France and the empire were signed at Leoben. During the progress of this negotiation Bonaparte received tidings of a popular insurrection which had broken out against the French at Bergamo, Verona, and other places in the Venetian territory. Fearful excesses had been committed; numbers of the French were murdered, including even the helpless sick in the hospitals; some hundreds were thrown into prison. A French vessel was fired at by the forts at the entrance of the Lido, and the captain and crew were killed. Upon the news of these outrages, the French general declared war against the republic of Venice, and revenged himself on the Queen of the Adriatic by the total annihilation of her ancient sovereignty. A French division took forcible possession of the arsenal of Venice and other military posts. The Venetian senate abdicated its functions, and a democratical form of government was proclaimed in its place. The conqueror next prescribed the terms of a treaty, by which Venice and its territory were to remain in the occupation of the French until a general peace; a contribution was levied of six millions of francs, and the usual stipulation was made for the sacrifice of pictures and manuscripts. Such was the sudden and ignominious extinction of the ancient commonwealth of Venice.

§ 19. While the armies of the Republic were thus triumphing over the monarchies of Europe, the internal condition of France was one of continual agitation and confusion. In the elections to the legislature in the year 1797, the Clichian party, which took its name from the Club de Clichy, and which was in favour of a limited monarchy and a policy of peace, succeeded in returning upwards of two hundred members firmly attached to their opinions. A strong

party was thus formed in direct opposition to the existing government, which at once showed its power by the nomination of General Pichegru (now a decided partisan of the Bourbons) as president of the Council of Five Hundred, and of another royalist, Barbé-Marbois, to the same office in the Council of Ancients. Barthélemy, a man of known monarchical views, was substituted in the directory for Letourneur, who retired by rotation. A counterrevolution appeared imminent; and to add to the embarrassment of the situation, the directors were at feud among themselves. Barthélemy and Carnot favoured the designs of the majority of the councils—the former from his royalist convictions, the latter mainly from hatred of his colleague Barras. The other three members, however-Barras, Reubell, and Revellière-Lepeaux-stood firm against the hostile coalition; and since they possessed no constitutional or legal means of acting against their opponents in the legislature, they determined on the expedient of a coup d'état, and for this purpose appealed for support to the young conqueror of Italy, who had given repeated proofs of his zeal for the republican government, and to General Hoche, also an ardent republican, and then in command of one of the armies on the Rhine. Hoche marched a large body of troops towards Paris, in direct contravention of the law which forbade the military to approach within a certain distance of the capital. Bonaparte despatched one of his best generals. Augereau, who was immediately appointed to the chief command of Paris. Barras and his friends now made full preparations for striking a decisive blow. At a very early hour on the 18th of Fructidor (the 4th of September, 1797), Augereau occupied the principal posts in Paris with 12,000 men, directed a strong column on the Tuileries, and placed a guard at the entrance of both the chambers. When the obnoxious members made their appearance they were taken into custody, to the number of fifty-three, including Pichegru and Barbé-Marbois, and conveyed to various places of confinement. A detachment was sent at the same time to the Luxemburg to arrest Carnot and Barthélemy, who had been kept in total ignorance of the scheme of their colleagues. Carnot contrived to escape; Barthélemy was captured and committed to the Temple. The minorities of the two chambers, consisting of members faithful to the directory, were now assembled; and the directors justified their proceedings by producing papers which fully proved the connection of Pichegru and his associates with the exiled Bourbons. Upon this a decree was passed annulling the elections made in fifty-three departments, and condemning the representatives so elected, who were already in confinement, to transportation for life. The prisoners were banished to Cayenne and Sinnamari. Carnot and Barthélemy succeeded in making their escape from France.

§ 20. Notwithstanding the preliminaries agreed upon at Leoben. many difficulties delayed the conclusion of a definitive peace with Austria. At length, after the failure of the Clichian party, the TREATY OF CAMPO FORMIO was signed on the 17th of October, 1797. By this settlement France acquired the Belgic provinces and the boundary of the Rhine, and the Ionian Islands in addition. The Cisalpine Republic, comprehending Lombardy, Parma, Modena, the Papal Legations, and the Venetian territory to the line of the Adige, and the Ligurian Republic, which included Genoa and the surrounding districts—both of which had already been set up by Bonaparte—were recognised. On the other hand, the French ceded to the emperor the city of Venice, with the rest of her ancient possessions—Friuli, Istria, Dalmatia, and the islands of the Adriatic. A congress was opened immediately afterwards at Rastadt to settle the details of a pacific arrangement between France and the minor states of Germany.

Bonaparte now returned to Paris, on the 10th of December, where he received an imposing public reception from the directory. He was at this moment without question the most popular man in France, as well as the master of the political situation. The government, however, regarded him with feelings of jealousy, but after a short interval gave him the command of the army of the

interior.

Early in 1798 great preparations were made by the directory for a descent upon England, and the command of the expedition was offered to Bonaparte. The general visited Boulogne, reviewed the "army of England," made a careful examination of the line of coast from Etaples to Ostend, and came to a conclusion unfavourable to the projected invasion; it was consequently abandoned. Shortly afterwards he proposed to the directory an enterprise in a different quarter, by which, as he was persuaded, the commerce and power of England might be far more successfully assailed than by any direct attempt upon the British shores; -this was an expedition into Egypt. Bonaparte had long meditated on the immense advantages which the possession of that country would secure to France, more especially as regards the command of the Mediterranean and the means of communication with India. He found great difficulty, however, in inducing the directory to embrace his views; and there is no doubt that their chief motive in at length giving their consent was the desire of removing from Paris a man whom they very justly regarded as a dangerous rival.

§ 21. Extensive preparations were now set on foot for the Egyptian expedition, and on the 19th of May, 1798, Bonaparte sailed from Toulon with an army of 36,000 men, embarked in a fleet of twenty ships of war, besides a large number of transports,

under the command of Admiral Brueys. A numerous body of savans—naturalists, geographers, and other scientific men—also accompanied the expedition. The French shaped their course for Malta, the acquisition of which island was one of the principal objects contemplated by Bonaparte. The knights of St. John, and their Grand Master de Hompesch, had already entered into a secret correspondence with the republican general; Valetta was surrendered after a show of resistance; the island was ceded by a convention to France, and on the 10th of June Bonaparte took formal possession. General Vaubois, with a garrison of 3000 men, was left in command at Valetta; the French armament again set sail, and after narrowly escaping an encounter with the English fleet under Nelson, who scoured the Mediterranean in all directions to intercept them, the French reached Egypt on the 1st of July. The landing was effected the next day, and Bonaparte with little difficulty made himself master of Alexandria. Egypt, though nominally a province of the Turkish empire, was at this time in fact under the dominion of the Mamelukes, a race celebrated for ages for their martial qualities, and especially for the excellence of their cavalry. Mourad Bey, one of their most powerful chieftains, now concentrated his troops for the defence of Cairo. Bonaparte advanced without delay, and after a harassing march through the desert under a scorching sun, the French, on the 21st of July, came in sight of the army of the Beys, consisting of 6000 Mameluke horsemen and 20,000 infantry, posted in an entrenched camp at Embabeh, in front of Cairo. The Mamelukes charged with gallantry, but made no impression upon the French, who were drawn up in squares, and remained immovable. After a desperate conflict the invaders gained a complete victory; the enemy fled in confusion into Upper Egypt, and thence into Svria. The "battle of the Pyramids," as it was called, gave Bonaparte immediate possession of Cairo, and decided virtually the conquest of Egypt. But this brilliant success was to be closely followed by a disastrous reverse. On the 1st of August, 1798, was fought the battle of the Nile, in which the French fleet was annihilated by Nelson. It left the invaders without a fleet, isolated from communication with Europe, and dependent on the precarious resources of a hostile country. Notwithstanding this great misfortune. Bonaparte applied himself with indomitable energy to the task of administering the government of Egypt, and laboured to reduce the country under the permanent rule of the Republic. His efforts were to some extent successful; but a revolt which broke out on the 22nd of October at Cairo cost the lives of several hundred Frenchmen, and was not suppressed till after the massacre of at least 5000 of the native inhabitants. The Ottoman Porte, too, encouraged by the triumph

of the British in Aboukir Bay, declared war against France, made an alliance with Russia, and assembled two armies, one at Rhodes, the other at Damascus, for the purpose of recovering Egypt. Bonaparte now determined, instead of waiting to be attacked, to advance against the Turks in Syria. He commenced his march with 13,000 men in February, 1799, and having captured El Arish, the frontierfortress of Syria, proceeded to lay siege to Jaffa, which was carried by assault on the 13th of March. It was here that Bonaparte disgraced his name by butchering in cold blood no less than 1200

Turkish prisoners.

§ 22. The celebrated siege of Acre immediately followed. The Turkish governor, Djezzar Pacha, was supported by Colonel Philippeaux, an emigrant French officer, and by Sir Sidney Smith, who commanded a small British squadron in the roads. The siege was pressed with the utmost vigour, but without success; every attack was gallantly repulsed. During the progress of the operations a considerable Turkish force advanced from Damascus, and a battle ensued at Mount Tabor (April 16th), in which Bonaparte routed the enemy with terrible slaughter. Acre, however, proved impregnable; a last and desperate assault totally failed; and Bonaparte, whose vague visions of Oriental dominion were thus finally dissipated, found it necessary to give orders for a retreat into Egypt. With an army seriously diminished and profoundly discouraged, the French general re-entered Cairo on the 14th of June. Fresh attempts were now made by Ibrahim and Mourad Bey to excite insurrection in Upper Egypt, and their movements were supported by the arrival of the second army of the Turks from Rhodes, which disembarked at Aboukir, 18,000 strong, on the 11th of July. On the 25th Bonaparte attacked the Turks in their entrenched camp at Aboukir, and after an obstinate contest succeeded in overthrowing them with tremendous slaughter. This victory was gained principally by the gallantry of the French cavalry under General Murat. The Turkish army was annihilated; besides those who fell in action, thousands threw themselves headlong into the sea, and perished in the vain attempt to reach their ships.

The battle of Aboukir was the last of Bonaparte's achievements in the Egyptian expedition. Opposition indeed was now at an end, and the French were left in undisputed possession of the country. The thoughts of the conqueror, however, were soon diverted from the task of consolidating the rule of the Republic in its Eastern acquisitions. The accounts which reached him of the incapacity and misgovernment of the directory—of the alarming reverses sustained by the French arms in Italy—and of the general discontent, agitation, and anarchy which prevailed throughout France—determined him to take the bold step of quitting his army and

proceeding immediately to Paris. He felt that the long-looked-for moment had now arrived when he might strike a blow for the supreme direction of affairs with every prospect of success. Two frigates were secretly prepared at Alexandria; and Bonaparte, having intrusted the chief command of the army of the East to General Kléber, embarked on the 25th of August. After a tedious voyage, during which he was in imminent danger of being captured by the English cruisers, and was detained several days at his native place of Ajaccio in Corsica, the general and his suite landed safely near Fréjus on the 9th of October. His journey to Paris was an uninterrupted ovation; he arrived on the 16th, and took up his abode without ostentation in a small house in the Rue de la Victoire.

§ 23. "Their five Majesties of the Luxemburg," as the directors were called, had proved themselves more and more incompetent to meet the various perplexing difficulties-social, financial, and administrative—which beset republican France. They betrayed their weakness by repeated breaches of the law and the constitution. The elections of 1798 had been to a great extent hostile to the government; and the precedent of the 18th Fructidor was followed by another coup d'état on the 22nd Floréal (May 11th, 1798), when a considerable number of deputies, of the ultra-democratical or anarchist party, were forcibly expelled from the legislature. The disorders of the finances, again, were a source of continual and vehement clamour against the directors. The law of hostages, by which the sons and brothers of emigrant royalists were liable to be imprisoned as substitutes for their expatriated relatives, was another grievance deeply felt. But perhaps the most fatal ground of dissatisfaction was the ill success of the French armies in Italy, and the consequent loss of the position which had been achieved by the treaty of Campo Formio.

In 1798 the Emperor Paul of Russia had taken the initiative in forming a new coalition against France; and a powerful army, commanded by the celebrated Suvórov, had marched into Northern Italy to co-operate with the Austrians under General Kray. The French generals, Scherer and Macdonald, were defeated at the battles of Magnano (April 5th) and the Trebbia (June 17th to 19th) respectively, and Joubert was overthrown and killed in the battle of Novi (August 15th). The power of France in Italy was destroyed by these repeated disasters, and the odium arising from this sudden change of fortune fell heavily on the directory. Naples surrendered to the royal army, assisted by the English under Nelson; and the French garrison at Rome having capitulated, the government of the pope was re-established. The republicans were thus completely expelled from Central and Southern Italy.

The hostilities which took place during the same campaign in Switzerland were on the whole more favourable to the French. Masséna encountered the Russians, under Korsakov, in the valley of the Linth, near Zurich; and in a succession of combats which followed, extending over a line of near one hundred miles, finally drove them out of Switzerland in total confusion. Suvórov, who had crossed the St. Gothard Pass and arrived at the Lake of Lucerne, now made a precipitate retreat into Bavaria, and Russia soon afterwards withdrew from the coalition. An ill-advised descent of the English upon North Holland about the same time (September, 1799) was opposed with success by General Brune; the Duke of York, who commanded, driven back upon the coast, found it necessary to sign a capitulation at Alkmaar on the 18th of October, and re-embarked for England with the remains of his army.

§ 24. The elections made in the spring of 1799 were again decidedly hostile to the directory, and a powerful cabal was immediately formed in the two councils for the purpose of effecting a change in the government. Reubell, whose term of office had expired, was succeeded by Siéyès, a declared enemy of the existing constitution; and that subtle intriguer accordingly became the leader of the malcontent faction. The Director Treilhard was compelled to resign, and was replaced by Gohier, an honest republican of respectable ability; and shortly afterwards Revellière-Lepeaux and Merlin made way for Roger-Ducos, a mere creature of Siéyès, and General Moulins. This was called the revolution of the 30th Prairial (June 18th, 1799).

The new directory was thus composed of Barras, Siévès, Gohier, Roger-Ducos, and Moulins; the chief influence in the administration being unquestionably in the hands of Siévès. That restless politician eagerly pursued his schemes for overturning the directorial system, which he regarded as hopelessly corrupt. He saw that the time was close at hand for striking a decisive blow, and looked anxiously round for fit instruments to aid in the accomplishment of his design. "We must have a head," he observed, "and a sword." For the first he relied upon himself; for the second it was necessary to secure the services of some able, popular, and resolute military leader. It was now that the relatives and friends of Bonaparte wrote to apprise him of the favourable opportunity which circumstances had opened to his ambition, and to urge his immediate return to France. Bonaparte, after a brief examination of the state of parties, decided on offering his military support to Siéyès; and the revolution which followed was the result of their combination.

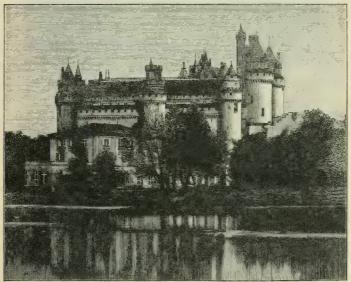
§25. The constitution of the year III. had conferred on the

Council of Ancients the power of changing the place of meeting of the legislative body. The confederates, who possessed a majority among the ancients, arranged that the sessions of the legislature should be transferred to St. Cloud; a decree to that effect was published on the morning of the 18th Brumaire (November 9th, 1799), and General Bonaparte was charged with its execution, being named for that purpose to the command of the military division of Paris. The Council of Five Hundred, in which the majority was hostile to the conspirators, met in the Orangery at St. Cloud on the 19th. Lucien Bonaparte was president. The assembly proceeded, in the midst of extraordinary agitation, to renew individually the oath of fidelity to the constitution of the year III. Upon this Bonaparte, losing patience, resolved to interfere personally, and bring matters to a decisive issue. After speaking at the bar of the Council of Ancients, he presented himself at the door of the Council of Five Hundred; but here he was met by a storm of fierce disapprobation; shouts of "Down with the dictator! Down with the bayonets! Outlaw the tyrant!" resounded on all sides: the assembly rose tumultuously and pressed with threatening gestures round the intruder; he turned to withdraw, and was at last almost carried out of the hall in the arms of his grenadiers.* After Lucien Bonaparte, then president of the chamber, had harangued the soldiers, the word of command was given; the grenadiers, led by Murat, entered the hall with fixed bayonets; and after a few moments' hesitation the terrified representatives dispersed in all directions. The hall being thus cleared, without bloodshed, a small minority of the fugitives was collected under the presidency of Lucien; and resolutions were passed, in conjunction with the Council of Ancients, which completed the transactions of this eventful day. The directory was abolished; fifty-seven members of the legislature were sentenced to banishment; the session of the chambers was adjourned to the 20th of February, 1800; and the executive power was placed provisionally in the hands of a consular commission, composed of the citizens Siévès, Bonaparte, and Roger-Ducos. Finally, both the legislative councils nominated a committee of twenty-five members to prepare a report on the necessary changes to be made in the organic laws of the constitution, to be presented at their next meeting.

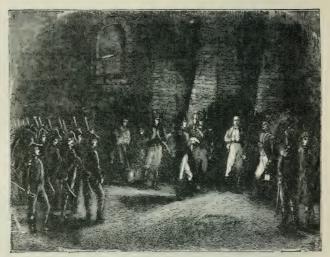
Such was the revolution of the 18th and 19th of Brumaire 9th and 10th of November, 1799), which, from various causes, was accepted by the mass of the French nation, not only without

^{*} It was affirmed that more than one dagger was aimed at the general's breast, and warded off by the soldiers. But this was never substantiated.

opposition, but with general satisfaction. The fall of the directory, hateful and contemptible as it had become by its vexatious tyranny, its gross corruption, and its conduct of affairs, was regarded as an unmixed benefit. To Bonaparte the helm was abandoned in blind implicit confidence. He continued to maintain for a short time the external forms and usages created by the revolution; but in reality, the first day of Bonaparte's assumption of power was the last of the Republic.



Castle of Pierrefonds, near Compiègne, where Napoleon met his bride, the Archduchess Maria Louisa (see p. 561).



Execution of the Duke of Enghien at Vincennes, March 21, 1804. (See p. 542.)

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE CONSULATE. NOVEMBER 10, 1799-MAY 18, 1804.

1. The "Constitution of the year VIII." § 2. Bonaparte's first measures of government; fruitless negotiation with England. § 3. Campaign of 1800; passage of the St. Bernard; battle of Marengo; convention with the Austrians. § 4. Campaign of Moreau in Bayaria; battle of Hohenlinden; peace of Lunéville. § 5. English expedition to Egypt; assassination of General Kleber; battle of Alexandria; evacuation of Egypt by the French; peace of Amiens. § 6. Attempts against the life of Bonaparte; the "infernal machine." § 7. Internal administration of Bonaparte; the Code Napoléon; the Concordat. § 8. The Legion of Honour; Bonaparte appointed Consul for life. § 9. The Italian Republic; Ligurian Republic; disturbances in Switzerland; Bonaparte becomes "Grand Mediator of the Helvetic Confederation; "insurrection in St. Domingo; Toussaint l'Ouverture. δ 10. Rupture of the peace of Amiens; its causes; detention of British subjects travelling in France. § 11. Seizure of Hanover; preparations for the invasion of England; conspiracy of Georges Cadoudal and Pichegru. § 12. Seizure and execution of the Duke of Enghien. § 13. Trial and execution of the Chouan conspirators;

Napoleon proclaimed Emperor of the French; creation of Marshals of the Empire. § 14. Coronation of the Emperor and Empress; the kingdom of Italy.

§ 1. The "Constitution of the year VIII." was promulgated on the 15th of December, 1799. The executive consisted of a First Consul. with the right of nominating the members of the Council of State. the ministers, and the chief judicial, naval, and diplomatic functionaries. Subordinate to him were two consuls, who were mere ciphers. It was the province of the First Consul to prepare and propose new laws, in concert with the Council of State. The discussion of the measures thus recommended belonged to a Tribunate of one hundred members; while the Legislative Chamber, numbering three hundred deputies, possessed only the power of accepting or rejecting them, without discussion. Another institution was added. called the SENATE, which was composed of eighty members, appointed by the consuls for life; its duty was to watch over the maintenance of the constitution, to prosecute and punish any infractions of it, and to name, from the lists presented by the electoral colleges, the members of the tribunate and the legislative chamber. The representative system was retained in name, but the influence of the people was in fact greatly diminished, if not altogether nullified. The mass of the citizens voted only for the notables of the communes, who again elected a tenth of their number as notables of the departments; a tenth part of these were in turn named notables of France; and it was from this latter list of candidates that the members of the legislative chamber were selected by the senate. It was easy to discern, under this very thin veil of popular institutions, the inevitable approach of an absolute dictatorship.

§ 2. Bonaparte was now appointed, as a matter of course, First Consul, and, being empowered to nominate two colleagues, chose Cambacérès, a lawyer of considerable talent, who in the convention had voted for the death of Louis XVI., and Lebrun, a man of integrity but of slender ability, who had held a subordinate office in the last years of the monarchy. The second and third consuls possessed only a consultative voice in the government; the supreme executive power rested with Bonaparte alone. Siéyès, declining the post of second consul, was named a member of the senate, and received from the First Consul the fine estate of Crosne, which was exchanged afterwards for another near Versailles. The new constitution was submitted, pro formâ, to the approbation of the nation at large, and was accepted by upwards of three millions of suffrages inscribed on the public registers, while the dissentient votes were only 1567.

On the 19th of February, 1800, the First Consul took up his official residence with great pomp at the palace of the Tuileries, and was soon surrounded by a court formed very much upon the ancient

regal pattern.

Bonaparte's first political step, on assuming the reins of power, was to address a letter directly to the King of England, containing overtures for peace. "Must the war," he asked, "which for eight years past has ravaged the four quarters of the globe, be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding? Why should the two most enlightened nations of Europe sacrifice to vain ideas of greatness the interests of commerce, internal prosperity, and the



Medal of three Consuls.

happiness of families, forgetting that peace is the highest necessity as well as the highest glory?" This communication, however, met with no favourable response from the British government. The First Consul's sincerity was doubted; and a formal diplomatic reply was returned by Lord Grenville to Talleyrand, intimating that the only substantial security for peace was to be found in the restoration of the ancient dynasty to the throne of France. The negotiation thus proved fruitless, to the satisfaction probably of Bonaparte, who gained credit with the country for his endeavours to effect a pacification, while at the same time he rejoiced in the prospect of continued warfare, from which he anticipated fresh triumphs,

and the consequent stability of his own power. Austria also persisted in hostility, and the First Consul at once prepared for taking the field in the spring.

The first acts of Bonaparte's internal administration were judicious and conciliatory. The tyrannical law of hostages was repealed; the churches were once more thrown open for Christian worship; the heathenish "Decades" of the Revolution were abolished, and the observance of Sunday restored; numbers of emigrants were permitted to return to France; thousands of nonjuring priests, who had languished for years in prison, regained their liberty. The sentence of transportation against the fifty-nine deputies, passed on the 19th of Brumaire, was not executed; they were merely ordered to remain at a distance from Paris, under the surveillance of the police. The state of the public finances improved rapidly under the able management of the minister Gaudin. and the national credit revived to a great extent.

§ 3. The campaign of 1800 commenced in April by a movement of the Austrians, commanded by General Melas, against the French army of Italy under the orders of Masséna. The enemy drove back Masséna and Soult into Genoa, and compelled Suchet, with another French division, to retire to Borghetto. The imperial general now detached a strong force to besiege Genoa, and with the rest of his army pursued Suchet, intending to invade France by the frontier of Provence. His plans, however, were soon disconcerted by the daring genius and vigorous operations of Bonaparte. The First Consul had conceived the design of forcing a passage for his army across the most difficult and dangerous of the Alps of Switzerland. and descending upon the plains of Piedmont in the rear of the Austrian lines. On reaching Geneva, on the 10th of May; Bonaparte found himself at the head of about 35,000 soldiers. The pass of the Great St. Bernard had been carefully examined by the French engineers, and upon their reporting that it was possible. though barely possible, to cross, the order was immediately given to advance, and the march commenced. Officers and troops vied with each other in surmounting with admirable devotion the obstacles which met them at every step of their progress. The cannon, dismounted and placed in the hollow trunks of trees, were dragged by the soldiers up paths usually deemed impracticable at that season of the year, a hundred men being harnessed to each gun. The carriages were taken to pieces and transported on the backs of mules. The summit of the mountain was attained on the 15th: the descent on the Italian side, though offering difficulties by no means inferior to the ascent, was safely accomplished, and on the 16th of May the advanced guard, consisting of six regiments commanded by Lannes, took possession of Aosta. But Lannes

soon found his advance arrested by the fortress of Bard, which completely commands the passage of the narrow valley of the Dora-Baltea. It was attempted to carry the place by assault, but in vain: at length the cavalry and infantry, making a détour to the left, forced their way across the precipitous sides of the Mont Albaredo: the artillery, concerning which serious apprehensions were at first entertained, was carried during the night through the streets of the town of Bard, which had been thickly covered with straw and dung, under the very guns of the citadel, without exciting the observation of the garrison. Having overcome this formidable obstacle, the French army continued to advance, and proceeded by Novara to the banks of the Ticino. Meanwhile General Moncey, with 16,000 men, had crossed the Mont St. Gothard and descended to Bellinzona, and General Thuneau, with another division, had entered Lombardy from the Mont Cenis: the whole French army now moved in concert upon Milan, and Bonaparte took possession of that

city without opposition on the 2nd of June.

During these operations, Masséna, who had sustained with dauntless resolution a siege of sixty days in Genoa, was reduced to the last extremity, and compelled to capitulate; he evacuated the place with the remains of his garrison on the 5th of June. Melas, on receiving the utterly unexpected and alarming intelligence of Bonaparte's arrival at Milan, concentrated his army in all haste at Alessandria. Bonaparte took up a position with his whole force in the great plain of Marengo, being separated by the river Bormida from the enemy's lines. The memorable battle of MARENGO was fought on the 14th of June, 1800. In the early part of the day the advantage was decidedly on the side of the imperialists; but in the afternoon the arrival of Desaix with a fresh corps, and a desperate charge of cavalry under Kellermann, completely changed the fortunes of the day. The Austrians were driven back on all points, and fled in confusion across the Bormida. The loss of the two armies in this engagement was about equal, amounting on each side to about 7000 slain. On the French side Desaix, one of their ablest officers, was mortally wounded at the head of his column as he led it to the charge. But the position of the Austrians, with a victorious enemy encamped on the Bormida in their front, was now desperate; and Melas had no resource but to enter into negotiation with the French general. A convention was signed on the day after the battle, by which it was agreed that the Austrian army should retire beyond the Mincio; twelve fortresses were likewise surrendered to France, including Milan, Turin, Genoa, Piacenza, and Alessandria. Thus, in the course of a single month, and after one great battle, the imperialists lost all the advantages they had acquired in Northern Italy, while France recovered all the ground which had

been conquered by Bonaparte in his earlier campaigns. An armistice was concluded until the arrival of instructions from Vienna, which might prove the basis of a general peace; and Bonaparte returned immediately to Paris, where he was naturally welcomed with boundless enthusiasm. The splendid victory of Marengo had an immense effect in consolidating his power.

§ 4. The campaign of the army of the Rhine, under the orders of Moreau, was scarcely less successful, and added much to the already high reputation of that general. The object was to penetrate by the valley of the Danube into the hereditary states of Austria. Moreau, driving before him the Austrians, took possession of Munich; but the news of the convention entered into between Bonaparte and Melas after the battle of Marengo led to a corresponding cessation of hostilities in Germany. Negotiations for peace were now opened between France and Austria; but after a delay of some months the conferences were broken off, and hostilities recommenced towards the end of November.

The Austrian army, now commanded in chief by the Archduke John, was strongly posted on the line of the Inn. The archduke imprudently advanced towards Munich through the great forest of Hohenlinden, which is intersected in all directions by narrow and difficult defiles. Moreau attacked him vigorously on the 2nd of December, and the result was the victory of Hohenlinden; the imperialists sustained a terrible defeat, and fled in utter panic, leaving behind them 7000 killed and wounded, 8000 prisoners, and a hundred cannon. So severely was this calamity felt at Vienna, that all hope of prolonging the struggle successfully was at once abandoned. An armistice was granted by Moreau; and peace was concluded between Austria and France at Lunéville on the 9th of February, 1801, on terms nearly identical with those of Campo Formio. The emperor renewed the cession of the Belgic provinces and the boundary of the Rhine; he also acknowledged the independence of the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics. By secret articles with Austria and Spain, it was arranged (1) that the Grand Duke of Tuscany was to receive Salzburg; (2) that the kingdom of Etruria, as Tuscany was now named, was to go to the Duke of Parma; (3) that France was to receive Louisiana; (4) that the Duke of Modena, who at Campo Formio had lost his duchy, was to obtain the Breisgau. It was also agreed that the princes who had lost territories west of the Rhine should be indemnified in Germany.

§ 5. Great Britain still continued hostilities. Malta surrendered to the British in September, 1800, and the communications between France and Egypt became in consequence difficult. The English cabinet now resolved on undertaking an expedition to Egypt, with

a view of wresting it altogether out of the hands of the enemy. General Kléber, whom Bonaparte had left there in command, was stabbed by a fanatical Turk, and died on the 14th of June, 1800, the same day that witnessed the death of Desaix on the field of Marengo. The command now devolved upon General Menou, a man of inferior capacity. The English armament, under the orders of Sir Ralph Abercromby, reached the bay of Aboukir on the 1st of March. 1801; and a general engagement took place on the 21st, in which the British, after a long conflict, repulsed their adversaries, who were driven back for shelter into the fortress of Alexandria. victory, however, was dearly purchased; the English sustained a severe loss in Abercromby, who died of his wounds a few days after the battle. The French were sorely discouraged by this defeat, and on the 31st of August Menou signed a convention with General Hutchinson, in virtue of which the remainder of the French army

was immediately withdrawn from Egypt.

Many considerations, however, now disposed both the French and English governments towards an accommodation of their differences. Pitt had retired from the ministry in 1801, and the Addington ministry gladly recognised the futility of continuing the struggle. A congress assembled at Amiens, and peace was signed in that city between Great Britain, France, Spain, and the Batavian Republic, on the 27th of March, 1802. England surrendered on this occasion all her conquests made during the war, with the exception of the islands of Trinidad and Ceylon, which were ceded to her in full sovereignty. Malta was to be restored to the Knights of St. John, its independence being guaranteed by all the powers of Europe. Egypt reverted to the dominion of the Ottoman Porte. France engaged to evacuate the kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the Papal States, and to restore the dominions of the Queen of Portugal. Although the terms of this treaty were complained of in both houses of parliament as humiliating to Great Britain, the tidings of the pacification were received, on the whole, with lively satisfaction on both sides of the Channel. It appears, however, that no sanguine expectation existed on either side that the peace would be of long continuance.

§ 6. In proportion as the pre-eminent abilities displayed by Bonaparte, and the marvellous successes of his recent campaigns, added strength and the promise of stability to his government, he incurred the deadly enmity of the two extreme factions of the revolutionists and the royalists, whose hopes he had so signally defeated. They plotted against him with unwearied activity; aiming at nothing short of his assassination. One attempt on the part of the royalists was within a hair's breadth of success. The "infernal machine" is said to have been originally invented by a Jacobin named

Chevalier. It consisted of a barrel full of gunpowder and various deadly projectiles, fixed upon a cart, and furnished with a slow match, by means of which it might be suddenly exploded from a considerable distance, producing indiscriminate slaughter on all sides. This murderous engine was imitated by two fanatical Chouans named Carbon and St. Régen, already well known for their fearless hardihood in the bloody scenes of the Vendéan war; they placed it, on the 24th of December, 1800, in the middle of the narrow Rue St. Nicaise, through which they knew that Bonaparte must pass that evening on his way to the opera. The carriage of the First Consul passed the cart an instant before the explosion took place, and he reached the theatre in safety; but the glasses of Madame Bonaparte's carriage, which closely followed, were shattered to fragments. The sacrifice of life was terrible; fifty-two persons were killed or severely wounded.

§ 7. Bonaparte's measures of internal organization were for the most part beneficial to France. His task was, in fact, nothing less than the reconstruction of society, which had lapsed into a state of utter chaos; and the versatile genius and indefatigable industry of the First Consul carried new life and energy into every department of the social system. Commerce, agriculture, manufactures, the revenue, the regulation of public institutions of all kinds,—museums, libraries, schools, colleges, professorships,—public works, many of vast magnitude—such, for instance, as the splendid road from France to Italy by the Pass of the Simplon—all became in turn the subjects of his personal and anxious labour, and all prospered to a marvellous extent under his hands.

But perhaps the most valuable and important monument of the earlier part of Bonaparte's administration is the systematic digest of national law, called the Code Civil, or Code Napoléon. The necessity of this great enterprise had been already proclaimed by the Constituent Assembly, in order to reduce to uniformity the confused mass of provincial customs and traditions; and some preliminary steps had been taken towards it. Bonaparte intrusted the undertaking to a commission, consisting of the second consul Cambacérès, and several lawyers of the highest reputation, who executed their task with ability and learning. The result of their labours was eventually submitted to the Council of State, in which the First Consul himself presided. The deliberations on the Civil Code extended over three years; it was at length promulgated on the 21st of March, 1803.

Another subject, and one of extreme delicacy and difficulty, was the state of ecclesiastical affairs. Personally, the First Consul seems to have had no religious belief beyond a vague recognition of the existence of a Supreme Being; yet he had fully resolved, from political considerations, to re-establish the public profession of Christianity, and to restore, within certain limits, the ancient Catholic Church of France. The negotiation, which he entered into with the pope, was successfully conducted; and the celebrated act called the Concordat was signed on the 15th of July, 1801. The following were its principal provisions: I. The Roman Catholic religion was declared to be that of the French government, and of the majority of Frenchmen; its worship was to be publicly celebrated throughout France. II. All the ancient sees were suppressed, the pope requiring the existing prelates to resign their preferments for this purpose. III. Ten new archbishoprics and fifty bishopries were created, to which the First Consul was to nominate, while the See of Rome was to confer the canonical institution. The diocesans were to present to the parachial cures, their choice, however, being in all cases subject to the approval of the government. IV. The pope sanctioned the sale of Church property which had taken place during the Revolution, and renounced, for himself and his successors, all future claims to its resumption; the French government in return pledged itself to make an adequate provision for the maintenance of the clergy of all ranks. V. All ecclesiastics were to take an oath of allegiance to the existing government, and a prayer for the Republic and the consuls was inserted in the service of the Church.

Certain "organic decrees" were artfully appended to the concordat, consisting of further regulations for the government of the Church, and asserting in strong terms the Gallican liberties, with express reference to the famous resolutions of 1682.

§ 8. Bonaparte published soon afterwards a general amnesty to emigrants, with certain exceptions. This measure was followed by the institution of the celebrated Legion of Honour (May 19th,

1802).

The interval of peace which Europe now enjoyed was looked upon by Bonaparte and his friends as a favourable opportunity for prolonging his tenure of office as consul, and preparing the way for his assumption of absolute power. The Council of State determined to consult the nation on the question, "whether Bonaparte should be named consul for life?" and further, "whether he should have the power of nominating his successor?" Registers were opened without delay in every commune throughout France; the affirmative votes exceeded three millions and a half; and a Senatus-Consultum of the 2nd of August, 1802, proclaimed that the French people had elected Bonaparte consul for life.

At this epoch of his career Bonaparte may be said to have reached the extreme limits of legitimate and honourable ambition. His domestic government had enabled him to heal the wounds inflicted on France by the Revolution; while abroad, the vigour of his character, and the strong attitude assumed by France under his rule, had extended his influence, directly or indirectly, over almost the whole continent of Europe. Could he but have rested content with this position, his name might have been handed down, not only as a consummate master of the art of war, but also as a real benefactor of his country. Unhappily for himself and for the world, he soon began to enter upon a policy of encroachment and self-aggrandizement which at length combined all the great European monarchies in one league against him, and ultimately sealed his ruin.

§ 9. It was in the course of this year that the First Consul, summoning the most distinguished deputies of the states of northern Italy to meet him at Lyons, reorganized the constitution of the Cisalpine Republic. The assembly resolved, after some discussion, that the executive government should be confided to a president, and requested Bonaparte to undertake that office. He accepted the proposal, and at once assumed the chief authority as President of the Italian Republic. A native Italian, Melzi, was named to represent him, with the title of vice-president, at Milan. The Ligurian Republic was next remodelled upon the same pattern, except that in this case Bonaparte appointed a doge as head of the executive power, instead of taking the dignity upon himself. Piedmont was formally incorporated with the French dominions in September, 1802; and about the same time the Duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla were likewise seized. and placed under a French administration. The conduct of the First Consul with regard to Switzerland was equally oppressive and unjustifiable. The French troops had been withdrawn from the country in accordance with the treaty of Lunéville; but feuds immediately broke out between the federalists, or friends of the ancient constitution, and the partisans of the government which had been established by the French directory. The aristocratic faction succeeded in expelling their rivals from office, and set up a new executive government at Berne, at the head of which they placed the patriotic Aloys Reding. Upon this Bonaparte despatched an army of 20,000 men under Nev to Berne to enforce the re-establishment of the republican constitution. The Swiss had no resource but to submit. Bonaparte was invested with the title of "Grand Mediator of the Helvetic Confederation." Geneva, Basle, and the canton of Valais, were annexed to France. Though still recognised as independent, the Swiss Republic became thenceforth subject in reality to the paramount influence and authority of France.

A successful insurrection having broken out in the island of St.

Domingo, * headed by the negro adventurer Toussaint l'Ouverture. a powerful French army was despatched thither in February, 1802. under General Leclerc, who had married Bonaparte's sister Pauline. Toussaint, a man of energy and talent, defended himself for several months: but being worsted in many successive engagements, he was at length compelled to surrender, and was admitted to favourable terms. Suspicion, however, having afterwards arisen that he was secretly concerting fresh schemes of rebellion, Toussaint was suddenly arrested and carried to France. Here he was treated with extreme severity, and consigned to the remote fortress of Joux, among the Jura mountains, where he expired on the 27th of April, 1803. Meanwhile the war between the French and the negroes in St. Domingo was renewed. Ere long the vellow fever broke out in the island with unusual virulence, and the French troops were swept away by thousands by this tremendous scourge of a West Indian climate. General Leclerc was among the victims. General Rochambeau succeeded him in the command of an army which had lost two-thirds of its number from the pestilence. By this time the rupture of the peace of Amiens had once more plunged Great Britain and France into hostilities; and a strong English armament having made its appearance at St. Domingo, the feeble remnant of the French force, after a brief attempt at resistance, capitulated in November, 1803. This important and once flourishing colony was thus wrested definitively from the dominion of France.

§ 10. The disputes which arose between the French and English governments almost immediately after the publication of the peace of Amiens left little hope that that arrangement was based on solid and durable foundations. English goods were shut out of North Italy and Holland; French troops had been kept in Italy in violation of the treaty of Lunéville; Piedmont had been incorporated in France. The chief bone of contention, however, was Malta, which Great Britain, fearful of losing her hold on the route to India, refused to evacuate, according to the stipulations of the treaty. Upon this point heated discussions took place between the First Consul and the British ambassador, Lord Whitworth. Lord Whitworth at length demanded his passports, and took his

^{*} The negroes of this colony had been declared free by a decree of the National Convention in 1794. Not long afterwards the black population rose against the Europeans, and after a severe struggle established their independence. The directory attempted, but in vain, to restore the dominion of France; generals Hedouville and Rigaud were defeated and driven from the island, and the government was then seized by Toussaint. Bonaparte, on becoming First Consul, had confirmed him in his authority.

departure from Paris on the 13th of May, 1803. This step was immediately followed by the seizure of all vessels belonging to France found in the harbours of Great Britain; and the damage to French property and commerce was estimated at three millions sterling. Bonaparte retaliated by arresting all British subjects travelling at that time in France, and detaining them as prisoners of war. Having been so long excluded from the Continent by the revolutionary war, the English had flocked across the Channel in multitudes on the announcement of the peace of Amiens; and between 8000 and 10,000 persons of all classes and conditions were thus suddenly cut off for years from all intercourse with their native land.

§ 11. The French commenced operations with energy. Towards the end of May a large body of troops under General Mortier invaded the electorate of Hanover, which submitted after a feeble resistance, and remained in the occupation of the French. Another strong division, commanded by St. Cyr, entered the kingdom of Naples, and took possession, without opposition, of Tarento, Otranto, and Brindisi. But Bonaparte's chief attention was now fixed upon a project which he had already entertained, and which had only been laid aside until a favourable opportunity—that of an armed descent upon the British shores. For this purpose immense naval preparations were made at Boulogne, Etaples, Ambleteuse, St. Valery, and other ports in the Channel, and a flotilla of nearly two thousand sail was collected; a vast army was at the same time assembled in a line of camps extending along the coast from Havre to Ostend. The only effect, however, of these demonstrations was to excite a general outburst of patriotism and martial spirit in England. The volunteer force of the United Kingdom numbered, in the course of a few weeks, no less than 300,000 men, while the fleet was increased to nearly 600 vessels of war of various sizes.

The recommencement of the war was the signal for fresh attempts, on the part of the various factions hostile to Bonaparte in France, to overturn his government and destroy his life. A conspiracy was hatched in the autumn of 1803 among the royalist refugees in London, headed by the Chouan Georges Cadoudal, General Pichegru, and two members of the Polignac family. A British vessel landed them secretly in Normandy, and they proceeded to Paris, where they endeavoured to engage in their enterprise Moreau. The gallant general, however, recoiled in horror from the design of assassinating the First Consul; and although there is no doubt that he held two private interviews with Cadoudal and Pichegru, and was in a state of sullen enmity and opposition to

the existing government, it does not appear that he in any way countenanced the plot, much less that he actively promoted it. The fact of the conspiracy, meanwhile, was soon discovered by Fouché and the police; and Bonaparte, seizing with avidity the opportunity of destroying the influence of the only rival whom he really feared, determined to proceed against Moreau as a criminal, and caused him to be arrested on the 15th of February, 1804. Further revelations led to the apprehension of Pichegru and Georges Cadoudal. Other arrests followed in quick succession, until more than forty prisoners were secured.

§ 12. The Duc d'Enghien, eldest son of the Duc de Bourbon, and grandson of the Prince de Condé, had been residing for some time at Ettenheim, in the territory of Baden, a few miles from the French frontier, with a vague intention, it would seem, of taking part in any future attempt which might be made by the emigrants for the restoration of his family to the throne. The First Consul, harassed and exasperated by the reports which reached him from all sides of schemes for his assassination, resolved to seize this young prince, and to deal with him as accessory to the conspiracy of Pichegru and Cadoudal, although no evidence whatever could be produced to connect him with it, either by guilty knowledge or overt act. A party of dragoons arrested Enghien at Ettenheim on the night of the 15th of March; he was conducted to the citadel of Strassburg, and thence, after an interval of two days, transferred rapidly to Paris, reaching the barriers early on the 20th. Without entering the city, the prince was taken to the castle of Vincennes, where he was brought before a military commission named by Murat, governor of Paris. The mock trial was conducted with haste in the dead of night; the sentence of the court had been fully arranged beforehand; the prisoner was condemned to death, and, before his sentence had been officially passed, his execution took place in the fosse of Vincennes at six in the morning of the 21st of March.

§ 13. The formidable conspiracy of Georges Cadoudal was followed almost immediately by Bonaparte's assumption of an hereditary imperial throne. In an address voted by the senate, this change was expressly declared to be necessary in consequence of the malignant plots of the enemies of France against the safety of the state; republican institutions, it was confessed, had proved unequal to the exigencies of the country; a more fixed and stable government was indispensable. The proposal was accepted unanimously by the legislative chamber; and on the 18th of May, 1804, an "organic senatûs consultum" proclaimed Napoleon Bonaparte Emperor of the French, and declared the throne hereditary in his family in the order

of male succession. The emperor might adopt either of the children of his brothers; in default of his direct issue, or of such adoption, the imperial crown devolved upon his brothers Joseph and Louis Bonaparte, and their descendants. Lucien and Jerome were excluded from the succession in consequence of having contracted marriages of which Napoleon disapproved. Once more the flattering but altogether superfluous appeal was made to the will of the people, and the new dynasty was consecrated by 3,572,329 affirmative votes, against 2569 only in the negative. Six grand dignities of the empire were now created; those of grand elector, arch-chancellor arch-treasurer, chancellor of state, constable, and grand admiral; eighteen distinguished generals, most of whom had acquired their laurels under the command of Napoleon in the Italian campaigns, were named marshals of the empire.

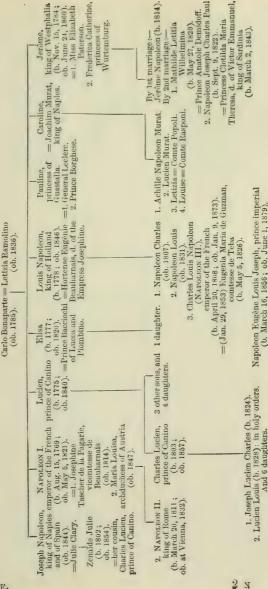
A few days after the promulgation of the empire (May 28th, 1804), the Chouan conspirators, among whom the government included General Moreau, were brought to trial before the ordinary criminal tribunal at Paris. One of the most important prisoners, Pichegru, on the 7th of April, had committed suicide in his prison in the Temple. Georges Cadoudal and eighteen others were condemned to death, and Moreau to two years' imprisonment. Napoleon is said to have desired a capital sentence against Moreau, in order to gain credit for generous elemency by granting him a pardon; he, however, commuted the imprisonment for exile to the United States of America. Cadoudal and ten of his accomplices were executed, and met death with remarkable firmness and intrepidity. The remaining eight were spared by the emperor.

§ 14. Preparations were now commenced for the solemn coronation of the emperor and empress at the cathedral of Notre Dame. As the founder of a new dynasty of French monarchs, Napoleon had resolved, after the example of Pepin, to obtain for his crown the personal sanction and benediction of the successor of St. Peter, the visible head of the Catholic Church. Pope Pius VII. made no difficulty in complying with the imperial request; and the coronation was solemnized, with all imaginable pomp and magnificence, on the 2nd of December, 1804. Napoleon took the crown, which had been previously blessed, out of the hands of the pontiff, and placed it upon his own head; he then proceeded to crown the empress, who knelt before him. A few months later Napoleon transformed the Cisalpine Republic into a monarchy, and assumed the additional title of King of Italy. His coronation took place in the cathedral of Milan on the 26th of May, 1805, the celebrated iron crown of the ancient Lombard princes being used on the occasion. The emperor's stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais, was now invested with the dignity of Viceroy of Italy. The grandeur of the new empire was further augmented by the annexation of the Ligurian Republic; the Genoese territory, constituting three French departments, was incorporated with France on the 30th of June, 1805.



Medal of Napoleon, King of Italy.

GENEALOGY OF THE BONAPARTE FAMILY.





Medal of Napoleon, struck in anticipation of his conquest of England.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE EMPIRE. I, FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO THE MARRIAGE OF NAPOLEON WITH MARIA LOUISA OF AUSTRIA, A.D. 1804-1810.

§ 1. The emperor's letter to George III.; coalition between England, Russia, and Austria against France. § 2. Campaign against Austria; capitulation of Ulm; Napoleon enters Vienna. § 3. Battle of Trafalgar; suicide of Villeneuve. § 4. Battle of Austerlitz; treaty of Presburg; death of Mr. Pitt. § 5. Deposition of the Bourbons of Naples; Joseph made King of Naples, and Louis King of Holland; creation of principalities and duchies; hostilities with the English in Calabria; battle of Maida; the Confederation of the Rhine. § 6. Negotiations for peace with England; rupture with Prussia; battle of Jena; destruction of the Prussian army. § 7. Napoleon occupies Berlin; the Berlin Decrees; the "Continental System." § 8. Campaign against the Russians; battles of Eylau and Friedland; peace of Tilsit. § 9. Abolition of the Tribunate; censorship of the press; National University; the conscription. § 10. Interference of Napoleon in Portugal and Spain; Junot takes possession of Lisbon; state of the Spanish court; treaty of Fontainebleau; occupation of northern Spain by the French armies; Murat sent to Madrid as the emperor's lieutenant. § 11. Insurrection at Aranjuez; abdication of Charles IV.; Ferdinand proceeds to Bayonne; the Spanish princes resign their rights to Napoleon; Joseph Bonaparte proclaimed King of Spain; general insurrection of the Spaniards; surrender of Dupont at Baylen. § 12. Resistance to the French in Portugal; English expedition to Portugal; battle of Vimeira; convention of Cintra; conference of Erfurt. § 13. Napoleon proceeds to Spain, and enters Madrid; campaign of Sir John Moore; battle of Corunna. § 14. Second war with Austria; battle of Eckmühl; second occupation of

Vienna; the Viceroy Eugene's campaign in Lombardy; revolt of the Tyrol. § 15. Battles of Aspern and Wagram; peace of Schönbrunn; annexation of the Roman state to the French empire; captivity of Pope Pius VII. § 16. Sir A. Wellesley in Spain; battle of Talavera. § 17. Napoleon divorces Josephine, and marries the Archduchess Maria Louisa; birth of the King of Rome.

§ 1. As on his first accession to power as Consul, so on his elevation to the imperial throne, one of the earliest acts of Napoleon was to make pacific overtures to the court of Great Britain. In a letter dated the 2nd of January, 1805, and commencing with the words. "Sire, my brother," the emperor expressed to the English monarch his earnest anxiety for peace. To this communication, as in the former instance, the British government (now again under the energetic guidance of Mr. Pitt) returned an official reply, addressed to the French minister of foreign affairs, stating that England could not enter upon any definite negotiation for peace until she had consulted with her continental allies, and particularly with the Emperor of Russia. This was a plain intimation to Napoleon. though he probably needed no such announcement, that Great Britain was busily engaged in concerting a fresh European coalition against her ancient foe. A treaty was, in fact, signed in April. 1805, between England and the Emperor Alexander of Russia, by which the two powers bound themselves to use every effort to form a general league of resistance to the encroachments of the French government. The league was afterwards joined by Austria.

The storm, however, though manifestly gathering, had not yet burst; and Napoleon pressed with unabated activity the arrangements on the coast of the Channel for the invasion of England. But when the hostility of Austria was openly declared, the emperor proclaimed that the operations of the "army of England" were to be transferred to Germany; early in September the camp of Boulogne was rapidly broken up, and the vast mass of troops com-

posing it directed their march towards the Rhine.

§ 2. The Austrians, 80,000 strong, commanded by General Mack, crossed the Inn on the 7th of September, and advanced upon Munich. Napoleon, by a series of brilliant manœuvres, gained a position in his rear, and intercepted his communications with Vienna. A series of engagements followed, in which the Austrians were repeatedly defeated; and Mack, having taken refuge in Ulm, found himself obliged to capitulate with his whole force. On the 20th of October upwards of 30,000 men laid down their arms, and became prisoners of war. Thus in the brief space of three weeks, and without having fought a single great battle, an army of 80,000 men had melted away before the consummate skill of Napoleon, and the admirable precision of his movements. The conqueror made his

entrance into the capital of the Austrian kingdom, without opposition, on the 13th of November, and established himself in the magnificent palace of Schönbrunn. Meanwhile Marshal Masséna had driven the Archduke Charles out of Italy and obtained possession of the

Tyrol.

§ 3. On the 21st of October, the very day after Mack's ignominious surrender at Ulm, the navy of France was annihilated in the decisive battle of TRAFALGAR, and the supreme dominion of England on the seas became established beyond all possibility of further dispute. Out of a combined fleet of thirty-three French and Spanish line-of-battle ships which Admiral Villeneuve took into action, twenty struck to the British at Trafalgar, and four which had escaped under Admiral Dumanoir were captured a fortnight afterwards by Sir Richard Strahan. Twenty thousand

prisoners also remained in the hands of the victors.

§ 4. The situation of Napoleon, who had placed himself in the heart of the enemy's country, between two formidable armies, each equal in numbers to his own, was full of danger. The Archdukes Charles and John had collected a formidable force in Hungary, while a powerful Austro-Russian army was advancing from Moravia. Napoleon determined to attack first the Austro-Russians, and accordingly crossed the Danube on the 22nd of November, and marched upon Brunn. The enemy manœuvred to cut off the communications of the French with Vienna, and to effect a junction with the army of the archdukes in Hungary. Napoleon, perceiving their design, retired upon Austerlitz; the Russians were entrapped into the fatal error of extending their left too far, in order to turn the right of the French, and thus exposing themselves to be attacked with overpowering force in the centre and flank. As he watched their movements on the 1st of December, the French emperor exclaimed, with confident satisfaction, "Before to-morrow night that army is my own!" The result fully verified his calculations. The decisive victory of Austerlitz (2nd of December, 1805) was the fruit of a series of scientific and masterly manœuvres, all executed with accuracy, and all crowned with perfect success. The Emperors of Austria and Russia, who had witnessed from a neighbouring height the destruction of their splendid legions, saved themselves by flight, leaving in the hands of the French at least 20,000 prisoners, together with 120 pieces of cannon and 40 standards, besides 10,000 slain. An armistice was signed immediately, and the Emperor Francis begged a personal interview with Napoleon, in which the two sovereigns arranged the preliminaries of peace. The Emperor of Russia was permitted to retire unmolested with his army into his own dominions. Conferences were opened at Presburg, and a definitive treaty was concluded at that place on the 26th of December. Austria surrendered the whole of Venetia, Istria, and Dalmatia to the kingdom of Italy; ceded the Tyrol and the Vorarlberg to Bavaria, and her possessions in Suabia to the Electors of Wurtemburg and Baden. Francis also recognised the elevation of the Electors of Bavaria and Wurtemburg to the rank of kings, and the Grand-Duchy of Baden.

On the 23rd of January, 1806, William Pitt died, prematurely exhausted by the labours and disappointments of his political life, and despairing of any effectual opposition to the French dictator on

the continent of Europe. .

§ 5. The court of Naples—at this time chiefly under the influence of the queen, a princess of the house of Hapsburg *-had violated its treaty of neutrality with France. Napoleon instantly issued a proclamation, announcing that "the house of Bourbon had ceased to reign in Naples." Early in February, 1806, a powerful French army, commanded by Joseph Bonaparte and Marshal Masséna, invaded the Neapolitan territory to execute this sentence of dethronement; the royal family withdrew to Sicily; and a decree of the emperor conferred the vacant crown upon his brother Joseph, who was immediately proclaimed. Napoleon now proceeded to take further steps for the consolidation of his dynasty by the creation of various dependent states. His brother Louis was created King of Holland, and various principalities and duchies in Italy, Dalmatia, and other countries were conferred, under the title of "immediate fiefs of the empire," on the most eminent French generals and ministers, to descend to their posterity in the order of male succession. The inferior titles of count and baron were also distributed in lavish profusion.

The royal family of Naples, meanwhile, did not permit the usurper Joseph to establish himself upon their throne without a struggle. The energetic Queen Caroline, supported by her two sons, excited a formidable insurrection in the Abruzzi and Calabria; and the English troops in Sicily, under Sir John Stuart, passed over into Calabria to oppose the French general Regnier. An engagement was fought near the village of Maida (4th of July, 1806), in which, after a severe and bloody struggle, a brilliant victory remained with the English. The moral effect of the battle was important, as it greatly raised the military reputation of the English on the Continent. But the scanty force at the disposal of the English general made it impossible for him to follow up his victory with any hope of permanent success; he was obliged to retire with

^{*} Maria Carolina, wife of Ferdinand IV. of Naples, was a daughter of the Empress Maria Theresa, and sister of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette.

his troops into Sicily; and the Neapolitan kingdom was soon afterwards reduced to a state of apparent acquiescence in the rule of Joseph.

It was during the summer of 1806 that Napoleon formed a leagueof several states in the heart of Germany, depending immediately
on himself as its protector, which was styled the Confederation of
the Rhine. By the act of confederation, signed on the 12th of
July, the Kings of Bavaria and Wurtemburg, the Grand Dukes
of Baden and Hesse-Darmstadt, the Archbishop of Ratisbon, and
several other minor princes, declared themselves separated for ever
from the holy Roman empire, and united with France by a strict
treaty of offensive and defensive alliance. This proceeding amounted
to an entire disruption of the empire as it had descended from
mediæval times; and the Emperor Francis accordingly relinquished
the titles of Emperor and King of the Romans, and assumed instead
that of hereditary Emperor of Austria.

§ 6. In the English administration, Fox, the great political antagonist of Pitt, now held the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs; and being sincerely anxious to obtain peace with France, he opened communications with Napoleon for that purpose; but the negotiation proved fruitless; and the death of Fox, on the 13th of September, 1806, put an end for the present to all hopes of an accommodation. An attempt of the same nature, on the part of Russia, having likewise failed, hostilities were renewed; and by a rupture with Prussia, which occurred shortly afterwards, Napoleon found an opportunity of still further extending his domination in Europe.

Prussia had since 1795 pursued a policy of neutrality. In 1806 her principal grounds of resentment were Napoleon's treacherous conduct in secretly proffering the restoration of Hanover to England, and the erection of the Rhenish Confederation, which threatened to annihilate the ascendency of the house of Brandenburg in Northern Germany.* An army of 150,000 men was organised amid universal enthusiasm, and the Duke of Brunswick—the same who had commanded in the invasion of France in 1792—was named generalissimo. On the 1st of October the Prussian minister at Paris presented a note demanding, in peremptory terms, that all French troops should immediately evacuate Germany. But the emperor, with his accustomed promptitude, was by this time at the head of his army on the German side of the Rhine; and on the 14th of October he defeated the Prussian army with terrible carnage at

^{*} An outrage profoundly resented in Prussia was the seizure and execution of Palm, a bookseller of Nuremburg (then under Prussian protection), for having published a pamphlet attacking, with some severity, the character and policy of Napoleon.

the decisive battles of Jena and Auerstadt. Upwards of 20,000 prisoners (including twenty generals), 300 pieces of artillery, and 60 standards, are said to have been the trophies of the day.

Such was the foolhardy haste with which the Prussians had commenced the campaign, that no distinct plan or means of retreat had been arranged; and the consequence was that the calamity at Jena was fatal to the monarchy. The remaining Prussian troops soon afterwards capitulated to the conquerors. Magdeburg, the strongest fortress in Prussia, surrendered on the 8th of November. The unfortunate King Frederick William retired to Königsberg, where he awaited the Emperor of Russia, who was advancing towards the Vistula at the head of his army.

§ 7. Napoleon entered Berlin without opposition, and forgetting all feelings of generosity and moderation, he grossly insulted the royal family, plundered the galleries and museums, and threatened to bring down the nobility of Prussia so low that they should be compelled to beg their bread. It was during his occupation of Berlin, too, that the emperor fulminated his famous Berlin decrees against England (November 21, 1806), by which he declared the British isles in a state of blockade, interdicted all trade or intercourse with England under heavy penalties, confiscated all merchandise and property of every kind belonging to British subjects. and prohibited any vessel coming from Britain or her colonies, or which had touched at any English port, from entering the harbours of France. Napoleon's "continental system," as it was styled, was ere long discovered to be impracticable; its enactments were constantly and notoriously evaded all over Europe; and the damage inflicted upon England was more than counterbalanced by the exorbitant prices which her merchandise commanded on the Continent.

Napoleon, aware that the Russian emperor was concentrating his forces on the Vistula, advanced, in the last days of November, 1806, from Berlin into Poland, and took up his quarters at Warsaw. The patriotic Poles had conceived ardent hopes that the victor of Jena was about to deliver them from foreign oppression, and restore the ancient independence of their nation. Napoleon, in his answers to their deputations and addresses, encouraged these anticipations, and turned them to his own advantage, by enrolling four regiments of excellent Polish cavalry in his service. He took care, however, not to engage himself positively, much less to proclaim openly the liberty of Poland, chiefly from unwillingness, in his present circumstances, to rouse up afresh the hostility of Austria.

§ 8. Beningsen, who had now succeeded to the chief command of the Russians, took the field in the middle of January, 1807. Napoleon thus found himself compelled to resume operations in the very depth of a rigorous winter, and on the 8th of February he fought the battle of EYLAU, one of the most obstinately contested in the whole of his career. The French were repulsed at all points with tremendous slaughter. The carnage was almost unexampled; nearly 30,000 French, and 20,000 on the side of the Russians, were killed. Napoleon now fell back upon the line of the Vistula. During the next few months he made incredible exertions to recruit his shattered forces, and was enabled to take the field in June with upwards of 200,000 men. On the 14th, the anniversary of Marengo, a severe battle was fought at FRIEDLAND, in which victory once more declared in favour of the eagles of Napoleon. The Russians nevertheless effected their retreat in unbroken order, and without sacrifice either of artillery or baggage; and on the 19th of June Beningsen halted at Tilsit on the Niemen, close to the frontier of Russia.

The battle of Friedland decided the campaign. Wearied with the strife, both emperors had become anxious for peace; an armistice was announced, and on the 25th of June a personal interview took place between Napoleon and Alexander, on a raft moored in the middle of the river Niemen, where the terms of accommodation were discussed and adjusted.

The definitive treaty was signed between France and Russia on the 7th of July, and between France and Prussia on the 9th. France gained a district on the right bank of the Rhine and the fortresses of Erfurt, and the Tsar recognised the Napoleonic states in Germany and Italy. England was to be allowed a month within which she could accept peace. Frederick William forfeited the whole of his dominions between the Elbe and the Rhine, which were bestowed upon Jerome Bonaparte, Napoleon's youngest brother, with the title of King of Westphalia. The territory which Prussia had acquired by the partition of Poland in 1772 was declared independent, under the name of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and assigned to the Elector of Saxony, who was now advanced to the kingly rank.

By secret articles, the Tsar agreed to join Napoleon against England, if the latter had not agreed to the French terms by the 1st of December, and to secure the alliance of Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal. Austria was also to be compelled to join the continental system. The French were to obtain the Ionian Isles and part of Dalmatia. Articles were also inserted to force Turkey to accept the views of Russia and France. The Tsar had thus signified his adhesion to Napoleon's "continental system," and placed himself at the head of a new confederacy in the North of Europe, directed expressly against the maritime supremacy of England.

§ 9. Such were the chief terms of the celebrated Peace of

TILSIT, which may be regarded as marking the highest point in the fortunes of Napoleon. Once more had he triumphantly dissolved a hostile coalition of some of the most powerful thrones of Europe; and at this moment of his career nothing remained to dispute his absolute dominion on the Continent. He was received, on his return to Paris, with transports of enthusiasm; language was ransacked and exhausted to find epithets worthy of him; "Napoleon," said one of the orators of the Council of State, "has surpassed all human history; he is above all admiration." The demigod before whom the French people thus bowed proceeded to rivet on them more and more the chains of his universal despotism. One of his first measures after his return was to abolish the Tribunate, the only institution which retained any semblance of independent legislative action, by merging its functions in those of the Legislative Chamber. Liberty of the press was annihilated by a censorship of unexampled rigour; no news could be published which had not first been inserted in the Moniteur, the latter journal being exclusively under the control and dictation of the emperor. Freedom of education was destroyed by the establishment of a National University at Paris, with subordinate colleges, called Lycées, throughout the provinces. The whole system was under the minute inspection of the government, and was so arranged as to give the utmost encouragement to the adoption of a military career. Conscription was a tremendous instrument of oppression, and was used throughout the reign of Napoleon with inexorable severity. Very early in his campaigns he commenced the practice of calling out by anticipation, for the service of the current year, the conscripts who would not attain the legal age till the year following; a system which, persisted in for a considerable period, fatally crippled the energies and drained the very life blood of the nation.

§ 10. We now approach one of the most momentous episodes in the history of France during the first Empire—namely, the illadvised interference of Napoleon in the concerns of Portugal and Spain. He himself has characterized the "Spanish ulcer" as one of the main proximate causes of his ruin, though his neglect of the principle of nationality was the real cause of his fall. The war in the Peninsula arose out of the emperor's determination to enforce his "continental system" for the destruction of the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain. In Portugal, the immemorial and faithful ally of England, British merchandise at all times found a natural and ready market; and from Portugal the traffic was extended without difficulty into Spain. It appears, however, that under cover of excluding British commerce from the Peninsula, Napoleon had long entertained the design of

overturning the existing governments both of Spain and Portugal, and making those kingdoms dependencies of the French empire. He gave the first public intimation of his new enterprise, by summoning the Prince Regent of Portugal to close the ports of the kingdom against British vessels, to arrest all British subjects, and to confiscate all British property; threatening war as the alternative. The Regent obeyed, though not without hesitation and remorse; Napoleon took advantage of his natural reluctance to sacrifice the alliance of England, and proclaiming in the Moniteur, in his usual style of unmeasured arrogance, that "the House of Braganza had ceased to reign in Europe," he ordered General Junot instantly to invade Portugal with 30,000 men, and take possession of Lisbon. The Prince Regent now sought, with his family, the protection of the British flag in the Tagus, and sailed for South America, to fix the seat of his government in Brazil. The invaders entered Lisbon on the 30th of November, 1807.

Napoleon's conduct throughout these transactions was marked by the most deliberate treachery. In order to the full execution of his schemes, it was necessary to obtain a secure military footing in Spain. That country, at this time under the nominal rule of the imbecile Charles IV., was in fact absolutely governed by Don Manuel Godoy, "Prince of the Peace," whom the favour of the queen had raised from the station of a private in the roval guards to the highest offices and honours of the state. The internal condition of Spain under his administration was degraded in the extreme; its military resources were utterly neglected; added to this, the royal family was torn by scandalous domestic dissension. The heir-apparent, Ferdinand Prince of Asturias, was bitterly jealous of the favourite Godov, and thus directly opposed both to the king and the queen. Ferdinand even wrote privately to Napoleon to entreat his forcible interference to remove Godov from power. Meantime the emperor negotiated with Godoy for a combined attack by France and Spain on Portugal; and by the secret treaty of Fontainebleau, signed October 27th, 1807, it was agreed that the kingdom should be divided into three parts; the northern provinces to be given to the King of Etruria,* the Algarves and the Alemtejo to Manuel Godoy, while the central districts, including the city of Lisbon, were to remain in the hands of France until the conclusion of a general peace. In pursuance of this iniquitous compact, Junot, as we have seen, made himself master of Lisbon; but now Napoleon gradually withdrew the mask which had covered his preparatory movements. On the 1st of February,

^{*} Louis, Prince of Parma, married to Maria Louisa, a daughter of Charles IV. of Spain. His Italian dominions had lately been ceded to Napoleon.

1808, Junot proclaimed that Portugal was henceforth to be governed as a conquered kingdom in the name of the Emperor of the French; and a French army took possession of the northern provinces of Spain. Shortly afterwards, on the 1st of March, Napoleon informed the court of Madrid that the state of affairs in Europe made it necessary that these territories should be annexed to the French empire, and proposed to assign Portugal to Spain in compensation. Murat was at the same time appointed the emperor's lieutenant in Spain, and proceeded to the capital to assume the supreme command of the French armies.

§ 11. Napoleon's design to seize the crown of the Spanish Bourbons was now too evident to be mistaken; and Godoy, in consternation and bewilderment, advised the king and queen to follow the example of the Portuguese Regent, and cross the Atlantic to secure a safe retreat in the American colonies. The scheme, however, transpired; an insurrection broke out in consequence at Aranjuez on the evening of the 17th of March, and the rioters forcibly prevented the royal family from quitting the palace. The fallen favourite was committed to prison to await his trial. The terrified Charles, by a proclamation of the 19th of March, abdicated the crown in favour of his dearly beloved son and heir, the Prince of the Asturias; and Ferdinand VII. was immediately proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies, amid enthusiastic demonstrations of popular joy. Meanwhile Murat was hastening towards Madrid. which he entered on the 23rd. He carefully abstained, however, from recognising the title of the new sovereign; and Ferdinand was persuaded to set out to the frontier to meet the French emperor, who, it was represented, would thus be induced to acknowledge him as rightful King of Spain. Not finding Napoleon at Burgos, the infatuated prince continued his journey, crossed the frontier, and on the 20th of April entered Bayonne, thus delivering himself blindfold into the emperor's power. Napoleon had in the mean time received from the old king a solemn protest against what he called the illegal compulsion which had forced from him the act of abdication; and accordingly it was notified to Ferdinand, immediately on his arrival, that he must at once renounce all pretensions to the Spanish crown, and commit himself unconditionally to the generosity and honour of the French emperor. Godov, liberated from prison by order of Murat, travelled rapidly to Bayonne; and on the 30th of April Charles IV. and his consort Maria Louisa were received there with all accustomed honours as King and Queen of Spain. After a scene of disgraceful altercation in the presence of Napoleon, both father and son (the latter not without extreme reluctance, and under the pressure of menaces) resigned all their rights to the throne of Spain into the hands of their "dearly beloved friend and ally, the Emperor of the French." Napoleon next went through the farce of consulting the Council of Castile and other constituted bodies at Madrid as to the disposal of this splendid heritage. They nominated, by his dictation, Joseph Bonaparte, then King of Naples, who set out immediately to take possession of his dominions, and made his public entry into the capital on the 20th of July.

The indignation of the Spanish people on the news of these events blazed forth throughout the kingdom. The whole country rose en masse against the hated intruders; executive juntas were appointed in all the principal towns, of which that of Seville was declared the supreme junta; and "war to the death" was proclaimed against the French until the Bourbon family should be restored to the throne, and the independence of the nation reestablished. Massacres, not only of the French, but even of the Spaniards supposed to be their partisans, took place at Valencia, Cadiz, and throughout the southern provinces.

The events of the first campaign were unfavourable to the French. Dupont was surrounded by General Castaños in the wild passes of Andalusia, and compelled to lay down his arms, with 20,000 men, at Baylen, on the 20th of July. The heroic defence of Saragossa carried the enthusiasm of the Spaniards to the highest pitch. This city, which was unprovided with regular fortifications, sustained a vigorous siege of two months, and the French were finally obliged to retreat, sacrificing the greater part of their artillery, and with a force fearfully diminished. The usurper Joseph found himself unable to maintain possession of the capital, and retired in some confusion beyond the Ebro.

§ 12. The Portuguese, in the mean while, resisted in an equally determined spirit their French oppressors. The population of Oporto declared for the house of Braganza, abolished the French government, and appointed a provisional junta. The whole of the north of Portugal joined the insurrectionary movement, which spread rapidly into the central and southern provinces. Upon the news of the revolt the British government despatched an armament under Sir Arthur Wellesley to the coast of Portugal; and that general gained a decisive victory at Vimeira over the French army, commanded by Junot in person (August 21, 1808). This victory was followed by the "Convention of Cintra," signed on the 30th of August, by which the French commander agreed to evacuate Portugal immediately with his whole army. The English triumphantly took possession of Lisbon on the 12th of September, and by the 30th not a single French soldier remained in Portugal.

Shortly after these transactions Napoleon proceeded to Erfurt, where he held a second meeting with the Emperor of Russia.

Alexander gave his sanction to the usurpation of Napoleon in Spain, and promised to support him with 150,000 men in case hostilities should again break out between France and Austria. The French emperer, in return, engaged to make no opposition to the annexa-

tion of the Danubian principalities to Russia.

§ 13. The British cabinet had now determined to enter seriously into the Peninsular struggle; the army in Portugal was largely reinforced, and was placed under the orders of Sir John Moore. Napoleon now took the command in person of his troops in Spain, defeated the three Spanish armies that opposed his progress, and entered Madrid on the 4th of December. The terrified junta fled to Seville; the patriot levies dispersed in all directions; and with the exception of the British army under Moore, it seemed as if all Spain were about to submit to the dominion of the conqueror.

The situation of Sir John Moore, upon the defeat of the Spanish armies with which he had designed to co-operate, was one of extreme embarrassment. He had at first determined to retreat into Portugal; but encouraged by the representations of Frere, the British resident at Madrid, he was induced to hazard a movement in advance, and marched from Salamanca towards Valladolid. Receiving, however, the alarming intelligence that the French armies, in overpowering masses, were moving from all directions to surround him, and that Napoleon himself, with 50,000 men, was hastening towards him by forced marches, a retreat into Galicia became inevitable, and was commenced immediately. It was conducted at first with steadiness and regularity; but beyond Astorga symptoms of insubordination appeared; discipline gave way before the multiplied hardships of a rapid retreat, in the depth of winter, through a rugged mountainous country, and the condition of the army became deplorable in the extreme. Napoleon intrusted to Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, the task of "driving the English leopard into the sea;" he himself was suddenly recalled northwards by news of an impending rupture with the Emperor of Austria, and of a conspiracy against his rule in Paris, and quitted the army on the 3rd of January, 1809. The English, after dreadful suffering, reached at length the heights above the harbour of Corunna, and here Soult made a desperate effort to interrupt or prevent their embarkation. The battle, fought on the 16th of January, 1809, and sustained by the British with dogged courage against greatly superior numbers, ended to the disadvantage of the French. Sir John Moore, however, was struck by a cannon-shot in the hottest of the action, and met a glorious death in the very arms of victory. The English now embarked for their own country, and the whole of Galicia immediately afterwards submitted to the French.

§ 14. The relations of Napoleon with the imperial cabinet of

Vienna had long been unsatisfactory; and from the very commencement of the troubles in Spain, Austria, under the Archduke Charles and Count Stadion, had been actively engaged in pressing forward military preparations of all kinds, with the evident intention of making a renewed attack upon France on the first favourable opportunity. The Archduke Charles, generalissimo of the imperial armies, commenced hostilities on the 9th of April, 1809, by crossing the Inn and invading Bavaria, the ally of France. Napoleon arrived at Donauwerth on the 17th; and on the 22nd gained a decisive victory over the Austrians at Eckmühl. The archduke fell back to Ratisbon; but that town was stormed by the French, and the Austrians, crossing the Danube, commenced a retreat into Bohemia. The right bank of the Danube and the great road to Vienna were thus abandoned to Napoleon; and on the 13th of May he for the second time entered Vienna as a conqueror.

During these occurrences in the heart of the Austrian empire, the Archduke John had invaded the Italian kingdom, but was vigorously opposed by the Viceroy Eugène Beauharnais, who, after driving the Austrians out of Italy, united his forces with the grand

army of Napoleon before Vienna on the 26th of May.

The mountaineers of the Tyrol, upon the first signal of hostilities, had energetically shaken off the yoke of Bavaria, and elected as their leader Andrew Hofer, a man of humble birth, but of pre-eminent courage, intelligence, and patriotism. Their enthusiastic attachment to the house of Hapsburg, added to their deep-seated religious fervour and devotion, gave a very peculiar character to the contest which ensued. The French and Bavarians were furiously attacked on all sides by these warlike peasants, in the towns, in the villages, in the precipitous gorges of the Tyrolese Alps, and were cut down and massacred by thousands without mercy. Innsbrück was captured by the patriots; and though Marshal Lefebvre, after the battle of Eckmühl, succeeded in regaining possession of the city, he was soon afterwards defeated and compelled to evacuate it. In short, if the cause of the Austrian empire had depended exclusively on the zeal and exertions of the simple-minded population of the Tyrol, the independence of Germany might have been fully and permanently secured in the campaign of 1809.

§ 15. An interval of some weeks elapsed after the battle of Eckmühl, before active hostilities were resumed between the Archduke Charles and Napoleon. The Austrian general at length approached the Danube, a few miles below Vienna, with an army reinforced to 80,000 men; and Napoleon immediately made preparations for crossing the river in order to give him battle on the opposite bank. A series of pontoon bridges was constructed at a point where the Danube is divided into four streams by three

considerable islands; and on the 20th of May, the corps of Masséna, 40,000 strong, established itself on the left bank, halfway between the villages of Aspern and Essling. The archduke vigorously assaulted this position on the 21st with his whole force; and a general action ensued, which resulted in a more decided check to the arms of Napoleon than any they had hitherto sustained. The possession of Aspern, which both parties regarded as essentially important, was fiercely contested; the village was taken and recovered several times, with frightful carnage, and at the close of the day remained in the hands of the Austrians. The battle recommenced early on the 23rd, with undiminished fury; but the emperor at length found it necessary to order a retreat. His losses in these two tremendous conflicts are said to have amounted to near 30,000 men; those of the Austrians to 20,000 Lannes. Duke of Montebello, was mortally wounded by a cannon-shot, and died a few days afterwards, to the extreme grief of Napoleon and the whole French army.

On the 4th of July the French army, largely reinforced, and now numbering 150,000 men, once more crossed to the northern bank of the Danube, a short distance lower down the stream. Two days afterwards (July 6th) was fought the bloody battle of WAGRAM, on a plain about four miles from the Danube. Napoleon gained a victory, but the losses of the victorious army, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, fell not far short of that inflicted on the vanquished. The result of this battle was the definitive treaty between Austria and France, signed at Schönbrunn on the 14th of October, and known as the treaty of Vienna. The terms to which Francis now submitted were even more galling and humiliating than those of the peace of Presburg. He surrendered to France the provinces of Carniola, Friuli, Croatia, and part of Dalmatia, with the seaport of Trieste.* Salzburg, with its territory, was ceded to Bavaria, which also kept possession of the Tyrol. The greater part of the province of Galicia was divided between the Emperor of Russia and the King of Saxony. Lastly the Austrian emperor formally acknowledged the rights of all the sovereigns created by Napoleon, adopted the prohibitory system against British commerce, and engaged to hold no friendly intercourse with England. Austria had, indeed, made a premature attack on France; but the opposition to Napoleon in Germany never slept, and gathered fresh strength from the example of the South German resistance.

It was during the Austrian campaign of 1809 that Napoleon came to a final breach with Rome. In the preceding year the pope had refused to concur in the continental system, and to

^{*} These territories were formed into a new and separate government of the French empire, under the title of the Illyrian provinces.

recognise Murat* as King of Naples. A decree, dated from Schönbrunn, on the 17th of May, therefore annexed the pontifical states to the French empire; assigning to the deposed pope an annual revenue of two millions of francs, with the enjoyment of his palaces at Rome. Pius VII. at once replied by a bull of excommunication against Napoleon, Emperor of the French, and all his adherents and counsellors. General Miollis, the French commandant in Rome, now caused the palace of the Quirinal to be surrounded at midnight, forced the aged pope into a carriage, and transported him under a guard across the Alps to Grenoble. His residence was at last fixed by Napoleon at Fontainebleau. Steadily refusing, however, to remove the sentence of excommunication, he

was detained in captivity until the fall of Napoleon.

§ 16. The French armies in Spain, after the retreat of Sir John Moore, continued their operations for the suppression of the rebellion and the final subjugation of the country. In April, 1809, Soult invaded Portugal, and occupied Oporto. To aid their allies, the English government sent reinforcements to Lisbon, and appointed Sir Arthur Wellesley to the command. Their choice was soon justified by a series of bold movements by which Soult was dislodged in confusion from Oporto, the Douro having been crossed in open day in the very face of his army. The French marshal hastily retreated into Galicia, and the English army then turned southwards against Marshal Victor. King Joseph, in alarm, marched from Madrid with all the troops he could collect, and, attended by Marshal Jourdan and General Sebastiani, joined Victor's army. The English now united with the Spaniards under Cuesta; a great battle was fought on the 28th of July at TALAVERA. The contest was obstinate; but in the end the French were repulsed in all parts of the field, and retired in disorder behind the river Alberche, with a loss of upwards of 7000 men. The loss of the British considerably exceeded 5000 men. Sir Arthur Wellesley, however, upon the intelligence that Marshals Soult, Ney, and Mortier were rapidly advancing against him, commenced a retrograde movement almost immediately after the battle, and recrossed the Tagus. The English were permitted to continue their retreat, without molestation, to the frontier of Portugal; and towards the middle of December Wellesley (created Viscount Wellington after the victory of Talavera) distributed his army in winter quarters between Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo. Meanwhile the remainder of the campaign had been decidedly favourable to the French. Saragossa, after a second siege sustained with not less devoted heroism than the first, had surrendered to General St. Cyr some months earlier;

^{*} He had been advanced by Napoleon to the vacant throne of Naples on the elevation of Joseph to that of Spain.

and on the whole, the aspect of the patriot cause in Spain, at the close of 1809, was such as to excite the gloomiest apprehensions

among the friends of liberty.

§ 17. Not long after his return to Paris from the campaign of Wagram, Napoleon resolved to divorce his wife Josephine. A sincere attachment existed between the imperial pair, and the final decision of Napoleon was not taken without deep regret; but, unhappily for himself, a mistaken notion that the sacrifice was indispensable to the interests of his dynasty and of France was suffered to prevail over his private feelings. The empress, after a burst of agonizing grief, gave her reluctant consent to a measure which destroyed her happiness. The dissolution of the marriage was pronounced by a senatûs consultum on the 15th of December. ratified by the ecclesiastical court of Paris. The title and rank of empress were secured to Josephine for life, together with an annual income of two millions of francs. The emperor now demanded the hand of the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria. The Emperor Francis, helpless and dependent, dared not refuse: and the contract was soon signed and sealed which was to unite a daughter of the house of Hapsburg with the soldier of fortune who swayed the destinies of France. The marriage was celebrated by proxy on the 11th of March, 1810; and the new Empress of the French, an amiable and interesting princess of nineteen, arrived at the château of Compiègne on the 28th, where the emperor received her. The nuptial ceremony was repeated in the chapel of the Tuileries on the 2nd of April. The Austrian match, however, found no favour in the eyes of the French nation. It was regarded as an abandonment, on the part of the heir of the revolution, of the principles which had raised him to supreme power; it was even denounced as a snare spread for him by the implacable enmity of the coalition.

The marriage was followed in due time by the event which the emperor so ardently desired. On the 20th of March, 1811, Maria Louisa gave birth to a prince, who received the title of King of Rome.* Extraordinary rejoicings took place on this occasion. It seemed an auspicious pledge of the stability of the imperial dynasty, and of the system of national aggrandisement with which it was identified. It was hoped, too, that by change in his domestic circumstances Napoleon might be diverted from the restless pursuit of military glory, and that France might thus look forward to a period of repose, which was anxiously desired by the whole country. But the empire of Napoleon depended on constant military successes, while his determination to enforce the continental system brought about the overthrow of the Russian alliance, and led to his eventual fall.

FRANCE,

^{*} Rome, at the time of the annexation of the papal states, had been designated the second city of the empire.



La Cour des Adieux, Fontainebleau.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

- THE EMPIRE CONTINUED. II. FROM THE MARRIAGE OF NAPOLEON WITH MARIA LOUISA TO HIS ABDICATION. A.D. 1810-1814.
- δ 1. Annexation of Holland and of the Hanse Towns: relations of Napoleon with Sweden. § 2. Campaigns of 1810, 1811, and 1812 in Portugal and Spain; battle of Busaco; retreat of Massena; battle of Albuera; fall of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz; battle of Salamanca; occupation of Madrid by the English; retreat of Lord Wellington from Burgos. § 3. Rupture between Napoleon and the Emperor of Russia; invasion of Pomerania; the Russian campaign; Napoleon occupies Smolensko; battle of Borodino or the Moskowa; the French enter Moscow. § 4. Conflagration of Moscow; disastrous retreat of the French; battle of Krasnoi. § 5. Passage of the Beresina; Napoleon's flight from Smorgoni; fearful losses of the French army. § 6. Prussia declares war against France; campaign in Germany; battles of Lutzen and Bautzen; armistice. § 7. Prince Metternich's interview with Napoleon; Austria joins the Allies; battle of Dresden; death of Moreau. § 8. Decisive defeat of the French at Leipsic; battle of Hanau; retreat to the Rhine. § 9. Battle of Vittoria; the French expelled from Spain; battles of the Pyrenees; storming of San Sebastian; fall of Pampeluna; Wellington enters France. § 10. Opposition of the Legislative Chamber to the Emperor; its dissolution.

§ 11. Campaign of 1814 in France; the Allies march upon Paris. § 12. Defeat of Marmont and Mortier under the walls of Paris; capitulation of Paris; entrance of the allied sovereigns and armies; the Senate proclaims the deposition of Napoleon. § 13. Napoleon at Fontainebleau; his abdication; treaty of Fontainebleau. § 14. Campaign in the south of France; battles of Orthez and Toulouse; sortie from Bayonne; close of the war; Napoleon embarks at Fréjus for Elba.

§ 1. Various occurrences took place in the course of the years 1810 and 1811 which proved that Napoleon's rule was utterly incompatible with the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe. The continental system, upon which the emperor insisted with a tenacity amounting to infatuation, was a yoke which became more and more insupportable. Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland, a humane and enlightened prince, refused to sacrifice the interests of his subjects-a purely commercial nation-to his brother's ruinous caprice. Thereupon Marshal Oudinot was despatched into the Netherlands with 20,000 men, and took military possession of the whole country, fixing his head-quarters at Amsterdam. Louis, upon this, signed an act of abdication in favour of his son, and then retired into the Austrian dominions. On gaining a place of safety he issued a damaging protest against the tyranny of Napoleon, and exposed the injustice and impolicy of the continental blockade. Napoleon, disregarding the rights of his nephew, annexed Holland, by a decree of the 10th of July, 1810, to the French empire, of which it formed nine additional departments. Amsterdam was declared the third city of the empire. The whole transaction greatly discredited the emperor, not only in Europe but in France.

In order to complete his prohibitive measures against English commerce, Napoleon, towards the close of the same year, added to his dominions the Hanseatic towns—Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck—and the whole of the northern coast of Germany between the Ems and the Elbe. This wanton act of spoliation raised up fresh and powerful enemies against Napoleon's throne. Besides mutilating the kingdom of Westphalia and the grand duchy of Berg, it dispossessed the Duke of Oldenburg of nearly the whole of his dominions—an injury keenly resented by the Emperor of Russia, who was connected with the house of Oldenburg both by blood and marriage. Alexander not only protested against the violence, but issued on December 31, 1810, an ukase which authorized the importation of British colonial produce into Russia, while upon various articles of French manufacture, and especially on the wines of that country, it imposed a duty so heavy as to amount to a prohibition.

Another source of uneasiness to Napoleon was the doubtful state of his relations with Sweden. Upon the death of the Prince of

Holstein, heir to the throne of that kingdom, the Swedish diet, wishing to take a step which might conciliate and gratify the French emperor, elected Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, to fill the vacant dignity of Prince Royal. The choice was a wise one for the interests of Sweden, but it by no means gave satisfaction at the Tuileries. Although Bernadotte had acquiesced in Napoleon's government, and had served him with zeal and ability, no really cordial feeling had ever existed between them. No opposition, however, was made to his elevation; and Bernadotte accordingly took his departure for Stockholm in September, 1810. But Napoleon soon found that the new Crown Prince was by no means disposed to act the part of a dependent satrap of France; he made no secret of his reluctance to enforce the continental system, and it was not long before Swedish Pomerania became one of the principal depôts for English merchandise.

§ 2. The cessation of hostilities in other parts of Europe enabled Napoleon to press the war with renewed energy in the Peninsula: and in the campaign of 1810 he made a vigorous effort to recover possession of Portugal. Marshal Masséna, Prince of Essling, was named to the chief command of the French forces destined for this service, amounting to upwards of 80,000 men. Ciudad Rodrigo. after a terrible bombardment, capitulated on the 10th of July, and Almeida, one of the strongest frontier fortresses of Portugal, fell into his hands. Before his superior forces, Wellington, whose army numbered only 28,000 British troops and about 25,000 untried and badly disciplined Portuguese, determined to retreat and to make a stand for the defence of the capital in the formidable position of Torres Vedras, which had been strongly fortified for the purpose. He was closely followed by the French, who were repulsed in an attack upon the British army at Busaco, not far from Coimbra, on the 27th of September. Wellington leisurely continued his retreat towards Lisbon, and at length established his whole army in the almost impregnable lines of Torres Vedras on the 9th of October. This brought the campaign to a conclusion; Masséna, after several partial and unsuccessful attacks upon the British entrenchments, took up a position at Santarem, where he remained for some months awaiting reinforcements. Such were the situations occupied by the rival armies in Portugal during the winter of 1810.

Masséna, seeing the hopelessness of any attack upon the position of Torres Vedras, and finding that his army was suffering terrible privations from the scarcity of provisions, at length determined on commencing a retreat into Spain; he broke up from his cantonments at Santarem on the 5th of March, 1811, and was instantly followed by his watchful antagonist, who pressed on his steps with the utmost energy. Masséna conducted this celebrated retreat with

a consummate skill which reflects the highest credit on his talents as a tactician and commander, but at the same time disgraced his name by systematic and ruthless cruelty towards the unfortunate Portuguese. Nothing more horrible is to be found throughout the annals of modern warfare than the account of the devastation and enormities of all kinds committed by the French in their whole line of march from Santarem to Ciudad Rodrigo.*

The British army now blockaded the fortress of Almeida, while at the same time a powerful division detached under Marshal Beresford commenced the siege of Badajoz. Masséna, resolving to strike a blow for the relief of Almeida, advanced from Ciudad Rodrigo on the 2nd of May; and on the 5th a battle, one of the most stubbornly contested of the whole Peninsular war, was fought at the village of Fuentes d'Onor, in which the French were defeated with a loss of upwards of 3000 men. The marshal, recrossing the frontier into Spain, retired on Salamanca. Shortly afterwards he was succeeded

in the command by Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa.

The siege of Badajoz had not been long in progress when Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, hastened from Seville to its succour, and the army under Marshal Beresford took post at the village of ALBUERA, where a pitched battle ensued on the 16th of May. The British were again victorious; but the price paid for this victory, considering the numbers of the troops engaged, was prodigious; nearly 7000 fell on the side of the allies, while the French are computed to have lost at least 8000 men. Nor did the victors finally effect the object for which this tremendous sacrifice of human life had been incurred. Intelligence having reached Lord Wellington that a fresh body of troops was on its march from Salamanca to reinforce the army under Soult, it was judged prudent to abandon for the present any further operations against Badajoz. The English army raised the siege on the 18th of June, and re-entered Portugal.

Lord Wellington commenced the campaign of 1812 by the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo on the 19th of January, and of Badajoz on the 6th of April. The capture of these strong fortresses was attended with heavy loss; but the possession of them formed an excellent base for Wellington's further offensive operations, and contributed not a little to the final decision of the Peninsular struggle. He now advanced into the interior of Spain, and approached the French army under Marmont. The great battle of SALAMANCA, in which the English gained a decisive victory, was fought on the 22nd of July, 1812. The French lost at least 8000 killed and wounded, while 7000 prisoners, with two eagles and eleven guns, remained in the hands of the victors. The loss of the allied army

exceeded 5000 men.

^{*} Napier, Peninsular War, vol. ii. p. 289.

The immediate result of the battle of Salamanca was the occupation of Madrid by the allies. Wellington now advanced northwards and laid siege to Burgos; but finding that the enemy's troops were concentrating against him from all parts of Spain, he relinquished the attempt on the 21st of October, and commenced his retreat. Soult was now named to the chief command in Spain, and pursued the British army with a combined force exceeding 80,000 men. Wellington continued his retrograde movement, during which his army suffered fearfully, chiefly from their own neglect of discipline and the inclemency of the weather; he at length reached Ciudad Rodrigo, and there distributed his harassed troops in winter cantonments. King Joseph re-entered Madrid; but the whole of the Peninsula south of the capital was irrecoverably lost to the French.

§ 3. Ever since the campaign of Wagram in 1809 Napoleon had become convinced that a rupture between himself and the Emperor of Russia was probable, and Alexander's ukase of the 31st of December, 1810, made war inevitable. "Our alliance," said Napoleon, on the 28th of February, 1811, "no longer exists." The crisis was hastened by the hostile influence of Sweden. Though Napoleon's marriage, his attitude on the Polish question. his absorption of Oldenburg, all contributed to alienate the Tsar, the real ground of the outbreak of hostility was Russia's partial abandonment of the continental system. On the 27th of January, 1812, without any previous declaration of war, a French army of 20,000 men under Davoust invaded Swedish Pomerania. This act of aggression of course placed France and Sweden in undisguised hostility. On the 12th of April a treaty was made between Sweden and Russia, and Alexander was secure from any attack on his flank.

On the 24th of February Frederick William III. of Prussia signed a treaty with Napoleon; Prussian troops were to join in the Russian war, and the French were to have free passage through Prussia. On the 9th of May Napoleon quitted Paris to place himself at the head of his Grand Army, which was already in full march upon the Vistula. He sojourned for some weeks at Dresden, surrounded by a throng of crowned heads (including the Emperor and Empress of Austria and the King of Prussia), ministers, marshals, and other titled satellites, whom he entertained in a style of unprecedented splendour. At length, on learning from General Lauriston, whom he had despatched with a final proposition to Alexander, that all hope of accommodation was at an end, Napoleon set out from Dresden for Königsberg and Dantzic, and ordered the whole of his enormous armed hosts to advance upon the Niemen. "Russia," he exclaimed, "is dragged on by fatality; let her destinies be accomplished!"

The preparations of Napoleon for this perilous expedition were on a stupendous scale. The two wings of the French army were composed of Prussians and Austrians, while the centre contained men of all nations. According to the most moderate computation, not less than 450,000 men were arrayed under his standards. The whole cavalry force was commanded by Murat, King of Naples. The train of artillery amounted to 1200 pieces of cannon.

Napoleon reached Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, on the 28th of June, and halted there for seventeen days. The delay, though rendered necessary by the difficulty of providing for the sustenance of such prodigious masses of troops, had a ruinous effect on the issue of the campaign. On the 16th of July he put his army in motion, and advanced to Witepsk, where at first he seems to have thought of terminating the campaign for the year; an idea which was warmly supported by several of his marshals.* But carried away by his ambition, in spite of the openly expressed discontent and opposition of some of his best friends, he refused to sheath his sword till he had struck a decisive blow for the possession of the ancient capital of Russia. "Peace," he exclaimed, "awaits us beneath the walls of Moscow!" Quitting Witepsk on the 13th of August, the emperor concentrated his whole army for an attack on Smolensk. That city was assaulted fiercely on the 17th, and was defended with desperate valour; the slaughter was terrible on both sides, and at nightfall the assailants had entirely failed to force an entrance into the place. But during the night the Russians silently effected their retreat, having previously set fire to the city to prevent it falling into the hands of the enemy.

In spite of all obstacles, discouragements, and sacrifices, the French army was at least continually advancing; and as it was now plain that Napoleon was seriously determined to prosecute his march upon Moscow, the Russian emperor changed the system upon which he had hitherto acted, and placed the veteran Kutusoff at the head of his forces, with orders to bring on a great general action with the invader. This event was ardently longed for by both parties. On the 5th of September Napoleon came in sight of the grand Russian army, drawn up in a strong position in front of the river Moskowa, their centre occupying the village of Borodino. Their lines were protected by a formidable series of redoubts and batteries. The 6th passed over without conflict. On the morning of the 7th the sun rose brilliantly, and was hailed by Napoleon as "the sun of Austerlitz." After a fierce battle, the French obtained possession of the whole range of entrenchments which defended the enemy's position; but this was the extent of their success; the Russians were not routed or discomfited, but retired in good order. The losses on both sides were tremendous; 12,000 French lay dead * on the field, and the wounded exceeded 20,000. The Russians had lost 15,000 slain and 30,000 wounded, with 2000 prisoners.

Kutusoff directed his retreat upon Moscow, but the Russians had determined not to defend the city, and rather to abandon it to the enemy than stake the safety of their grand army on the perilous issue of another general action. They well knew that the French were advancing to their own destruction; the approaching winter, and the impossibility of feeding such an army in the heart of a hostile country, at a vast distance from its stores, would be certain to complete their ruin, without the necessity of any further pitched combats in the field. Accordingly, on the 14th of September the whole Russian army filed through the streets of Moscow, and took the road to Kolomna, followed by the greater part of the inhabitants. The nobility and upper classes had already gone; the stores and valuable property were removed; but for the refuse of the population, the city was empty. On the same evening the leading columns of the French entered the deserted capital; and on the 15th Napoleon himself took up his abode in the Kremlin, the ancient and magnificent palace of the Tsars.

§ 4. Now began the multiplied misfortunes of this fatal campaign. On the very night that the French took possession of the city a fire broke out which, after raging for some hours, was with difficulty extinguished. It was found impossible to check the flames, whose fierceness was fed by the autumnal winds, and upwards of 7000 houses, or nine-tenths of the whole city, were destroyed. As Napoleon surveyed the blackened ruins of this splendid capital, he exclaimed in tones of deep dejection, "They are indeed Scythians! This is a presage of great calamities!"

In the mean time the Russian general, having received considerable reinforcements, began to threaten the communications of the French with their magazines and reserves at Smolensk. Warnings of approaching winter, and the utter hopelessness of any pacific negotiation with Alexander, at length determined Napoleon to retire from Moscow. On the 19th of October the French army of 120,000 men evacuated the city. A strong rear-guard was left in Moscow under Marshal Mortier, who, by the express orders of Napoleon, blew up the Kremlin before taking his departure. The greater part of this celebrated building was destroyed.

On the 6th of November a heavy fall of snow announced the commencement of the terrible Russian winter, which this year set in earlier than usual, and with remarkable severity. From this

^{*} Among them were seven generals. Davoust and ten other generals were wounded.

point the sufferings of the French army were deplorable. The soldiers perished by hundreds in the whirling wreaths of snow, and even during the night around the fires of the bivouacs. Thirty thousand horses were destroyed by the cold in the first week of the frost; and immense quantities of artillery, ammunition, and baggage were in consequence abandoned. When the army at last reached Smolensk (November 12), it was found that not less than 30,000 men had already fallen victims to hunger, fatigue, and cold; the cavalry was almost entirely dismounted; and upwards of 300 guns had been sacrificed.

Napoleon continued his retreat from Smolensk without delay, having divided his army into four columns, which were to follow each other at the distance of a day's march. But the cold was now excessive,* and the roads, slippery with ice, were scarcely practicable. On the 17th the French found themselves confronted at Krasnoi by Kutusoff with 60,000 Russians; and in the conflict which ensued, it was only the personal valour and exertions of Napoleon that saved his army from complete destruction. Nev. who occupied the post of honour with the rear-guard, had not yet come up, and the most anxious apprehensions were felt that he must be surrounded and overwhelmed; but that heroic marshal, after a furious action on the Losmina, contrived to elude the pursuit of the enemy, crossed the Dnieper on the ice, and at last rejoined Napoleon and the main army at Orcza, with a column reduced to 1500. He was saluted by the emperor by the well-merited title of "the bravest of the brave." Between Smolensk and Orcza it is said that 26,000 Frenchmen, with 220 pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the Russians.

§ 5. The Russian generals Tchichagoff and Witgenstein had now come up in force, and manœuvred to intercept the further retreat of the French at the passage of the Beresina. But Napoleon was opportunely reinforced by the junction of Marshals Victors and Oudinot, whose troops were still comparatively untouched. Two bridges were immediately prepared; and Napoleon transported the greater part of his troops without loss to the opposite bank. But the corps of Victor, which covered the passage of the river, attacked by overpowering numbers, was driven back in confusion on the bridges; one of them gave way under the weight of the artillery, the other was blown up by Victor's orders; and a scene of carnage, agony, and despair ensued, which baffles all description. Thousands perished in the Beresina, thousands fell beneath the Russian sabres, thousands became prisoners. This disaster completed the disorganization of Napoleon's army; scarcely 20,000

^{* &}quot;On the 14th, 15th, and 16th, the thermometer was sixteen and eighteen degrees below the freezing-point."—Napoleon's 29th Bulletin.

men now remained who preserved any appearance of military discipline.

On the 3rd of December the emperor arrived at Malodeczno, and here issued his famous twenty-ninth bulletin, in which the true state of the French army, hitherto studiously concealed, was at length unveiled in all its naked horrors. He at the same time privately announced to his generals his resolution to quit the army and return to Paris, where his presence was urgently required. Leaving the chief command to the King of Naples, Napoleon set out from Smorgoni in disguise, attended by Caulaincourt and two other officers, and, travelling with the utmost rapidity in sledges, arrived at Warsaw on the 10th. Resuming his journey with unabated speed, Napoleon finally reached Paris on the evening of the 18th of December, astonishing Maria Louisa and her attendants by his sudden and unlooked-for appearance. The bulletin of Malodeczno, which had preceded him by a few hours, had already filled the capital with consternation.

The shattered relics of the Grand Army, under the conduct of Murat, continued their disastrous retreat to the Niemen, which they crossed on the 13th of December. At the Niemen the Russian pursuit terminated. Scarcely 100,000 men escaped out of the 450,000 who had invaded the Russian territory six months before. Not less than 125,000 had fallen in the field of battle; while the number of those who perished from the ravages of hunger, from excessive fatigue, and from the severity of the season, has been calculated at upwards of 130,000.

§ 6. The return of Napoleon to Paris worked with magical effect in restoring the public confidence and courage, which had been shaken by the tidings from Russia. Such was the marvellous and boundless ascendency which Napoleon had acquired over the nation, that every sacrifice which he demanded towards repairing his losses and arming for a renewal of the struggle was submitted to without a murmur, and even with cheerful alacrity. The energetic measures adopted to enforce the conscription placed him, at the beginning of the year 1813, in command of a fresh army of 350,000 men, exclusive of the troops serving in Spain. But his discomfiture in Russia had produced a reconciliation between the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, who concluded at Kalisch, on the 27th of February, a treaty of alliance for the purpose of expelling the French altogether from Germany. The Russian troops now crossed the frontier into Prussia, and on the 11th of March entered Berlin, where they were welcomed as deliverers. On the 16th of March Prussia formally declared war against France; and although Austria affected to assume the character of a mediator, it was more than suspected that she only awaited the first great

success on the part of the allies to make a decisive declaration in their favour.

Napoleon quitted Paris on the 15th of April, and travelled rapidly by Mayence to Erfurt, where he assumed the command of his army. The first general engagement was fought on the plains of Lutzen (already celebrated as the last battle-field of Gustavus Adolphus) on the 2nd of May. Prince Witgenstein had now succeeded to the chief command of the allies, on the death of the veteran Kutusoff; and the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia were present in person with the army. Napoleon won a hard-fought victory, having sacrificed more than 12,000 men. The allies retreated beyond Dresden; and Napoleon, entering that capital on the 8th of May, re-established his ally the King of Saxony in his dominions.

The emperor advanced forthwith on the track of the allies, who were concentrated in a strong position beyond the town of Bautzen. Here two battles were fought on the 20th and 21st of May, in which, after a terrible carnage, the allies were driven from their entrenched camp, but retired in excellent order, leaving no trophies to the victor. Napoleon could not conceal his vexation: "What!" cried he, "no results after such a butchery! no guns, no prisoners? These people will not leave me so much as a nail!" On the next day, during the pursuit of the enemy, Duroc, grand marshal of the palace, was struck down by a cannon-ball at Napoleon's side, and expired in a few hours. The emperor was deeply afflicted by the loss of his friend; and for the first time in his life postponed till the morrow all attention to the reports of his generals and many pressing affairs around him. His officers were in consternation: "What a war!" they exclaimed; "it will make an end of us all!" The allies continued their retreat to Schweidnitz; and Napoleon, after pushing the pursuit as far as Breslau, consented to an armistice at Pleswitz, which was to last for eight weeks, from the 4th of June till the 28th of July. During this interval diplomatic negotiations were to be opened, in which Napoleon professed to entertain hopes that a general pacification would be arrived at through the intervention of Austria.

§ 7. Napoleon now fixed his head-quarters at Dresden. He is said to have been conscious that the armistice was a mistake on his part, since in case Austria should be secretly resolved on entering the lists against him, it would give her ample time to carry on and complete her military preparations. The Austrian minister Count Metternich arrived at Dresden (June 26th), and plainly announced that his master could no longer remain neutral, but must take part in the struggle either for or against France. The Austrian ultimatum exacted the abandonment of Poland, the

restoration of the Illyrian Provinces to Austria, the dissolution of the Rhenish Confederation, and the re-establishment of the pope at Rame. These terms were characterized by Napoleon as "a vast act of capitulation," and he indignantly refused to accept them. The congress, however, was opened at Prague, according to agreement, on the 5th of July, and negotiations were pursued during several weeks; but peace was evidently hopeless. England had already agreed at Reichenbach (June 14th and 15th) to ally with and substitise Prussia and Russia. Austria had also signed a treaty at Reichenbach (June 27th), with Prussia and Russia, promising to join them if Napoleon did not accede to her conditions. On the 16th of August the war was renewed; and the Emperor Francis formally signified to the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia his active adhesion to their cause.

The allies had now about half a million of men in Central Europe, and between the 18th and 30th of August, a number of battles were fought. Napoleon endeavouring in vain to prevent the junction of the allied forces. Oudinot was defeated at Grossbeeren by Bernadotte. Macdonald by Blucher at Katzbach, and, though Napoleon, on the 27th of August, gained a complete victory at Dresden, 10,000 men under Vandamme were forced to surrender to the Russians on the 30th of August.

§ 8. On the 3rd of October the allies, who had received a reinforcement of 50,000 Russians under Beningsen, once more advanced into Saxony, and established themselves on the left bank of the Elbe; and it was evident that the enemy's plan was to concentrate in overwhelming masses on the plains of Leipsic in the rear of the French, so as to cut off their retreat towards France. The defection of the King of Bavaria, who signed a treaty of alliance with Austria, at Ried October 8th), and the attempt of the allies to cut off his communications with the Rhine, determined Napoleon to retreat upon Leipsic. On the 15th of October Napoleon reached Leipsic, with an army still numbering 140,000 men. This force, however, was immensely outnumbered by that of the allies, who are computed to have assembled in the plains of Leipsic at least 230,000 combatants.

On the morning of the 16th of October began that memorable conflict which, it was felt on both sides, must decide the fate of the campaign, of Napoleon, and of Europe. The contest on that day ended without definite result; but a renewal of it was evidently fraught with momentous peril to Napoleon, since the allies were expecting every hour the arrival of fresh masses under Bernadotte, Colloredo, and Beningsen, while he himself had no reinforcements to depend upon. Fully estimating his danger, Napoleon, on the night of the 16th, made proposals for an armistice preliminary to

negotiations for peace. The terms he offered were such as at an earlier period of the campaign would have been certain to effect his object; but they were now inadmissible, the allied sovereigns having solemnly pledged themselves to each other to enter into no negotiation with Napoleon so long as a single French soldier remained on the German side of the Rhine. After the interval of a day the contest was accordingly resumed on the 18th. But the allies had now an overpowering superiority of numbers, and, although their losses were enormous, they were repaired without difficulty by fresh troops, so that the ultimate issue of the day could scarcely be considered doubtful. The French fought heroically, but by the evening they had been forced back upon the town from all points of their position, and the suburban villages were in the possession of the Russians. The troops of Saxony and Wortemburg, 12,000 in number, deserted and joined the ranks of Bernadotte in the heat of the battle.

Napoleon's retreat to Erfurt was a scene of miserable disorder. and numbers of his troops perished from privation and fatigue. Having halted for two days, he was enabled to reassemble 80,000 men under his banners; and the Bavarian army under General Wrede having taken post at Hanau to oppose his passage, a battle ensued on the 30th of October, in which the French won a decided victory. The emperor now pushed on rapidly towards the Rhine. which he crossed at Mayence on the 2nd of November; here he quitted the army, now reduced to less than 70,000 men, and on the 9th arrived at St. Cloud. The Emperor Alexander fixed his headquarters at Frankfort on the 5th of November. The garrisons which Napoleon had left behind on the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Oder, numbering about 150,000 men, all surrendered before the close of the year. Ominous symptoms now appeared on all siles of the sudden breaking up of the gigantic empire of Narole n. The Confederation of the Rhine was dissolved at a stroke; the kingdom of Westphalia fell to rise no more; Hanover was resumed by its lawful sovereign, the King of Great Britain; the united provinces of Holland expelled the French authorities, and proclaimed the restoration of the House of Orange; the Austrians reconquered without difficulty Illyria, Croatia, and the whole of their possessions on the Adriatic; Denmark made the treaty of Kiel (January, 1814), abandoning the French alliance and ceding Norway and Sweden. Murat, who had quitted Napoleon at Erfurt. and returned to Naples, entered into a secret negotiation with Austria, and offered to join her with all his forces against France. provided his Neapolitan dominions were guaranteed to him.

§ 9. The campaign of 1813 was fatal to the short-lived dominion of Joseph Bonaparte in Spain. The battle of Vittoria, fought on

the 21st of June, decided the fate of the Peninsula. The French lost 10,000 killed or prisoners; 150 cannon were captured, together with vast quantities of ammunition and stores of all kinds. The military chest of the army also fell into the hands of the victors, as well as the travelling carriage of King Joseph, with all his papers, Marshal Jourdan's baton, and a large amount of valuable private property. Within a fortnight after the battle of Vittoria the army of Wellington was in possession of the whole Spanish frontier from Roncesvalles to the mouth of the Bidassoa, and had also invested the two great fortresses of San Sebastian and Pampeluna. Marshal Soult was now once more appointed to command in Spain, with almost unlimited powers. He reached Bayonne on the 13th of July, and commenced immediate operations for the relief of Pampeluna. The allies were vigorously attacked in the passes of Roncesvalles and Maya, and a series of desperate combats followed between the 25th of July and the 1st of August, the result of which was that Soult, after gaining some advantages, and inflicting heavy losses on his opponent, was finally driven back across the mountains into the French territory.

San Sebastian was stormed and captured on the 31st of August, in which the victors sacrificed nearly 4000 men. On the 7th of October the British army crossed the Bidassoa, and Pampeluna, after sustaining a lengthened blockade, surrendered to the Spaniards on the 31st of October. Meanwhile Wellington continued to advance, forced the positions of the French marshal on the Nivelle and the Nive, and became master of the entire district up to the

very gates of Bayonne.

§ 10. Napoleon, immediately on his return to Paris, assembled the Senate, and laid before them a candid declaration of the state of affairs, and of the imminent dangers which menaced France. He proceeded to demand a fresh levy of 300,000 men, which was at once decreed, and was to be raised from those classes who had already undergone the conscription during the ten previous years. An enormous amount of taxes was at the same time added to the national burdens; and 30 millions of francs from Napoleon's private treasury in the vaults of the Tuileries were transferred to the public account towards the expenses of the state. On the 19th of December the emperor opened the session of the Legislative Chamber, but the Assembly, hitherto so subservient, now assumed a tone of firm remonstrance. Upon the report of a committee, an address to the emperor was drawn up, in which it was urged that assurances ought to be given, not only that the government desired peace, but that France should enjoy that freedom of political rights and institutions which alone made peace a blessing. The copies of this address were seized at the printing-office by the emperor's orders, and on the

30th of December he prorogued sine die the session of the Chamber, with a view to its dissolution.

§ 11. Napoleon was now to enter on a struggle very different in character from any of his former campaigns; he was to fight, not for glory and foreign conquest, but for his existence as a monarch; not for the aggrandizement of an overgrown empire, but for the protection of France. The allies, instead of advancing on Paris, had wasted valuable time in negotiating with Napoleon from Frankfort. Had he accepted their terms, France would have continued to hold the left bank of the Rhine, i.e. Belgium, Savoy, and the Rhenish provinces. Full of self-confidence, Napoleon refused their proposals, and the allies then invaded France in the last days of December. The Austrian army under Schwartzenberg crossed the Rhine at Basle on the 21st of December, and advanced by leisurely marches to Langres, which submitted on the 16th of January, 1814. The army of Silesia, under Blucher, effected its passage at several points between Mannheim and Coblenz, and after traversing the Vosges mountains took possession of Nancy. The third army of the allies-that of the North-commanded by the Russian general Winzingerode and the Prussian Bulow, approached France by way of Cologne, Liége, and Namur, and ultimately established themselves on the road to Paris by Laon and Soissons. Thus before the close of January the invaders occupied a continuous line of operations extending from Langres to Namur, and including nearly one-third of France. The disproportion of numerical strength between the combatants, even upon the lowest computation, was enormous; the allies had at least 200,000 men in the field, without reckoning their army of the North; while the most strenuous exertions of the French emperor barely sufficed to raise his disposable force to 110,000, independently of the corps of Soult opposed to Wellington, and that of Suchet in Catalonia and Aragon.

On the 23rd of January the emperor assembled at the Tuileries the commandant and superior officers of the national guard of Paris, and in language of unaffected pathos committed to their guardianship the empress and the infant King of Rome—"all that was dearest to him in the world." Maria Louisa was named Regent, with the ex-king Joseph Bonaparte as her chief counsellor. Napoleon left the capital at an early hour on the 25th, and travelled rapidly to Châlons-sur-Marne, where he placed himself at the head of his army. For the next few weeks he succeeded in keeping the enemy at bay, and never did he employ more military genius than in this campaign.

After losing the battle of La Rothière, Napoleon agreed to open negotiations, and the Congress of Châtillon met from the 5th of

February to the 9th. The allies decided that France was to be reduced to her boundaries in 1791. Aided, however, by the jealousies which distracted the plans of his enemies, Napoleon was able to defeat the Prussians under Blucher on four occasions (February 10-14), and the Austrians once. His final proposals were received by the allies in the resumed meetings of the Congress (February 17-March 20), and refused by them. The treaty of Chaumont (March 1) firmly united the great powers in joint opposition to the French emperor. After the battle fought at Arcis-sur-Aube on the 20th of March, which was the most fiercely contested of the whole campaign, and which was as decisive as Lodi, Napoleon retired from the line of the Aube, and placed himself completely in the rear of the Austrian army, threatening thereby to cut off their communications with the Rhine, and also to force them to relinquish their march upon Paris by carrying the war into a totally contrary direction. At the suggestion of the Tsar, the allies decided to march on Paris. On the 25th of March the Austrian columns were put in motion to join those of Blucher in this daring and decisive enterprise; a corps of 10,000 men under Winzingerode being detached at the same time to occupy the attention of Napoleon, and delude him into the belief that he was followed by the main army of the allies. Falling into the snare thus laid for him, the emperor attacked Winzingerode on the 26th near St. Dizier, and on the following morning ascertained from some of his prisoners the true state of the case, and the momentous advantage which fortune had thrown into the hands of the enemy. He countermarched with marvellous speed, reaching Troyes on the night of the 29th; but the allies were three days in advance of him, and it was manifest that no human exertions could by any possibility place his army under the walls of Paris in time to relieve and defend it. Napoleon, however, still trusted to the skill and valour of Marshals Marmont and Mortier, and also to the spirit and patriotism of the Parisians; he accordingly ordered his generals to hurry forward, while he himself, travelling post in advance of his troops, arrived at Fontainebleau on the 30th at a late hour of the night. But on that eventful day had been fought the final battle which destroyed his throne.

§ 12. Marshals Marmont and Mortier meantime had made the best arrangements in their power for a determined stand in defence of the capital. But they were ill-seconded by the government of the Empress-Regent, which had taken no vigorous measures to provide for such an emergency. Eight thousand troops of the line, and about 30,000 national guards, were all the forces that could be mustered at this crisis to protect Paris. Maria Louisa, carrying with her the infant King of Rome, and attended by the chief

members of the Council of State, quitted the Tuileries on the morning of the 29th of March, and took the road to Rambouillet and Blois. The last act of this great drama was now at hand. The allies, at an early hour on the 30th, attacked the whole line of the position occupied by Marmont and Mortier. The conflict was maintained by the French for several hours; but the arrival of Blucher with the Silesian army, near 100,000 strong, gave the assailants a superiority of numbers so overwhelming that further resistance was impossible. Accordingly, about noon, Joseph authorised the two marshals to arrange a suspension of arms with Schwartzenberg. The armistice was signed in the afternoon, and it was agreed that the city should be surrendered to the allies on the next day, the French troops being permitted to evacuate it without molestation, and retire in the direction of the Loire. Marshal Marmont, who on this memorable day covered himself with glory by his valour, only submitted to absolute necessity. In the absence of Napoleon, and without the support of an entire population risen en masse to defend their homes, it would have been utter madness to prolong the contest; it would have ended

in the destruction of Paris, without saving the empire.

On the morning of the 31st of March the allied armies, with the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia in person, commenced their entrance into Paris by various approaches; and no less than 230,000 men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, defiled in lines of thirty abreast through the most frequented thoroughfares of the city, and the silent amazement of the inhabitants, who had been carefully kept in ignorance of the real numbers of their conquerors. As the sovereigns approached that quarter of Paris which is inhabited by the opulent classes, the cry of "Vive le Roi! Vivent les Bourbons!" was raised—timidly at first, afterwards more confidently-by the royalists among the crowd. The unaccustomed sound was caught up and re-echoed by other groups along the line of the procession; and at last the whole multitude of spectators burst forth into prolonged and unanimous shouts of "Vive l'Empereur Alexandre! Vive le Roi de Prusse! Vive Louis XVIII.! A bas le tyran!" Alexander took up his residence at the hotel of M. de Talleyrand, where an anxious conference was immediately held with the principal senators and functionaries of the government. At the request of those present, the sovereigns issued a proclamation stating that they would no longer treat with Napoleon Bonaparte or any member of his family. They further invited the Senate to appoint a provisional committee of government, and to prepare such a constitution as might be agreeable to the wishes of the people. The deposition of Napoleon was a measure already resolved on by anticipation by Tallevrand, the

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weight of whose influence was at this juncture predominant; and in this he was supported by reasonable men of all parties, and by the vast majority of the nation. The Senate, at its meeting on the 2nd of April, published a decree that Napoleon Bonaparte, having repeatedly violated the rights and liberties of the people and the laws of the constitution, had forfeited the throne; that the hereditary right established in his family was abolished; and that the French nation and the army were released from their engagements to Napoleon and his government. This decree was accepted by the Legislative Chamber, and the other public bodies of the capital immediately signified their acquiescence, and their adherence to the provisional government. Marmont now signed a convention with Prince Schwartzenberg, by which his troops, abandoning the service of Napoleon, were to retire with all military honours into Normandy.

§ 13. While these events were passing in and around Paris, Napoleon, pursuing his journey with breathless speed, had advanced as far as the village of Fromenteau, about ten miles from the metropolis, when he met General Belliard, with his division, who informed him that the battle was lost, that Paris had capitulated, and that Marmont's troops were retreating in virtue of a convention with the allies. Napoleon was at first thunderstruck by the intelligence; but rapidly regaining his self-possession, he called for his carriage and prepared to set out instantly for Paris, where he insisted that his presence would at once rouse the population en masse for its defence, and prevent, even at the last moment, the impending catastrophe. By degrees he became more calm, and at length, yielding to the counsels of Caulaincourt and Berthier, he abandoned the idea of proceeding further, and retraced his steps to Fontainebleau, arriving there at daybreak on the 31st of March. His army, still numbering upwards of 50,000 men, came up by different routes, and was distributed in the town and the neighbouring villages.

Caulaincourt, whom Napoleon had despatched as his envoy to the Emperor Alexander, soon found that the determination of the allies not to treat personally with Napoleon was final and irrevocable, and that the proposition of a regency had scarcely a better chance of success. With these melancholy tidings he returned on the 2nd of April to Fontainebleau. Napoleon, violently irritated and excited, assembled his battalions next morning in the court of the palace, harangued them with all his accustomed fervour, and bade them prepare for an immediate march to Paris. The soldiers answered with acclamations, and would doubtless have followed him without hesitation on this desperate enterprise; but on the 4th of April Marshals Ney, Oudinot, Lefèbvre, and other superior

officers, gave him clearly to understand that they could not support him in any such useless and insane movement. Without their concurrence the fidelity of the army was more than doubtful; and Napoleon ere long became reluctantly convinced that his last hope of armed resistance was at an end. Nev having intimated that no alternative remained but his abdication, the emperor, yielding to his destiny, sat down and penned the required act of resignation, adding, however, a reservation of the rights of his son, under the regency of the empress. The document was immediately conveyed to Paris by Caulaincourt, Ney, and Macdonald. But in the mean time the defection of Marmont, whose troops had now marched within the Russian lines, had materially altered the views of the allies. Napoleon was thus at their mercy, and was virtually a prisoner; and in consequence they rejected the stipulation of the regency, and insisted on his absolute and unconditional abdication. Napoleon at first resisted this demand; but at length submitted to necessity, and placed his unqualified resignation in the hands of Caulaincourt. On the 11th of April the treaty of Fontainebleau was signed between Napoleon and the allied powers; by its terms Napoleon, renouncing for himself, his heirs and descendants, all rights to the thrones of France and Italy, was to retain for life the title of emperor, with the independent sovereignty of the island of Elba, and a revenue of two millions of francs.

§ 14. Napoleon lingered at Fontainebleau for several days after the ratification of this treaty, and it was during this interval that he received tidings of the termination of the struggle between Wellington and Soult in the south of France. Soult had been beaten at Orthez on the 27th of February by Wellington, and had then retreated and concentrated at Toulouse; here he was attacked by the British with a superior force on the 10th of April, and was ultimately driven from his position after a stubborn resistance, in which the loss of Wellington's army was considerably greater than his own.* The French evacuated Toulouse on the day after the battle, and the allies entered in triumph; the authorities immediately hoisted the drapeau blanc, and proclaimed Louis XVIII.+ A most unnecessary and unfortunate affair, however, took place on the 14th at Bayonne, where the fact of Napoleon's dethronement seems to have been not yet positively known; the garrison made a vigorous sortie by night from the citadel, and, although it was repulsed in the end by the allies, the lives of at least 900 men were sacrificed on both sides. This was the last act of the

^{*} Napier, vol. iv. p. 397.

[†] Marshal Soult has been accused of having fought the battle of Toulouse with a full knowledge of the previous abdication of Napoleon. This, however, was emphatically denied and disproved by the Duke of Wellington in the British House of Lords.

momentous revolutionary war. A convention was signed on the 18th of April between Marshal Soult and Wellington, and hostilities at once ceased throughout the southern provinces, which welcomed with universal joy and thankfulness the restored dominion of their

ancient princes.

The dethroned emperor at length quitted Fontainebleau on the 20th of April, having previously taken an affecting leave of his old Guard in the court of the château. He was attended to the seacoast by commissioners from all the allied powers. During the earlier part of his journey the inhabitants treated him with respect and sympathy, but as he approached Provence symptoms of popular indignation appeared, and at one place Napoleon was obliged to save himself from personal violence by escaping in disguise. He embarked at Fréjus on board a British frigate, and, landing at Porto Ferrajo on the 4th of May, took possession of the tiny dominions to which his fallen fortunes had reduced him. It must be observed that the island of Elba, divided only by a narrow channel from the coast of Italy, and not more than two or three days' sail from France, was ill-chosen for the purposes of Napoleon's enemies. Every facility was thus offered him for carrying on constant communication with the army, which was still devotedly attached to him, and with his numerous adherents of all classes: and active intrigues commenced almost immediately, the result of which was at no distant date to place this extraordinary man once more in a position to invade the ill-assured tranquillity of Europe.



Medal of Louis XVIII.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE RESTORATION. REIGNS OF LOUIS XVIII. AND CHARLES X.

§ 1. Louis XVIII. lands at Calais; his entry into Paris. § 2. Treaty of Paris; opening of the Chambers; the constitutional charter. § 3. Congress of Vienna; Napoleon escapes from Elba and lands in France; armaments of the Allies. § 4. Progress of Napoleon from the coast of Provence to Lyons; flight of Louis XVIII.; Napoleon arrives at Paris. § 5. The Hundred Days; Acte Additionnelle; preparations for the campaign; military plans of Napoleon; strength of his army; defection of General Bourmont. § 6. The French cross the Belgic frontier: battles of Ligny and Quatre Bras; march on Waterloo; positions of the two armies. § 7. Battle of Waterloo. § 8. Napoleon at Paris; his second abdication; he sails from Rochefort for England; he is conveyed to St. Helena. § 9. The Prussians and English march to Paris; Convention of St. Cloud; return of Louis XVIII.; harshness and violence of the Prussians. § 10. Proscriptions; the Treaty of Vienna. § 11. Violent outbreaks in the provinces; executions of Labédovère and Marshal Nev; death of Murat. § 12. Dissolution of the Chamber; new electoral law; ministry of Decazes; the Doctrinaires. § 13. Assassination of the Duke of Berry; resignation of Decazes: the law of the "double vote." § 14. Birth of the Duke of Bordeaux; death of Napoleon at St. Helena, § 15. Insurrection in Spain; the Carbonari; the Holy Alliance; its interference in Spain and Italy. § 16. Congress of Verona; intervention of France to restore despotic government in Spain; ascendency of the ultraroyalists in France; death of Louis XVIII.; his character. § 17. Charles X.; his coronation. § 18. Rigorous law on the censorship of the press; disbanding of the National Guard; the Martignac ministry. § 19. Naval expedition to Greece; battle of Navarino; liberal measures of the cabinet; Prince Polignac appointed premier; opening of the Chambers; hostile address carried in reply to the royal speech; dissolution of the Chambers; strength of the opposition. § 20. Expedition to Algiers. § 21. The ordonances of the 25th of July; Marshal Marmont named to the chief command of Paris; insurrection of the 'three days of July;' the troops evacuate Paris; capture of the Tuileries. § 22. The crown offered to the Duke of Orleans; abdication of Charles X.; he and his family retire to England. § 23. Reflections on the Revolution of 1830.

§ 1. On the very same day that Napoleon bade farewell to Fontainebleau, Lous XVIII. set out from Hartwell in Buckinghamshire, the quiet country house in which he had been residing for several years past, for London and Calais, on his way to take possession of



Reverse of medal of Louis XVIII.

the restored throne of his ancestors.* A decree of the Senate had already formally recalled the Bourbon family, and the Comte d'Artois had entered Paris on the 12th of April in the quality of lieutenant-general of the kingdom.† Louis XVIII. crossed the

^{*} Louis was at this time in the 59th year of his age; having been born on the 17th of November, 1755.

[†] The happy expression attributed to the prince in reply to the congratulations of the Senate—"Nothing is changed in France, except that she possesses one Frenchman the more"—was invented and put into his mouth by Beugnot, the minister of police.—Vaulabelle, vol. ii. p. 21.

Channel on board an English yacht, escorted by the Duke of Clarence,* and landing at Calais on the 24th of April, was received with every outward demonstration of loyalty. The legislature was convoked for June, and in the mean while the king pledged himself to the following principles as the groundwork of the new constitution: That the representative government should be maintained in two bodies, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. That all taxes should be freely voted and imposed by the authority of the national representatives, with the sanction of the king. That the ministers should be responsible, and might be impeached and tried by the legislative chambers. That the judges should be irremovable. That the rights of property, freedom of religious worship, and the liberty of the press (within the limits necessary to public tranquillity) should be guaranteed. That all Frenchmen should be equally eligible to all civil and military employments; and finally, that no one should be in any way molested on account of his political votes and opinions. This liberal programme was welcomed with satisfaction; and on the following day, the 3rd of May, 1814, Louis XVIII. made his public entry into the capital, accompanied by his niece the Duchesse d'Angoulême, the Comte d'Artois, and his son the Duc de Berry, the Prince de Condé, and the Duc de Bourbon, The king and his escort was received with conflicting feelings by the Parisian population; the royalists, who thronged the windows of the streets through which it passed to Notre Dame, were enthusiastic in their acclamations, but the mass of the people looked on in wondering silence.† Nothing, however, occurred to disturb public order and decorum.

§ 2. One of the most urgent of the duties devolving on the new government was the conclusion of a treaty of peace between France and the allies. By the first treaty of Paris, 30th of May, 1804, France resumed her boundaries of the 1st of January, 1792, but with several small additions, such as the county of Venaissin, the sous-prefecture of Chambéry, and a few towns and villages on the Rhenish and Belgian frontiers. France recovered all her colonial possessions taken in the war, except the islands of Tobago, Ste. Lucie, the Seychelles, and Mauritius; she was restrained, however, from erecting any sort of fortification in her Indian colonies. Malta and its dependencies were ceded in full sovereignty to Great Britain. Holland and Belgium were united into one kingdom, under the dominion of the House of Orange, and the fleet in the Texel was

^{*} Louis committed a great error in judgment by stating publicly, in his parting speech to the Prince Regent of England, that he owed his restoration to his Royal Highness and the British people.

^{† &}quot;La pièce était pour les loges, elles applaudissaient; le parterre ouvrait de grands yeux, bouches closes, mains immobiles, l'âme attristée." —Thibaudeau, vol. vii. p. 92. This author was an eve-witness.

placed at the disposal of the new King of the Netherlands. The treaty contained other articles of minor importance, and the powers engaged to send plenipotentiaries to a general congress which was appointed to be held at Vienna in the autumn. The foreign sovereigns and armies now immediately took their departure from France, and Louis was left to the difficult task of regulating the internal administration of his kingdom.

The opening of the Chambers took place on the 4th of June, when the king promulgated the new charter, which varied in several particulars from the scheme previously set forth. The preamble stated that, although the whole authority of government resided in the person of the monarch, Louis XVIII., after the example of several of his predecessors, had determined to grant certain alterations required by the times; he therefore, by the voluntary and free exercise of his sovereign power, conceded (octroyait) this constitutional charter to his subjects. This was an ill-judged proceeding; and the indiscretion was carried still further by dating the charter in the nineteenth year of the king's reign; thus ignoring alike the sacrifices of the Revolution and the triumphs of the empire. The peers of France were to be nominated by the crown, either for life or with hereditary descent: their number was unlimited. In order to be eligible to the Chamber of Deputies it was necessary to have completed forty years of age, and to pay in direct taxes the annual amount of one thousand francs. The electoral suffrage was confined to persons thirty years of age, and paying to the state a direct contribution of three hundred francs. The king possessed the initiative of all laws; the Chambers, however, might request him to propose a law upon any subject they thought fit; if their request should be rejected, it could not be preferred a second time during the same session. The Roman Catholic religion was declared to be that of the state, but full toleration was granted to all other forms of Christian worship.

Such were the leading principles of this celebrated charter of 1814, which continued from that date down to an epoch still recent to be recognised as the fundamental code of government in France.

§ 3. In the mean time the general congress of the powers of Europe had assembled at Vienna, M. de Talleyrand appearing as the representative of France. It soon appeared that the accord of the great powers was hollow—the questions of Poland and Saxony seemed likely to lead to a conflict. Russia and Prussia were opposed in their views by England and Austria, and Talleyrand skilfully threw the weight of France on to the side of the latter powers. At length, on the 7th of March, 1815, just as these and other burning questions were approaching a settlement, came the

intelligence that Napoleon had escaped from Elba, and had landed in the south of France. This announcement led to an instantaneous coalition of all the great powers represented at Vienna against the individual whom they regarded as the common enemy of Europe. By a joint manifesto issued on the 13th of March they declared that Napoleon Bonaparte, by violating the convention which had established him in the island of Elba, had destroyed the only legal title on which his existence depended; that his reappearance in France had placed him beyond the pale of social relations, and that, as a disturber of the peace of the world, he was a fit object of public vengeance. The contracting parties further agreed to prosecute the war until Napoleon and his adherents should be rendered incapable of again invading the tranquillity of Europe. Three vast armies were organized without delay by the allies; the first was furnished by Austria, and commanded by Prince Schwartzenberg; the second was composed of the British, Hanoverians, Belgians. and Prussians, under the Duke of Wellington and Field Marshal Blucher; the third consisted of 200,000 Russians under the Emperor Alexander in person.

§ 4. The conspiracy which resulted in the return of Napoleon to France was so widely ramified, and was carried on with so little reserve or secrecy, that Louis and his government, had they exercised only common vigilance, could not have failed to become acquainted with it: instead of which, they seem to have remained in perfect and unsuspecting security up to the very moment of the explosion. On the 26th of February Napoleon embarked on board his own armed corvette, the Inconstant, with 400 grenadiers of his guard, commanded by his faithful generals Drouet, Bertrand, and Cambronne. Some other small vessels followed, conveying troops collected in Corsica and elsewhere, the whole amounting to about 1000 men. On the 1st of March Napoleon landed on the beach a short distance from the town of Cannes. On the 7th he encountered for the first time a detachment of the royal troops, which threatened to bar his passage at the small town of La Mure. The emperor advanced alone, with a firm and calm countenance, to the head of the column, and exclaimed in a loud voice, "Soldiers, if there is one among you who desires to kill his general, his emperor, he can do so; here I am!" The effect of his words and presence was electrical; the soldiers joyfully thronged around him, fraternized with their comrades of his guard, and marched with him to Grenoble. From that place to Lyons his march was a continued triumph.

There still, however, remained some chance that the march of the usurper might be arrested between Lyons and the capital. Marshal Ney had proffered his services to the king; and on being placed in command of a corps d'armée assembled at Besancon, had engaged to "bring back the Corsican to Paris in an iron cage." But a personal appeal from the emperor awakened all the marshal's most cherished and flattering reminiscences; he forgot his oaths and promises to Louis XVIII., and rejoined his ancient sovereign on the 17th of March at Auxerre. His troops instantly followed his example; and the success of Napoleon's enterprise was assured. The king, having issued a proclamation, quitted the palace in the night between the 19th and 20th of March, and made his way, under the protection of his household troops, to Lille, and afterwards to Ghent, where he remained during the brief period of Napoleon's second reign. The emperor entered Paris in the evening of the 20th; having thus accomplished his perilous undertaking without encountering the smallest serious opposition, or shedding a single drop of French blood. His reception at the Tuileries was a scene defying all description. He was literally carried up the grand staircase in the arms of his excited followers, into the state apartments, where a vast and brilliant crowd of all the notabilities of the

empire had assembled to welcome him.

§ 5. THE "HUNDRED DAYS," MARCH 20 TO JUNE 29, 1815 .-Napoleon soon found that his position was surrounded by difficulties and dangers of no common kind, and that it would be impossible to maintain it without submitting to considerable sacrifices. The liberal or patriot party, although they had joined in recalling him to the throne, loudly insisted on increased and substantial guarantees for the interests of the people, and gave him clearly to understand that he could only reign henceforth as a constitutional monarch. On the 21st of April appeared the document entitled, the Acte Additionelle, or "An Act additional to the Constitution of the Empire." This new imperial system closely resembled the Charter of Louis XVIII., but contained still more ample provisions for securing popular liberty. The emperor's tenure of power, however, really depended not upon internal administration, but upon the sword. Napoleon laboured incessantly day and night to reorganize the army. Its effective force on the 1st of June amounted to 217,000 men actually present under arms, including a superb body of cavalry and a very powerful train of artillery. In addition to the troops of the line, the National Guards, completely armed and equipped, formed a magnificent array of 150,000 men. These results, realized within the space of seven weeks, were prodigious; but the plans of Napoleon were far more extensive. Had he been able to postpone the outbreak of hostilities for three months longer, a total of not less than 800,000 men would in all probability have been assembled for the defence of the French frontiers; - "a wall of brass," as the emperor afterwards remarked, "which no earthly power would have been able to break through."

Two plans for the approaching campaign presented themselves to Napoleon's choice. He might either remain for the present on the defensive, and await the arrival of the allies, who could not commence offensive operations on a combined plan before the middle or end of July; or, on the other hand, he might anticipate the movements of the enemy, concentrate the mass of his forces on the Belgian frontier, and attack Wellington and Blucher before they could be succoured by the other armies of the coalition. The latter alternative was that selected by the emperor; and Belgium was to become once more the battle-field of Europe.

Napoleon crossed the Belgian frontier on the 14th of June. The total force with which he commenced the campaign was 115,500 men. His plan was to advance in person against the Prussians, who formed the left of the allied army, while at the same time Marshal Ney, detached with 45,000 men, was to encounter the English, prevent their junction with Blucher, and keep them hotly engaged until the emperor should arrive with an immense superiority of force, to complete their discomfiture. The enemy received intelligence of this scheme from General Bourmont, who, with his aides-de-camp and three other officers, treacherously deserted Napoleon on the night of the 14th, and joined the camp of Biucher.

§ 6. At daylight on the 15th of June the French directed their march upon Charleroi. On the 16th Napoleon discovered the Prussian army, about 80,000 strong, drawn up on a range of heights near the village of Ligny. He had ordered Ney, after making himself master of an important point called Les Quatre Bras, to countermarch and fall upon the rear of the Prussians. Having allowed the time necessary for this movement, he commenced the attack at four in the afternoon, and at length established himself in possession of Ligny after a frightful carnage. The contest continued till a late heur at night, when Blucher at length commenced a retreat upon Wavre, which was executed in perfect order. The French loss at Ligny has been stated at from 8000 to 10,000 men; that of the Prussians exceeded 15,000.

Meanwhile Ney, whose object was to possess himself of the post of Quatre Bras (at the intersection of the roads from Brussels to Charleroi and from Nivelles to Namur) before the arrival of the English army, was forestalled by the Duke of Wellington; Quatre Bras was occupied at an early hour on the 16th by some Belgian and Dutch regiments under the Prince of Orange, and about midday by the division of Sir Thomas Picton, with the Brunswickers and Nassau troops. The French attacked about three in the afternoon, and easily drove back the Belgians, but failed to gain any advantage over the British, who held their ground with immovable constancy until the Duke of Wellington came up with considerable

reinforcements. At nightfall Ney withdrew his forces towards Frasnes, having lost upwards of 4000 men in killed and wounded. Napoleon's main object, that of penetrating between the British and Prussian armies, and beating them in detail, was thus frustrated. But the retreat of Blucher upon Wavre rendered it necessary that the English general should make a corresponding movement; and the Duke of Wellington accordingly fell back and took up a position near the village of Waterloo, which he had previously examined and fixed upon for the purpose of covering Brussels. He thus maintained unimpaired his line of communication with his allies.

Napoleon, ignorant of the direction of Blucher's retreat, despatched Marshal Grouchy on the 17th, with 32,000 men, to pursue and overtake the Prussians, and prevent at all hazards their junction with the Duke of Wellington. The emperor himself then joined the corps of Marshal Nev at Frasnes, and with his united force followed the retreating English. A severe skirmish occurred with their rearguard at Genappe, but when the French arrived in sight of the field of Waterloo it was too late to commence further operations that evening, and the decisive struggle was postponed till the morrow. Convinced that the Prussians would retreat towards Namur, Napoleon did not send Grouchy to pursue Blucher till noon on the 17th instant. It was not till twelve hours later, that Grouchy discovered that the Prussians had marched towards Wavre. The main French army was posted on a chain of gentle eminences taking its name from the village of Rossomme, the centre of their line being crossed at the farm of La Belle Alliance by the high road from Charleroi to Brussels. The English occupied a similar range immediately opposite, at the distance of about half a mile; the hamlet of Mont St. Jean marked the centre of their position, which extended on the right nearly to Merke-Braine, and on the left to Ter-la-Have. In front of the right centre was the château of Hougoumont, surrounded by its gardens and a small wood; the farm-house of La Have Sainte formed in like manner an advanced post in front of the left centre. On his extreme left the Duke of Wellington communicated with the Prussians at Wavre, by the road through Ohain and St. Lambert; the distance between the two armies being somewhat more than twelve miles. Marshal Blucher had promised the British general to support him at Waterloo on the 18th with one corps, or more if necessary; three out of the four Prussian divisions eventually took part in the operations of the day.

§ 7. Waterloo was not a day of intricate manœuvres, nor was there any remarkable display of military science or skill on either side. The object of each commander was simple and obvious. That of the Duke of Wellington was to maintain possession of his post on

the ridge of Mont St. Jean until the promised arrival of Blucher's divisions should enable him to assume the offensive with a decided superiority of force. That of his adversary was to carry the English position before the Prussians, fiercely engaged with Grouchy, should be able to undertake any movement to the succour of their allies. Had he succeeded in effecting this, Napoleon would immediately have gained possession of Brussels; all Belgium would not improbably have risen in his favour; and the face of affairs would have been essentially altered.

The battle began on June the 18th about half-past eleven a.m. with a furious attack on the advanced post of Hougoumont, which the Duke of Wellington regarded as the key of his position. The English Guards defended themselves at this point with desperate resolution; and though part of the château was at length set on fire by the French shells, Hougoumont was held undauntedly throughout the day, the enemy sacrificing, in their repeated attempts to force it, nearly 10,000 men. Three dense masses of infantry, and a magnificent body of cuirassiers, advanced meanwhile against the British centre at La Have Sainte, under cover of a tremendous storm of artillery from the heights of La Belle Alliance. The gallant Ney directed this movement. His columns penetrated beyond La Have Sainte, and attempted to charge the English regiments drawn up in squares on the crest of the hill; a terrible conflict ensued; Sir Thomas Picton, with the brigades of Generals Kempt and Pack, forced back the assailants across the ridge, and, a division of heavy cavalry under Lord Uxbridge falling upon them at the same moment, they were overwhelmed and almost annihilated; two eagles were captured in this brilliant charge, with more than 2000 prisoners. But the victorious British, in the excitement of the moment, pushed their advantage too far towards the enemy's line, and became entangled in the masses of the French infantry in the valley; here Generals Picton and Sir W. Ponsonby were slain, and the famous fifth division was reduced to a mere skeleton of its former numbers. For five hours did Napoleon continue his attempts, with unabated vigour, to storm the centre of the English line, each effort being repulsed with the same indomitable gallantry on the part of the defenders. No advantage had been gained beyond the occupation of some of the enclosures around Hougoumont and the capture of La Haye Sainte. But frightful havoc had been made in the British ranks by these repeated assaults; several of the foreign regiments had become disordered, and one had taken flight, panic-stricken, to Brussels. Wellington's situation, although his confidence in his army was boundless and unshaken, became every hour more critical; he testified his anxiety by referring constantly to his watch, and longed fervently for the arrival of

Blucher. About half-past four a cannonade in the direction of Planchenoit, on the right flank of the French, announced the arrival of the 4th Prussian division under General Bulow. His march had been impeded by the state of the cross roads between Wavre and Mont St. Jean, at all times difficult from the rugged nature of the ground, and rendered almost impracticable by recent heavy rains. Napoleon ordered Count Lobau, with the 6th corps, to keep the Prussians in check while he made another desperate effort to drive the English from the central plateau of Mont St. Jean; well knowing that, unless he could effect this before the whole Prussian army came into action upon his right flank, his ruin was inevitable. While the battle was thus raging at Waterloo, Grouchy, whom the emperor had been impatiently expecting throughout the day, had been detained at Wavre by the 3rd Prussian corps under General Thielman, which he strangely mistook for the whole of Blucher's army. Messenger after messenger was despatched to hurry up the marshal to Napoleon's assistance, but the order failed to reach him till late in the afternoon; and when at length he crossed the Dyle at Limale, the decisive battle of Waterloo had been already fought and won. The 1st and 2nd Prussian divisions successively appeared on the scene, and began to operate with serious effect on the right and rear of the French. About seven in the evening Napoleon, as a last resource, ordered up the Imperial Guard, which had hitherto been kept carefully in reserve, and, having marshalled them in person at the foot of his position, launched them in two columns against the opposite heights, under the command of Ney. This was the crisis of the battle. The British line gradually converged from the extremity of its right wing upon the advancing French as they ascended the hill, and poured in so withering a fire as they were in the act of attempting to deploy, that, notwithstanding their consummate discipline, they were thrown into total confusion; and being charged on the instant by the British Guards, were chased down into the valley with tremendous carnage. Without allowing the enemy a moment to rally from this fatal repulse, Wellington now commanded his whole army to advance. But the French were utterly disheartened and panic-struck by the defeat of the Guard; the attack of the Prussians, 41,000 strong, under Blucher, von Bulow, and Ziethen, had disordered their right; and after a brief and despairing resistance from four remaining battalions of the Old Guard, they broke their ranks and fled from the field.

Never was disaster more complete, overwhelming, and irremediable. The fugitives were pursued by the Prussians with savage animosity; no quarter was given; and thousands who had passed unharmed through all the perils of the battle, perished miserably beneath lance, sword, and bayonet, before they gained the frontier. The total loss sustained by the French on the 18th

is stated at 37,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners.

§ 8. Napoleon, committing to Marshal Soult, his major-general, the task of rallying and reorganizing the remains of his shattered army, reached Paris at four in the morning of the 21st, bearing himself the first authentic tidings of the catastrophe at Waterloo. Agitation, terror, confusion, despair, overspread the capital. Finding that the Chambers were firmly resolved to extort his abdication. he drew up a "Declaration to the French people," in which he stated that, having been disappointed in the hope of uniting all parties and authorities in the cause of national independence, he offered himself as a sacrifice to the enemies of France. "May they prove sincere," he continued, "in their declarations, and have really no designs except against my person! My political life is terminated; and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon II., Emperor of the French. The present ministers will form provisionally the council of government." This act of abdication was carried by Fouché to the Assembly, who voted an answer of respectful thanks to Napoleon, but avoided any express acknowledgment of his son. Napoleon first withdrew to the villa of La Malmaison, and thence proceeded to Rochefort on the 29th of June, where he hoped to procure the means of embarking for America. It was found impossible, however, to elude the observation of the British cruisers, which blockaded the whole line of the coast from Brest to Bayonne; and at length Napoleon, after discussing and abandoning several plans of secret escape, determined on appealing for protection to the honour and generosity of Great Britain. On the 14th of July he despatched a letter by General Gourgaud to the Prince Regent, announcing that his political career was terminated, and that he came, "like Themistocles, to throw himself on the hospitality of the British people, claiming the protection of their laws." On the next day he embarked with his suite on board the Bellerophon, a line-of-battle ship commanded by Captain Maitland, which immediately sailed for England, and on the 24th anchored in Torbay. Here Napoleon was met by the deeply mortifying intelligence that he would not be permitted to land; and a few days later the final decision of the English government was communicated to him, namely, that he was to be conveyed to the island of St. Helena, there to remain for the rest of his life as a prisoner of state, under the surveillance of commissioners from all the allied powers. He protested strongly, but in vain, against this harsh proceeding, which nothing but the extreme urgency of the circumstances could justify; and several times uttered threats of self-destruction in order to escape from such a hopeless banishment. Sheer necessity by degrees seemed to

reconcile him to his fate; he selected Generals Montholon, Bertrand, and Gourgaud, with the Count Las Cases, to attend him as companions of his exile; and having been transferred to the Northumberland, under the command of Sir George Cockburn, the illustrious captive landed on the 16th of October at St. Helena, where nearly six years of languishing misery awaited him before his restless and exhausted spirit found repose in the grave.

§ 9. Louis XVIII. (A.D. 1815-1824).—France was now to submit a second time to the indignity of accepting a dynasty imposed on her by the bayonets of foreign armies; and that in circumstances far more degrading and offensive to the national vanity than before. The allied generals absolutely refused to listen to any propositions for an armistice until they were under the very walls of Paris. Negotiations were opened with the Duke of Wellington and Blucher, and on the 3rd of July a convention was signed at St. Cloud, by which Paris was to be surrendered to the allies within three days, and the French army, evacuating the city, was to retire upon the Loire. By the 7th the whole army had withdrawn from Paris, of which the allies immediately took possession; and on the next day Louis XVIII. re-entered the city, attended by five marshals, escorted by his household, and surrounded by foreign battalions. His reception was by no means generally cordial; the partisans of the old régime shouted and congratulated, but the populace were for the most part gloomily silent, or muttered suppressed murmurs of indignation. Talleyrand was declared president of the council of ministers; and the king was induced, sorely against his will, to bestow the department of police on the regicide Fouché, who had duped and betrayed all parties in succession, but who was now felt, both by the allies and the ultra-royalists, to be too important and dangerous a personage to be offended.

Paris was treated by the allies as a conquered capital. The Prussians, especially, showed themselves ungenerous and merciless in the hour of vengeance; Blucher was with difficulty restrained from blowing up the Pont de Jena, and destroying the column of the Place Vendôme. A harsh order was issued by Baron Muffling, governor of Paris, directing the sentinels to fire upon any person who might insult them by word, look, or gesture. The museum of the Louvre was despoiled of the priceless treasures of art which had been collected there from various parts of Europe during the reign of Napoleon—a proceeding which deeply wounded the susceptibilities of the French, although, in fact, it was no more than a just restitution of stolen property to its rightful owners. But these were among the lightest of the penalties inflicted on the vanquished. The greater part of the whole French territory was occupied by foreign armies. The Russians and Austrians overspread the eastern

provinces—Burgundy, Lorraine, and Champagne; Paris and the surrounding country were in the hands of the Prussians; the English, Hanoverians, and Dutch were cantoned in the northern districts; while troops of various nations—Spaniards, Italians, and Hungarians—were quartered in the south.

§ 10. The king himself, urged by indiscreet and violent councils, had entered France with plainly avowed threats of penal retribution against the Bonapartists. "I owe it," said he, " "to the dignity of my crown, to the interest of my people, and to the repose of Europe, to exempt from pardon the authors and instigators of this traitorous plot. They shall be delivered up to the vengeance of the laws by the two Chambers which I propose to assemble forthwith." The new legislative Chambers-meeting under the influence of one of those rapid and uncontrollable revulsions of feeling which are so specially characteristic of France-not only sanctioned these rigorous measures, but carried their vindictiveness against the empire and the revolution to still further extremes. The Chamber of Representatives soon proved itself "more counter-revolutionary than all Europe, and more royalist than the king." The Chamber invoked the king's justice against those who had endangered his throne, promising their zealous concurrence in forming the new laws necessary to their punishment. The violence of the ultra-royalist reaction soon produced the fall of the ministry. Fouché was summarily dismissed from his post, was banished from France, and escaped in disguise. He died in 1820, entirely forgotten, at Trieste. In September M. de Talleyrand resigned his office; and the king called the Duc de Richelieu to the head of his councils.

After protracted conferences, the second treaty of Paris between France and her conquerors was signed on the 20th of November, 1815. Its provisions were humiliating beyond all former example. An indemnity of seven hundred millions of francs (£28,000,000 sterling) was imposed upon France for the expenses of the war, besides which an enormous sum was claimed by way of damages for the occupation of the territories of the allies by the French armies. The fortresses of Philippeville, Sarrelouis, Marienburg, and Landau were surrendered; and the fortifications of Huningen were to be demolished. In other words, France was to retire within her limits of 1790. A population of about 2,500,000 was thus severed from France. Lastly, the entire line of the French frontier was to be garrisoned, during five years, by a foreign army of 150,000 men, under the command of a general named by the allies, their pay and maintenance being defrayed by France. The five years of occupation were afterwards reduced to three; at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, in October, 1818, a convention was

^{*} In his proclamation from Cambray, June 28.

signed for the immediate and complete evacuation of France by the allied forces.

§ 11. The earlier months of the second Restoration did not pass without violent and bloody outbreaks of popular fury in the provinces, especially in the south. Upon the news of the disaster of Waterloo the royalist mob of Marseilles rose and killed thirteen mamelukes whom Napoleon had brought from Egypt, and a similar number of Bonapartists. Marshal Brune, who had commanded for Napoleon in that district, was attacked in Avignon, and assassinated in his apartment. Fearful outrages were perpetrated against the Protestants of Nismes. These ferocious excesses were suppressed, though with some difficulty, by a detachment of Austrian troops. The government throughout these proceedings showed weakness, but little vindictiveness. Two victims of distinction were, however, sacrificed—General Labédoyère and Marshal Ney.

Labédoyère, an attached and zealous personal friend of Napoleon, had been the soul of the conspiracy which placed him for the second time on the throne. It was the defection of his regiment at Grenoble that determined the whole army in the emperor's favour, and enabled him to march without a shadow of opposition to Paris. Labédoyère was discovered by the police in Paris in disguise, and handed over to a court-martial for trial. He was unanimously sentenced to death, and paid the penalty of his treason on the plain of Grenelle on the 19th of August.

Marshal Ney had escaped from Paris, with a false name and passport, immediately after the capitulation. He proceeded first towards the frontier of Switzerland, but, being apprehensive of violence from the Austrians, sought refuge afterwards in the interior of France, and was arrested at the château of Bessonis, among the mountains of the Cantal.* He was condemned to death by an immense majority of the peers: seventeen only had the courage to vote for a commutation of the capital penalty. Earnest appeals were made to the king, the Duc de Richelieu, and even to the Duke of Wellington; but Lord Liverpool, the English premier, refused to intervene to save a distinguished soldier from the vengeance of the royalists. Early in the morning of the 7th of December the hero of the Moskowa and the Beresina, the "bravest of the brave," was shot in the gardens of the Luxembourg Palace.

The brilliant but rash and headstrong Murat, ex-King of Naples, met a tragical fate in the autumn of 1815, in consequence of a ridiculous attempt which he made to recover his forfeited throne.

^{*} Ney was discovered by means of a Turkish sabre, of peculiar form and exquisite workmanship, which he had left accidentally on a table in the salon of the château. It was a present from Napoleon.

Having landed with about thirty followers on the coast of Lower Calabria, he was almost instantly arrested by a detachment of the Neapolitan troops, and handed over to a court-martial, which sentenced him to death. He was shot in front of the castle of Pizzo on the 14th of October, 1815.

§ 12. The Chamber of Deputies meanwhile pursued its reactionary course, and showed symptoms of a design to annul the Constitutional Charter, under pretext of revising some of its articles. Their pretensions, which tended to exalt them above the law, and to absorb all the functions of government, were steadily resisted by Louis, with the support of M. Decazes; and on the 5th of September, 1816, a royal ordinance suddenly appeared, dissolving the Chamber, convoking the electoral colleges for the 4th of October. and announcing that the king was determined to reign in strict accordance with the provisions of the charter. This vigorous blow effectually arrested the march of the ultra-Royalists. The result of the new elections was decidedly favourable to the moderate and constitutional party for which the king and his advisers had wisely declared themselves. A new law on the important subject of elections was passed (1817), by which the elective power was placed chiefly in the hands of the small proprietors and the bourgeoisie, most of whom were of moderate views in politics.

A new cabinet was formed in December, 1818; Decazes was in reality its chief, though he took the secondary post of minister of the interior; General Dessolles became president of the council. M. Decazes now found a powerful support in the new-born party of the *Doctrinaires*, which comprised many men of talent and enlarged conceptions, such as Royer-Collard, Molé, Pasquier, Barante, Guizot, Villemain, and Mounier. Several of these were influential writers in the public press. On the other hand, the party called Independents now began to rise into notice in the legislature, and formed the nucleus of an opposition which eventually overthrew the Bourbon throne in the memorable three days of July.

§ 13. The Duc de Berry, second son of the Comte d'Artois, was assassinated on the night of the 13th of February, 1820, as he was conducting the duchess his wife to her carriage after a performance at the opera. The murderer was a man named Louvel, by trade a saddler, deeply imbued with revolutionary opinions; he had long meditated an act of violence against the Bourbon family, whom he regarded as the enemies of France. He declared that he had selected the Duc de Berry for his victim because that prince appeared the most likely to carry on the royal line of succession; his elder brother, the Duc d'Angoulême, being childless. He expressed no repentance or remorse, and repeatedly affirmed that

he had no accomplices. The news of this atrocious crime threw Paris into a state of general ferment and commotion; the most extravagant rumours were circulated, among which that of a desperate conspiracy for the destruction of the Bourbons and the overthrow of the throne became widely prevalent. The ultraroyalists resolved to take advantage of the excitement of the public mind to rid themselves of the favourite minister who thwarted their ascendency. The Comte d'Artois declared that it would be impossible for him to remain at the Tuileries unless Decazes were removed from the king's councils; and Louis, overcome by the impassioned entreaties of his bereaved brother, and his niece the Duchesse d'Angoulême, at length consented, though with extreme reluctance, to sacrifice his favourite. Decazes retired from office on the 20th of February, receiving at the same time marks of the favour and confidence of his royal master.

The Duc de Richelieu, after some hesitation, became premier. He forthwith proposed and carried in the Chambers a measure for suspending the liberty of the subject, by which power was given to the ministers to arrest and detain, without warrant from a court of law, any person suspected of intriguing against public safety or any member of the royal family. A new law was proposed respecting the electoral suffrage, which excited the most vehement opposition, but was at length passed amid scenes of turbulence and disorder which recalled the most stormy days of the National Convention. It was enacted that the electors of each arrondissement were to nominate a list of candidates, from which the electors of the department, consisting of those who were the most highly rated in taxation, were to chose the members of the legislature. The effect of this was manifestly to place a preponderant influence in the hands of the richer landed proprietors, the vast majority of whom were zealous royalists. It became known as the "law of the double vote," because it permitted the electors of the higher class to vote first in the colleges of the arrondissements, and afterwards a second time in those which met at the chief towns of the departments.

§ 14. The young widow of the Duc de Berry (Caroline Louisa, sister of the King of the Two Sicilies) gave birth, on the 29th of September, 1820, to a prince, more than seven months after the death of his father. The infant received the names of Henry Charles Ferdinand, and the title of Duc de Bordeaux. This event, so full of good omen for the continuance of the reigning dynasty, was hailed with the warmest demonstrations of joy by the court, the government, and all partisans of the Bourbons throughout France.

The first elections under the new law took place in November. It was very soon apparent that the ultra-royalists had acquired a substantial and decided advantage by the system of the double vote. The departmental colleges named without exception men pledged to strict monarchical principles; those chosen in the arrondissements were more moderate, but the general result gave an overwhelming majority to the supporters of the government. The liberals could not count on more than 75 votes in the new chamber; and, as soon as the session commenced, the dominant party plainly announced their purpose of carrying things henceforth with a high hand.

Napoleon expired at Longwood, the house which had been built for him by the English government at St. Helena, on the 5th of May, 1821, in the fifty-second year of his age. For many months previously the ex-emperor had been visibly declining in health, and the later years of his captivity were much embittered by a series of vexatious disputes with the governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, in which, though Napoleon's behaviour was often unreasonable and even insulting, the fault does not seem to have been always wholly on his side. He was buried with military honours at Slane's Valley, a retired and favourite spot which he himself had chosen for the purpose, in the centre of the island. The removal of one whose mighty genius had for so many years swayed the destinies of Europe produced a less profound sensation than might have been expected. Napoleon had been politically dead from the date of his second abdication in 1815, and public affairs in France had subsequently taken a turn quite unconnected with his interests. Yet by the whole of the liberal party the memory of the departed hero was inseparably identified with the glory and grandeur of France; and the immediate effect of his death was to unite the Bonapartists with the disaffected of all classes in a fresh league of resistance to the despotism of the Bourbons. On the other hand, the party in power, now relieved from all fear of the reappearance of the arch disturber of European peace, pursued with increased vigour their reactionary schemes.

§ 15. The misgovernment of the restored Bourbon dynasties in Spain and Italy had been so flagrant, that in the year 1820 insurrectionary troubles broke out in both kingdoms. An army assembled in Cadiz for an expedition against some rebellious colonies in America, revolted under the influence of General O'Donnell and other officers, and proclaimed the liberal constitution of the year 1812. The insurrection spread rapidly to Madrid and throughout the kingdom; and Ferdinand VII., finding that he had only to choose between submission and the loss of his crown, announced on the 7th of March his acceptance of the constitution imposed on him by the nation. He was also compelled to banish the Jesuits, to suppress the Inquisition, and to restore the liberty of the press. The example of Spain was soon followed by Portugal,

and a revolutionary movement took place at Naples, in consequence of which King Ferdinand was constrained to recognise a constitution framed upon the Spanish pattern. This latter outbreak was mainly the work of the secret society called the *Carbonari*, a powerful and well-organized band of agitators, numbering upwards of 500,000 members in Italy alone, and possessing affiliated branches in France and other countries. Commotions of a similar character at Turin drove the king, Victor Amadeus, from his

capital, and led him to abdicate his crown.

The three sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, after their triumph in 1815, had entered into a solemn mutual engagement which received the name of the "Holy Alliance." This celebrated compact ostensibly pledged the monarchs to take the precepts of Christianity for their rule of government, and to assist and support each other on all occasions in the spirit of brotherly sympathy and affection, regarding themselves as delegates of heaven to govern three branches of the same great Christian family. But this language had a secret meaning, which was revealed by subsequent events. There can be no doubt that the contracting parties considered it as binding them to enforce submission to arbitrary and absolute power throughout Europe, and to suppress all movements in the cause of popular liberty. In accordance with this principle, the Holy Alliance made no scruple in interfering vigorously in defence of the Kings of Spain, Naples, and Sardinia, against their rebellious subjects. They announced, in a meeting at Troppau, their resolution to sanction no institution as legitimate which did not flow spontaneously from the will of the monarch; they marched an army of 80,000 men to Naples, overthrew the constitutional government, and reinstated Ferdinand; Turin was in like manner occupied by an Austrian general, who restored the absolute monarchy.

§ 16. The sovereigns of the Holy Alliance now met in congress at Verona, and persuaded Louis XVIII. to send an army to Spain, in order to replace the supreme authority in the hands of Ferdinand. In December, 1821, the Duc de Richelieu had resigned office, and a new ministry was nominated at the dictation of the Comte d'Artois, of which M. de Villèle became premier. This new ministry seconded warmly the schemes of the Holy Alliance; and Louis, in his speech at the opening of the Chambers, announced that 100,000 French soldiers, commanded by the Duc d'Angoulême, were about to pass the Spanish frontier.

The French crossed the Bidassoa on the 7th of April, 1823. The Constitutionalists of Spain offered but a feeble opposition; and on the approach of the Duc d'Angoulême to Madrid, the Cortes fled precipitately to Seville, and thence to Cadiz, carrying off with them

the helpless Ferdinand, whom they constrained to sanction their proceedings with his name. On the 1st of June Angoulême quitted Madrid on his march to the south, and, without encountering any hostile force, encamped with his army in front of Cadiz on the 16th of August. Here the Cortes stood resolutely on their defence. But on the 31st of August the Spanish batteries were stormed and carried with trifling loss, Angoulême greatly distinguishing himself by his gallantry. This success decided the campaign, for Cadiz was no longer defensible. The victorious prince, in answer to a communication from the town, declined to treat until Ferdinand should be freed from all constraint. The Cortes had no means of resistance, and on the 1st of October Ferdinand repaired to the French camp, where he was welcomed with enthusiasm. Thus replaced unconditionally on an absolute throne, the king cast from him all counsels of moderation; he annulled all the acts extorted from him during his forced submission to the Cortes, and proceeded to take summary vengeance on the authors of his humiliation. The triumph of the French arms re-established despotism throughout Spain.

On the other hand, the success of the Duc d'Angoulême in this Spanish campaign rendered signal service to the Bourbon family in France, by associating that name once more with the martial glory of the nation. The friends of absolutism made full use of this opportune advantage. The ultra-royalists and the party of the Jesuit "congregation" were intoxicated with joy, and set no bounds to their arrogant pretensions. In the elections of the spring of 1824 the government resorted without scruple to fraud, corruption, and intimidation, in order to secure an overwhelming majority in the representative Chamber. By these means a Chamber of Deputies was returned in 1824 which contained only nineteen liberal members. M. de Villèle now carried a law to repeal the regulation for the annual renewal of a fifth part of the Chamber, and to prolong its existence for a period of seven years, at the end of which time a dissolution and general election were to take place.

The reign of Louis XVIII. was brought to a close on the 16th of September, 1824, when he expired at the Tuileries after severe and lengthened suffering. In his last moments he earnestly recommended to the Comte d'Artois that system of prudent moderation which had enabled him to preserve his throne during a season of violent party agitation and extreme difficulty. "The Charter," said the dying monarch, "is the best inheritance I can leave you." Then placing his hand on the head of the young Duc de Bordeaux, "May Charles X.," he added, "be careful of (ménage) the throne of this child!" Louis possessed intellectual abilities above the average, and had improved his natural powers by diligent study and

literary and philosophical pursuits. In the bitter school of adversity and exile he had learned invaluable lessons of patience, fortitude, and self-control: these supported him through years of misfortune, and were scarcely less useful amid the manifold embarrassments and dangers of the Restoration. The Constitutional Charter, when once he had conceded it, was honestly and firmly adhered to by Louis: and if he was unable to carry out the liberal policy inaugurated by the ministry of Decazes, this must be imputed to the unfortunate influence of Artois and other relatives and friends, which under the circumstances it was next to impossible for him to resist. Personally, he was content with a limited monarchy, and fully comprehended the principles upon which alone it was possible, in those critical times, to govern France; but his advanced age and infirmities disabled him from giving complete effect to these convictions, and it was beyond his power to transmit them to those who were to follow him.

§ 17. CHARLES X. (A.D. 1824-1830).—Charles Philippe, Comte d'Artois, who now succeeded to the throne as Charles X., was much inferior in natural understanding to his predecessor, and had paid little or no attention to the cultivation of his mind. With regard to his political views and conduct he might claim at least the merit of consistency; from his youth upwards he had maintained without variation or compromise the same lofty monarchical principles which had prevailed under the most absolute of his ancestors. He had steadily opposed all concessions to the authors of the Revolution; had been the first to emigrate from France in 1789; and re-entered it with precisely identical ideas and prejudices at the Restoration. In his early days he had been addicted to licentious pleasure; and having reformed in later life, had become strictly, not to say superstitiously, devout-so much so that he was generally supposed to be slavishly subject to priestly and Jesuitical influence. This impression, which however seems to have been to a great extent mistaken, rendered the new sovereign from the first an object of mistrust to the great mass of the people, and was one of the main causes of his subsequent misfortunes. In disposition Charles was frank, amiable, and warm-hearted; and the peculiar graciousness and cordiality of his manner secured him the sincere attachment of those nearest to his person.

Charles X. was crowned in the cathedral of Reims on the 29th of May, 1825, the ancient ceremonial handed down from the Middle Ages being punctually observed in all its details on the occasion. Even the Sainte Ampoulle, or miraculous phial containing the consecrated oil, which had been broken by order of the Republican Convention, was repaired and used to give additional effect to the solemnity.

§ 18. In the sessions of 1826 and 1827 the measures proposed by government were such as to excite considerable suspicion and dissatisfaction. In the latter year a proposed law of vexatious restrictions on the liberty of the press added seriously to the prevailing irritation against the government and the court. A general storm of clamour was raised by this impolitic step: the court yielded at the eleventh hour to the threatening manifestations of public opinion, and on the 17th of April the obnoxious bill was withdrawn. A few days afterwards the king experienced a somewhat equivocal reception at a grand review of the National Guards on the Champ de Mars; exclamations of "Vive la Charte," and others betokening irritation, reached his ears more frequently than the usual shouts of "Vive le Roi;" and after Charles had left the ground the soldiers gave vent to their ill-humour in loud outcries of "Down with the ministers! down with the Jesuits!" The king and the royal family, as well as the members of the cabinet, were highly incensed by this demonstration. A council was held immediately; and partly in anger, partly in terror, it was resolved to proceed to a severe measure of coercion; on the following morning (April 30) a royal ordonnance disbanded the National Guards at Paris. Although astounded by this bold exercise of the prerogative, the capital remained tranquil; but Villèle, whom the king had retained in office, now felt that the tide was turning strongly against him, and induced the king to pronounce the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies. The new elections were fixed for a very early day, so as to disconcert, if possible, the arrangements of the opposition. But this manœuvre was ineffectual; a hasty coalition took place between the liberals and a large section of the ultra-royalists, and their united votes sent to the chamber a powerful phalanx of representatives pledged to the overthrow of the ministry. Villèle saw himself defeated, and, without attempting to meet the legislature, placed his resignation in the hands of the king. The cabinet was reconstructed from the ranks of the moderate royalists, M. de Martignac taking the post of premier.

§ 19. It was in the course of this year (July 6, 1827) that a treaty was entered into by France, Great Britain, and Russia, for the purpose of putting a stop to the hostilities between the Ottoman Porte and the unfortunate Greeks, who were then in a state of general insurrection against their Turkish oppressors. The three powers despatched a naval squadron, under the command of Sir Edward Codrington, who destroyed the Turkish navy in the battle of Navarino (October 20, 1827). The sultan, no longer possessing a maritime force, soon ordered his general to evacuate the Morea, which in the spring of 1828 was occupied by the French under General Maison; and the Turkish government shortly afterwards accepted the proposals of the allies for an accommodation.

The negotiations terminated in a treaty of peace, by which, after a painful struggle of ten years, the independence of the Greek nation was finally acknowledged and assured.

The Martignac cabinet, anxious to disarm the popular indignation excited by their predecessors, brought forward several measures of a liberal tendency, and professed a spirit of sincere conformity with the provisions of the Charter. An important concession to public opinion was made by a royal ordonnance of the 13th of June, 1828. which suppressed the educational establishments directed by the Jesuits, and subjected all seminaries throughout the kingdom to the immediate control of the University of Paris. This decree gave unqualified offence to the bishops and the party of the "Congregation," and Charles confessed to his ministers that he signed it with extreme reluctance and regret. Charles had never given cordial confidence to M. de Martignac; and in the following year (8th of August, 1829) he dismissed the ministry and appointed Prince Polignac the head of the new administration. Count Labourdonnaie was named minister of the interior, and Count Bourmont minister at war. The nomination of such a cabinet was looked upon as an open declaration of war against the Charter, the constitution, and all the liberties of Frenchmen. Three more unpopular and odious names than those of Polignac, Labourdonnaie, and Bourmont could scarcely have been found in the kingdom. The first represented the vieille cour and the emigrants of the Revolution, with all their implacable rancour and obstinate bigotry; the second had been prominently concerned in the proscriptions and bloodshed of the Restoration; the last was identified in the eyes of the nation with treacherous desertion to the enemy on the eve of a decisive campaign. Paris became intensely agitated, and the excitement spread rapidly into the provinces.

The Chambers were opened by a speech from the throne on the 2nd of March, 1830. An address was voted in reply, in which they plainly declared that the present ministry did not enjoy the confidence of the country. The gauntlet was thus fairly thrown down, and a contest followed, in which the antagonist parties were not so much the Chambers and the ministry as the French nation and the Bourbon monarchy. The address was carried by 221 votes against 181, the majority being obtained by a coalition between the two sections of the Left with the *Doctrinaires* and the "defection" party. This result was hailed by one of the daily papers as "the first

manifesto of the Revolution of 1830."

Charles X. had firmly determined to support his minister against the Chamber; "No compromise, no surrender," was his declared motto. On the 16th of May he dissolved the chamber, and convoked the electoral colleges for a new election. Both parties now prepared for the decisive struggle. The 221 deputies who had voted the obnoxious address were rechosen without exception, and many additional seats were wrested from the royalists; the opposition counted at least 270 voices in the new legislature.

§ 20. A series of insults and injuries offered to the French consuls and merchants by the Dey of Algiers had been left, in spite of vigorous remonstrances, without reparation; and a formidable expedition. under the command of Bourmont, minister of war, was now undertaken in order to obtain redress by force of arms. The disembarkation on the Algerine coast was effected on the 14th of June. A desperate engagement was fought on the 19th, when the French forced the entrenched camp of the enemy, inflicting on them terrible slaughter. On the 4th of July Bourmont made himself master of a fort which completely commanded the town and citadel of Algiers. and the Dev immediately afterwards capitulated. The victorious army entered the city, where the spoil of all kinds which fell into their hands was prodigious. The treasure accumulated by successive deys amounted to upwards of forty-eight millions of francs. This important conquest has been permanently retained by France; and Algiers forms at the present day by far the most extensive, if not the most flourishing, of her colonial dependencies.

§ 21. But the glory of this triumph had no effect in calming the political ferment and irritation which had overspread the kingdom. A crisis was evidently at hand. No sooner was it known that the voice of the nation had strongly ratified the vote of the late Chamber, than Charles and his advisers determined to have recourse to a strained interpretation of the 14th article of the Charter, which, in somewhat vague and ambiguous terms, authorized the sovereign to "make regulations and decrees necessary for the execution of the laws and the safety of the state." By virtue of this clause the king proceeded to assume a temporary dictatorship, and to alter and abrogate some of the most essential provisions of the Charter. The five celebrated ordonnances were signed at St. Cloud on the 25th of July, and published in the Moniteur on the following day. The first of these suspended the liberty of the press; no journal or periodical publication was to appear without a previous licence from the government, which was to be renewed every three weeks, and might be withdrawn. The second decree dissolved the newly elected Chamber of Deputies. The third introduced organic changes into the system of election, reduced the number of representatives from 430 to 258, and prohibited any amendment to a law unless it had been proposed or assented to by the crown. The fourth convoked the two chambers for the 28th of September ensuing. The fifth contained some new nominations to the Council of State from the extreme royalist party.

The first to revolt against this audacious violation of the constitution were the journalists and proprietors and publishers of newspapers, comprising some of the most enlightened and influential classes of the capital. Headed by M. Thiers, at that time editor of the National, they held a numerous meeting and drew up a bold protest against the coup d'état, which received forty-four signatures. Symptoms of agitation appeared at the Bourse, where the funds fell sud-lenly as much as 4 per cent.; but public tranquillity remained undisturbed.

On the morning of the 27th of July Marshal Marmont received his appointment to the supreme command of the military force in Paris and its neighbourhood. It is said that the first collision between the authorities and the people took place in the Rue St. Honoré, opposite the corner of the Palais Royal. The gendarmes were assailed with stones; the officer commanding a small detachment of the guards, having in vain attempted to disperse the crowd, lost patience, and ordered his men to fire; they obeyed after some hesitation, when one of the rioters fell dead, and three others wounded. Such was the commencement of the revolution of the "three glorious days of July." Burricades were thrown up with marvellous rapidity at the entrance of the Rue de Richelieu and of the Rue de l'Echelle; behind these the multitude defended themselves for some time against the troops, but at last the barricades were forced, and the soldiers advanced down the Rue St. Honoré, sweeping away their opponents, several of whom were killed and severely wounded. The same scenes were repeated elsewhere; the military patrolled the streets till eleven at night, and then retired to their barracks, when all appearance of tumult ceased throughout the city.

Next morning, the 28th, Paris was declared in a state of siege. Meanwhile the citizens had been on the alert at an early hour; they attacked and gained possession of the Hôtel de Ville, where they immediately hoisted the tricolour flag, which soon floated also from the towers of Notre Dame; the great bourdon of the cathedral then rang out the tocsin of alarm and insurrection throughout the city. At this crisis Marmont wrote urgently to the king to represent the necessity of taking measures of pacification while there was yet time; but the only answer he received was a positive order to suppress the rebellion by force of arms. The marshal accordingly put his troops in motion in five columns—an arrangement which has been much censured, as they were thus too far separated to be able to support each other effectively, and were besides compelled to fight in narrow, crooked, and crowded streets, where the insurgent populace had a manifest advantage. A series of bloody conflicts now commenced; the whole population of Paris was transformed into an army; every house became a fortress, from which the inhabitants successfully

assailed the soldiers in a thousand different ways, and for the most part without suffering at all seriously in return. The royal troops, however, prevailed, after a protracted contest of several hours, on most of the points which they attacked, particularly at the Hôtel de Ville. In the afternoon a deputation consisting of MM. Laffitte, Casimir Périer, General Lobau, and others, sought an interview with Marmont, and offered a suspension of arms on condition that the ministers should be dismissed and the offensive ordonnances withdrawn. The marshal wrote a second time to the king, earnestly recommending that these terms should be accepted; but Charles, with reckless and fatal infatuation, desired him in reply to "hold fast, to concentrate his forces on the Carrousel and the Place de la Concorde, and to act in masses."

On the 29th two regiments stationed on the Place Vendôme suddenly refused to obey their officers, and fraternized with the people. Marmont upon this ordered off another regiment, whose fidelity he suspected, to the Champs Elysées; and by mistake a battalion of the Swiss was at the same moment withdrawn from the Louvre, which was thus exposed without sufficient defence to the furious assaults of the mob. The remaining Swiss battalion, seized with panic, abandoned the court of the Carrousel, and rushed in terror and confusion through the arched gateway of the Tuileries into the garden. Instantly the triumphant insurgents poured by thousands into the Louvre; and in a few minutes were in undisputed possession of this commanding post. Marmont, finding his troops discouraged and disorganized, now ordered a retreat into the Champs Elysées; and shortly afterwards, in consequence of a message from St. Cloud, evacuated Paris with his whole force. The populace, like an overwhelming torrent, then burst into the Tuileries, and on discovering that all opposition had ceased, and that the metropolis was completely in their power, celebrated their victory with wild excesses: the palace was sacked; the magnificent furniture broken to pieces. hurled from the windows, and cast into the Seine. The conquerors, however, almost universally abstained from theft; one or two instances of it which occurred were promptly and severely punished.

§ 22. Marmont himself was the first to announce the catastrophe to the unfortunate king at St. Cloud. Charles was now to experience the fatality which so constantly attends the counsels of minds at once weak and obstinate. He consented to yield the points which, conceded only twenty-four hours earlier, might perhaps have saved his throne. He dismissed the ministers, and named the Duc de Mortemart president of the council; he revoked the ordonnances, though with great hesitation and reluctance; he re-established the National Guard; he convoked the two Chambers for the 3rd of

August. But these measures came too late. Paris had already made its decision, and the elder branch of the Bourbons was for the second time dethroned. A meeting had been held at the house of the great banker Laffitte, when a new municipal council was appointed. Their first act was to place General Lafavette at the head of the National Guard—an appointment everywhere welcomed with enthusiasm; the white flag was then hastily removed, and the tricolour cockade and ensign restored in all quarters of the city. A proclamation drawn up by MM. Thiers and Mignet was published throughout Paris, recommending in energetic terms the transfer of the crown to the Duc d'Orléans. Upon an invitation addressed to him by the peers and deputies, the duke repaired to Paris on the night of the 30th, and the next morning signified his acceptance of the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. He was immediately proclaimed by the Chambers. On assuming his functions he announced that "the Charter should be thenceforth a reality."

Charles quitted St. Cloud for Versailles and the Trianon, and arrived on the night of the 31st at the château of Rambouillet. The army, however, now began to desert him by whole regiments; and on the news of the decisive events at Paris, the king took the resolution of abdicating the throne in favour of his grandson, the Duc de Bordeaux. The dauphin, formerly Duc d'Angoulême, in like manner resigned his rights to his nephew. The act of abdication was signed on the 2nd of August. Charles X, now set out · for Normandy under the protection of his guards commanded by Marmont, and on the 16th of August embarked at Cherbourg for the shores of England, with the dauphin and dauphiness, the Duchesse de Berry, the Duc de Bordeaux, and a very numerous suite of attendants. The squadron anchored at Spithead on the 17th. The royal fugitives took up their residence for a short time at Lulworth Castle in Dorsetshire, the seat of the ancient Roman Catholic family of Weld; but eventually removed to Holyrood Castle at Edinburgh, which was placed at their disposal by the British government.

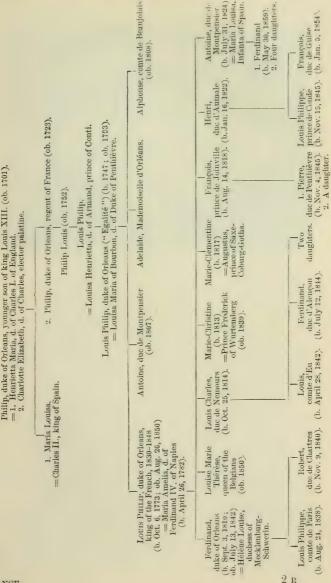
Before he finally quitted the soil of France. Charles received the news of the elevation of his kinsman the Duc d'Orléans to the throne which he had so lately renounced. The duke, in his quality of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, opened the session of the Chambers on the 3rd of August. The first business upon which they entered was a careful revision of the Charter, which was altered in several important particulars. The system of election was greatly improved, the liberty of the press assured, the famous 14th Article expunged, and the most ample guarantees provided for popular liberty and constitutional government. The crown

was now offered by the legislature to Louis Philippe Duc d'Orléans, to descend to his heirs by perpetual succession in the male line, with the title of King of the French. In a royal sitting on the 9th of August the new monarch declared his acceptance of the Charter as now amended, and took a solemn oath to observe it faithfully. He thereupon ascended the throne, and the ensigns of royalty were presented to him by Marshals Macdonald, Oudinot, Mortier, and other great officers.

§ 23. Thus did France repudiate for ever the venerable but antiquated principle of the "Divine right of kings." The throne of Louis Philippe was founded avowedly upon the contrary theory -that sovereignty resides primarily in the people, and may consequently be granted or withdrawn at their pleasure; that the sovereign is, in fact, only the delegate and nominee of the nation. The experiment of a reconciliation and fusion between the France of the ancient legitimate dynasty and that which was the offspring of the Revolution had been fairly tried, and had ended, as many sagacious thinkers had foretold, in utter and calamitous failure. Indeed it is only wonderful, considering the state of things which preceded it, that the Restoration lasted for so long a period as fifteen years. From the very moment of their return the Bourbons occupied a false position. Whatever line of policy they might adopt, they could not avoid offending either what may be called their own party or the new generation which had grown up with the revolution and the empire. If they clung to the traditions of their family and the principles of the old monarchy, they were denounced as enemies to public liberty, and traitors to the charter and the constitution, in virtue of which alone their reign was tolerated. If, on the other hand, they frankly accepted the new social system which had been organized during their exile, and candidly acknowledged the benefits it had secured to the great mass of the nation, the ultra-royalists broke forth into indignant protests and reproaches, and prophesied the speedy advent of a catastrophe in which the Church and the throne, law, order, and society, would all for the second time perish together. To reduce to union two such discordant and contradictory elements was manifestly beyond the power of Louis XVIII. and Charles X., or indeed of any mortal man. Decazes and Villèle, Richelieu and Châteaubriand, Martignac and Polignac-the statesmen of the old régime and the most sincere and ardent constitutionalists—all failed alike to solve this hopeless problem. At length a violent and outrageous stretch of the prerogative threw a fatal advantage into the hands of one of the contending parties; it was seized with eagerness, and employed with resolution; and the "days of July" were the result. The Bourbons having thus irretrievably ruined

themselves in public opinion, a return to legitimate government in France is rendered in the highest degree improbable, if not impracticable. Whatever may be the particular form of administration preferred from time to time, a succession of revolutions seems to be the inevitable legacy bequeathed by the eighteenth century to the most enlightened and highly gifted people in the world.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE BOURHON-ORLEANS FAMILY.





Interior of the Chamber of Deputies.

CHAPTER XXX.

REIGN OF LOUIS PHILIPPE, A.D. 1830-1848.

§ 1. Early life of Louis Philippe. § 2. Principles of the Orleans monarchy; revolution in the Netherlands. § 3. Trial of the exministers of Charles X.; tumults in Paris and the provinces; attempt of the Duchess of Berry in Brittany. § 4. The secret societies; infernal machine of Fieschi; the "laws of September." § 5. Parliamentary conflicts: frequent ministerial changes; M. Casimir Périer; M. Thiers; M. Guizot. § 6. Repulse of the French at Constantine; attempt of Louis Napoleon at Strassburg. § 7. Four parties in the Chamber: coalition of MM. Thiers and Guizot: second administration of M. Thiers. § 8. Affairs in the East; Mehemet Ali; the Quadruple Treaty; campaign in Syria; submission of Mehemet Ali. δ 9. General indignation in France; warlike preparations; fortification of Paris; ministry of M. Guizot; removal of the remains of Napoleon from St. Helena to Paris. § 10. Misunderstanding in the affair of Mr. Pritchard; the Spanish marriages. § 11. Death of the Duke of Orleans; Regency Bill; affairs in Algeria; Abd-el-Kader; battle of Isly; surrender and imprisonment of Abd-el-Kader. § 12. The session of 1847; Socialist agitation; the Reform banquets; insurrection of February, 1848; disaffection of the National Guard.

§ 13. Attack on the Hotel of Foreign Affairs; victory of the insurgents; abdication of Louis Philippe; sack of the Tuileries. § 14. Scene in the chamber of Deputies; rejection of the Regency; proclamation of the Republic; escape of the royal family to England.

§ 1. Louis Philippe, whom his principles and character, rather than his royal lineage, had thus raised to the throne, was the eldest son of Philip Duke of Orleans, the notorious "Egalité" of the Revolution, and of Louisa, a daughter of the Duke of Penthièvre. He was born at the Palais-Royal on the 6th of October, 1773, and received the title of Duc de Valois. The branch of the Bourbon family to which he belonged was descended in a direct line from Philip Duke of Orleans, the second son of Louis XIII. and Anne of Austria.

His early education, together with that of his brothers the Duc de Montpensier and the Comte de Beaujolais, was directed by the celebrated Madame de Genlis. On the outbreak of the revolutionary war, the young prince, then Duc de Chartres, took the field at the head of his regiment of dragoons, and fought with distinction by the side of Kellermann and Dumouriez at Valmy and Jemmappes. He accompanied the latter general when he took refuge in the camp of the imperialists in April, 1793. After the death of his father, the Duke of Orleans, refusing to bear arms against France, joined his sister and Madame de Genlis in Switzerland, where they lived for some time in obscurity under an assumed name. In 1795 he travelled in the north of Germany, Sweden, and Norway; and in the following year sailed from Hamburg for the United States of America. Here he was joined by his two brothers; and after a sojourn of some years in the States, during which they were often in considerable distress for money, the three princes repaired to England in February, 1800. The Duke of Orleans now sought and obtained a reconciliation with the heads of his family, Louis XVIII. and the Comte d'Artois. Subsequently he became a guest at the court of Ferdinand IV., the dispossessed King of Naples, at Palermo; and here was celebrated, in November, 1809, his union with the Princess Marie Amelie, daughter of that monarch, by whom he had a numerous family. Upon the restoration of Louis XVIII. in 1814, the Duke of Orleans returned to France like the other princes of his house, and was received with favour and apparent cordiality by the king, who intrusted him with the chief military command of the northern departments. But there can be no doubt that in secret Louis regarded his kinsman with jealousy, if not with actual dislike; for independently of ancient family reminiscences, the duke made himself generally known as a friend of constitutional liberty, and acquired in consequence a degree of influence and popularity which

gave umbrage to the court. He remained in England during the Hundred Days. Upon the second Restoration he re-entered France, and took his seat in the chamber of peers; but having fallen under suspicion of disaffection, he once more retired to England, and did not reappear in France till 1817. During the remainder of the reign of Louis he took no part in public affairs, and lived in tranquillity at his favourite villa of Neuilly; maintaining, however, his intimacy with the leaders of the liberal party, and lamenting the errors of the ultra-royalists and the parti prêtre, who seemed bent

on exasperating the people to a second revolution.

The Duke of Orleans has been accused, but apparently without just reason, of conspiring against the throne of Charles X. That he had been for many years previously the avowed hope and rallying-point of those who longed to establish in France a limited monarchy and really free popular institutions, is undeniable; but there is nothing to prove that he was induced by the temptations of this position to take any step inconsistent with the duty of a loyal subject. was unquestionably actuated by ambition in eventually accepting the throne; but if usurpation be ever defensible, his was certainly not without plausible and strong excuse. He was called to the crown by the spontaneous voice of the representatives of the nation, at a moment when the rash folly of an incapable tyrant had imperilled all the best interests of France. Had he failed to respond to the invitation, anarchy and all the miseries of civil war would have been almost inevitably the result. It is no more than justice therefore to give credit to Louis Philippe for a patriotic anxiety to be of service to his country at this dangerous crisis. His qualifications for the undertaking were pre-eminent, and were recognised by all parties.

§ 2. The two leading principles of the Orleans monarchy were peace with foreign powers and constitutional government at home. Louis Philippe had no inclination for war; he knew that France had need of repose; and his object was to strengthen his throne by a cordial alliance with all constitutional and free governments, especially with that of England, for which he entertained a sincere and special admiration. The absolutist states, such as Austria and Russia, could not be expected to regard with satisfaction the events which had raised him to the throne; but he purposed to gain their confidence by studiously avoiding all interference in external politics, except in cases where the interests of France were directly involved. With regard to interior administration, an honest adherence to the Charter, two legislative Chambers, freedom of popular election, and a press substantially independent, though not left altogether without control, formed the main features of the new system. The king desired, in fact, to assimilate, so far as might be practicable and expedient, the constitution of France to that of England.

The revolution of 1830, like all great national movements which have occurred in France, produced a wide-spread sensation throughout Europe. Belgium, which ever since its union with Holland in 1815 had manifested a constantly increasing antipathy to the Dutch government, upon the first news of the explosion at Paris prepared for a general insurrection. It broke out violently at Brussels on the 25th of August, and spread with the rapidity of lightning to Liége, Louvain, Namur, and other principal towns. Prince Frederick, who had been placed at the head of an armed force to maintain tranquillity at Brussels, was attacked by the populace on the 23rd of September, and after a sanguinary struggle was compelled to evacuate the city and retire to Antwerp. A provisional government was then formed, which proclaimed the dethronement of King William, and determined that Belgium should henceforth constitute an independent state, in perpetual separation from Holland. An appeal was now made, both by the King of the Netherlands and the Belgian Congress, to the five great powers of Europe; and they proceeded to interpose jointly for the adjustment of the questions in dispute. By a protocol of the 20th of December the independence of Belgium was recognised; and the crown was bestowed upon Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the widowed husband of the Princess Charlotte of England. The prince was proclaimed at Brussels in June, 1831; and in the course of the following year the political combinations connected with the establishment of the Belgic throne were completed by the marriage of King Leopold with the Princess Louisa, eldest daughter of Louis Philippe. But as the King of Holland continued to resist the dismemberment of his dominions, and refused to evacuate Antwerp and the forts on the Scheldt, the French and English governments entered into a further treaty, in consequence of which a French army of 50,000 men, under Marshal Gérard, was sent to Belgium, and besieged the citadel of Antwerp in November, 1832. The place was gallantly defended by General Chassé with a garrison of 4000 men; but resistance was hopeless against a force so infinitely superior; and on the 23rd of December, before the final assault of the great breach, the Dutch commandant signed a capitulation. After this decisive success, which gave Belgium the free navigation of the Scheldt, the King of Holland withdrew his troops, and the French army immediately afterwards quitted the country.

§ 3. The internal condition of France, during the first years of Louis Philippe's reign, was one of much difficulty and disquietude. Serious disturbances were of frequent occurrence, both in the capital and in the provinces; the state of society was so unsettled and excitable, that the smallest spark sufficed to kindle a fresh explosion. The first outbreak at Paris took place on the occasion of the public

trial of the four ex-ministers of Charles X.—Prince Polignac, and MM. de Peyronnet, de Chantelauze, and de Guernon-Ranville. They were arraigned before the Chamber of Peers in December, 1830, and were condemned to imprisonment for life, with the loss of their titles, rank, orders, and civil rights; but because the sentence fell short of the capital penalty, the populace became savagely exasperated, and the gravest apprehensions were entertained.

In the spring of 1831, Laffitte retired, and Casimir Périer formed a ministry which included Soult. In spite of their determination to maintain the constitutional system of France and to abstain from an adventurous foreign policy, the ministers found themselves in-

volved in difficulties.

In November an insurrection broke out among the manufacturing population at Lyons; for three days there was desperate fighting in the streets; and it was found necessary to direct a considerable body of troops upon the city, commanded by the Duke of Orleans and Marshal Soult. The agitation now became general throughout the kingdom; and an attempt was made by the legitimists to excite a civil war in La Vendée, under the auspices of the adventurous and eccentric Duchesse de Berry. Upon this several of the western departments were declared in a state of siege; fierce and bloody conflicts ensued at different points between the insurgents and the roval troops; but ere long the duchess found that the enterprise was hopeless, and took refuge at Nantes, in the house of a family devotedly attached to her cause. Here she remained for some months in close concealment; but on the 6th of November, 1832, the princess was arrested, and imprisoned in the citadel of Blave on the Gironde. She was afterwards permitted to retire to Palermo; and the legitimist cause ceased to be a ground of anxiety to the reigning dynasty.

In June, 1832, the funeral of General Lamarque, an officer well known for his liberal opinions, was the occasion of a republican demonstration at Paris, which led to a collision between the people and the military. In April, 1834, Lyons became the theatre of a second insurrection among the operative classes, which was put down by Marshal Soult, though not without a deplorable sacrifice

of life.

§ 4. Casimir Périer's peace policy and disappointments at the small results of the Revolution of 1830 had combined to make king and ministers unpopular. At the same time the efforts of the republican party were encouraged by various secret political associations which sprung up at this unsettled period. Their most active members were men who have become notorious in later days, such as Marrast, Flocon, Raspail. Blanqui, Caussidière, Carrel, and Jules Favre. The government was thus forced to adopt more and more

a repressive character. After the revolt at Lyons in 1834, which was followed by renewed disturbances at Paris, a general trial was held in May, 1835, before the Chamber of Peers, of all prisoners implicated in the late seditious movements. They were sentenced to transportation or to different periods of imprisonment. This result was a decisive blow to the secret societies, but a few incorrigible agitators, such as Barbès and Blanqui, still continued to weave obscure plots against the monarchy and public order.

This year (1835) witnessed the first of a series of desperate attempts to assassinate Louis Philippe, which were continued at intervals during the remainder of his reign. On the 28th of July the king was proceeding to hold a grand review in honour of the fifth anniversary of the "three glorious days." As the royal party passed along the Boulevard du Temple an infernal machine was fired by a Corsican named Fieschi, and a shower of musket-balls scattered death, mutilation, and panic on all sides. The king escaped uninjured; the Duke of Orleans received a slight contusion; but Marshal Mortier (Duke of Treviso), General Lachasse, and twelve other persons, were killed on the spot, while forty were more or less seriously wounded. Fieschi was arrested by the police, and was guillotined on the 19th of February, 1836.

Repressive measures were at once instituted, open revolutionary agitation ceased, the nation at large welcomed the enforcement for order, and the "laws of September" (to check the press and to strengthen the courts of justice) were adopted by large majorities in both houses, and were regarded with decided favour by the public. But it was not possible by any legislative acts to impart permanent strength and solidity to the throne of Louis Philippe; for not only did it labour under the radical defect of a revolutionary origin, but it was gradually weakened and sapped by the dissensions and jealous rivalry of the very parties to whom it owed its existence. This will be better understood by a brief review of the political conflicts and vicissitudes of parliamentary government which distinguished the period between the Revolution of 1830 and that of 1848.

§ 5. Three great parties, with widely differing views and interests, arose in France out of the events of July, 1830: the Legitimists, or adherents of the elder branch of the Bourbons, who regarded the Duke of Bordeaux (Henry V.) as their lawful sovereign; the Orleanists, or friends of the existing government; and the Democrats or Republicans. Louis Philippe of course selected his ministers from the second of these parties; and for many years they commanded a large and decisive majority in both chambers of the legislature. But it was not long before symptoms of misunderstanding and division appeared in the camp of the Orleanists themselves. The one section considering that all necessary reforms

in the constitution had already been secured by the Revolution of July, took a strongly conservative line, and steadily opposed all further concessions to popular clamour; the other desired that the liberties and power of the people should be extended to the very extreme limit compatible with the form of a monarchical government, their favourite maxim being thus expressed: "Le Roi règne, et ne gouverne pas." During the earlier and more stormy period of Louis Philippe's reign the prime ministers were taken from the ranks of the Conservatives. Casimir Périer, the ablest statesman of the party, assumed the reins of power on the 13th of March. 1831, but unhappily he fell a victim to the ravages of the cholera, which carried him off on the 16th of May, 1832. In the ministry which followed, under the premiership of Marshal Soult, M. Thiers obtained for the first time a share in the direction of affairs, being appointed minister of the interior. This celebrated politician (already mentioned as the editor of the National, and one of the chief promoters of the resistance to Charles X.) was destined to exercise a powerful influence on the fortunes of the Orleans dynasty and of France. Originally the apostle of extreme liberal opinions, his views seem to have undergone a sudden change as soon as the doors of the cabinet were opened to him. He was the chief author of the restrictive "laws of September," which might almost have figured among the measures of the absolute monarchy. On the other hand, when again in opposition, M. Thiers veered round to a directly contrary system. He vigorously contested the prerogatives of the crown; became the eloquent advocate of parliamentary reform; and supported, if he did not originate, the famous political banquets which resulted in the fall of Louis Philippe. It was during the administration of Marshal Soult, of which both M. Thiers and M. Guizot were members, that the well-known rivalry commenced between these two distinguished men, so essentially opposed in principles and general character. In January, 1836, the cabinet, of which the Duc de Broglie was at that time the head, was defeated in the Chamber of Deputies on the question of the budget; and on the 22nd of February following, M. Thiers was gazetted as president of the council of ministers and secretary for foreign affairs. But the new premier soon found himself in a situation of great embarrassment, owing to the pertinacious anxiety to interfere in the affairs of Spain, at that time distracted by the outbreak of a sanguinary civil war. Louis Philippe was strongly opposed to the policy of intervention; the minister positively refused to surrender his own opinion, and the consequence was the dissolution of the cabinet after an existence of little more than six months. Count Molé now succeeded to the post of president of the council, M. Guizot being associated with him as minister of public instruction.

§ 6. Two unexpected and untoward events which occurred in 1836 involved the government in considerable difficulties: these were the failure of the expedition to Constantine in Algeria, and the singular conspiracy headed by Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte at Strassburg.

Marshal Clausel advanced from Bona against Constantine on the 13th of November, 1836, with a force of about 10,000 men. The town of Constantine, perched on the summit of a lofty rock, and protected by strong fortifications, was valiantly defended by the Arabs under Achmet Bey; and two simultaneous assaults given by the French on opposite sides of the fortress were repulsed with severe loss on the night of the 23rd of November. The assailants were at length compelled to retreat, an operation which exposed them to fresh disasters; and, in a word, the expedition was a total failure. This reverse excited general mortification and indignation in France.*

Prince Louis Napoleon (afterwards Emperor of the French), who had resided for some time at Areneberg in Switzerland, was already aiming at the French crown. He resolved to gain possession of Strassburg, and afterwards to march upon Paris. On October 30th. 1836, he appeared at Strassburg, and presented himself to the troops as emperor, and a proclamation was read, to which the troops replied by shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" But the 46th regiment of infantry, under Colonel Talandier, refused to join the movement. Louis Napoleon and his companions were arrested on the spot, conveyed to Paris, and thence to Lorient, where, on the 15th of November, he embarked on the Andromeda frigate, and sailed for New York.

- § 7. There were now four principal parties in the Chamber of Deputies: the côté droit, of which the most conspicuous member was the great barrister M. Berryer; the côté gauche, led by M. Odillon-Barrot; the centre gauche, under the direction of M. Thiers; and, lastly, the centre droit, under that of M. Guizot. Count Molé having dissolved the Chamber of Deputies in 1838, a general election followed; and although in the new Chamber the minister still possessed a majority, it was by no means strongly constituted, and rested upon no distinct and elevated principles of policy. The dislocated state of parties was now dexterously seized by M. Thiers as an opportunity of preparing the way for his own return to power. He intrigued to bring about a reconciliation and coalition between his own party (the centre gauche) and that of the doctrinaires under M. Guizot,
- * A second expedition to Constantine, under General Damremont and the Duc de Nemours, in the autumn of 1837, was crowned with complete success, and contributed greatly to consolidate the French conquest of Algeria.

who had quitted office in the previous year; and in the course of the autumn of 1838 this celebrated combination was finally arranged. The junction of these various elements of opposition destroyed the ministerial majority in the session 1839. But difficulties immedirtely arose among the leaders of the new confederacy as to the distribution of offices in the cabinet which they were called upon to form, M. Thiers behaved with his usual vexatious obstinacy and arrogance; M. Guizot, too, was peremptory and exacting; and the interregnum was so long protracted, that a sudden insurrection broke out in the capital on the 12th of May, headed by Barbès, Bernard, and other violent demagogues. This quickly put an end to the suspense. On the very day that the disturbance took place (May 12, 1839) the name of Marshal Soult was published as president of the council and minister of foreign affairs; the other members of the cabinet were chosen from the centre droit and the centre gauche; but the three chiefs of the victorious coalition (Guizot, Thiers, and Odillon-Barrot) were all alike excluded from the administration. It soon appeared, however, that this arrangement was not likely to be of long duration. The supporters of the government were wavering and lukewarm in their allegiance, the factions were vehemently excited, and the Chamber was intractable. On the question of a proposed settlement to be made on the Duc de Nemours on his marriage, the ministers sustained a defeat (February 20, 1840), and immediately afterwards placed their resignations in the hands of the king. The triumph of the coalition was thus complete, and on the 1st of March M. Thiers obtained for the second time the coveted object of his ambition, the first place in the direction of affairs. M. Guizot accepted the post of ambassador to the court of St. James's, where he immediately became involved in a series of difficult negotiations connected with the critical and threatening state of affairs in the East. This embarrassing point of external policy became fatal to the second administration of M. Thiers.

§ 8. The rebellion of Mehemet Ali, the ambitious and turbulent Viceroy of Egypt, against his nominal sovereign the Turkish sultan, had for some years past seriously menaced the integrity of the Ottoman empire. The French government was well known to entertain strong sympathy with the Egyptian viceroy; the latter sentiment having arisen in great measure from the spirit of rivalry with England, to which power Mehemet Ali was specially obnoxious. In 1839 hostilities broke out afresh in Syria. The Turkish forces were defeated, and the whole of Syria became subject to the Viceroy of Egypt. France now demanded that the possession both of Egypt and Syria should be guaranteed to the pacha, while England insisted on the complete restitution of Syria to the Porte. Upon this point agreement seemed impossible; and the result was that,

without communicating their intention to France, England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia signed a treaty with Turkey on the 15th of July, 1840, for the purpose of compelling Mehemet Ali to withdraw his forces from Syria. This treaty was carried into effect without delay. A combined fleet, under the British, Austrian, and Turkish flags, proceeded to the Levant, bombarded and captured Beyrout and other Syrian fortresses, and in one brief campaign cleared Syria of the Egyptian troops. Mehemet Ali eventually accepted a settlement which left him in independent hereditary possession of Egypt, while the whole of Syria was restored to the dominion of the sultan.

§ 9. The Quadruple Treaty came like a thunderclap upon the French government. Indignant outcries were raised against the treachery of England, and for some time a rupture of the alliance between the two countries was considered imminent. The prospect of an European war led to one of the most important events of the reign of Louis Philippe, the fortification of Paris. The works were to comprehend a complete circle of the city on both banks of the Seine, together with a line of detached casemated forts; the expense, as voted by the Chambers, was, 150,000,000 of francs, or £6,000,000 sterling. Meanwhile the public became more and more clamorous for war, and murmurs and menaces arose on all sides against the government which could tamely endure the humiliation inflicted upon France by her recent exclusion from the councils of the European powers. In the midst of this excitement another desperate attempt was made upon the life of Louis Philippe, by a wretch named Darmès: his weapon was a rifle, which, being overcharged, burst in his hands, and the king fortunately escaped unhurt. This occurrence is said to have been fatal to the ministry of M. Thiers. He had latterly become so unpopular, and the state of affairs, both foreign and domestic, was so discouraging, that the king determined on changing his advisers; and on the 29th of October, 1840, a new cabinet was installed in office, under the nominal presidency of Marshal Soult, but directed in reality by M. Guizot, who was named minister for foreign affairs. Vehement personal disputes ensued during the next legislative session between MM. Guizot and Thiers, whose position as antagonist party leaders had now reached its climax; but the new ministry proved strong, and was supported by triumphant majorities in both houses. The peace of Europe was happily maintained intact, and the warlike feeling subsided in France.

By way of an act of reconciliation and amnesty between the governments of France and England, it was now arranged that the remains of the great Napoleon should be removed from the island of St. Helena to a final resting-place in France, according to the

desire expressed by the late emperor himself in his last testament. On the 15th of December the coffin was received at the church of the Invalides by the king in person, surrounded by his sons, the civil and military authorities, and a countless multitude of the population, all animated by one enthusiastic impulse of admiration and attachment.

§ 10. Notwithstanding this event, and the hopes expressed on the occasion that France and England had "buried their ancient animosity in the tomb of Napoleon," a temporary interruption of the entente cordiale took place at two subsequent periods in the reign of Louis Philippe, in 1843 and 1846. The first of these misunderstandings was connected with the occupation of the Society Islands by the French—a proceeding which the British government viewed with dissatisfaction. The arrest of Mr. Pritchard, the British consul at Tahiti, by the French captain Aubigny, called forth from the British cabinet a demand of prompt and ample satisfaction, Much irritation and violence of feeling was displayed on both sides of the Channel: but the cabinet of the Tuileries, determined to obviate every pretext for hostile measures on the part of England, expressed its willingness to grant the required redress. This marked moderation disarmed the rising of Great Britain, and all apprehension of war was at once removed. But, on the other hand, it greatly injured the popularity and strength of M. Guizot's administration.

The marriage of the Queen of Spain. in the year 1846, produced a still further estrangement between the French and English courts. The British government offered the strongest opposition to Louis Philippe's proposal of a matrimonial connection between the Bourbons of France and Spain. But the policy of Louis Philippe was for the moment crowned with success. On the 10th of October, 1846, the Queen of Spain married Don Francisco d'Assisi, Duke of Cadiz, the eldest son of her uncle; and on the same day the Infanta Luisa was united to the Duc de Montpensier, the fifth and youngest son of the King of the French. Rarely have more disgraceful intrigues marked the diplomacy of modern times. M. Guizot had given a distinct promise to Lord Aberdeen that the nuptials of the Duc de Montpensier should not take place until the Queen of Spain had become the mother of a direct heir to the throne. The peace of Europe remained undisturbed; but the friendly understanding between England and France now came finally to an end, and the House of Orleans, having sacrificed the English alliance for purely dynastic ends, was seriously weakened.

§ 11. On the 13th of July, 1842, the Duke of Orleans was thrown out of his carriage, and expired in the course of a few hours. He had married in May, 1837, the Princess Helena of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and left two sons, Louis Philippe Comte de

Paris, born in August, 1838, and Robert Day to chartres born in November, 1840. This event was of considerable importance from a political point of view; for a long minerity and regency would necessarily open the door to multiplied intrigues. The Day is Nemours was designated as regent of the kingdom in the event of the kingdom each.

In Algeria, France maintained a severe and prolonged, but ultimately successful struggle against the native Arab tribes, and particularly with the Emir Abd-el-Kader, a chieftain of in localtable courage and considerable ability. In 1842 he was beaten in a sharp engagement by the Duc d'Aumale, and at length fiel for refuge with a few followers into the mountains of Morneys. He now dexterously excited the Emperor of Morocco, Muley Abderrahman, to acts of hostility against the French; and Marshall Bureaud assembled his forces for an expedition into the territory of Morocco in June, 1844. At the same time the Prince de Joinville, with a naval squadron, attacked the fortified port and town of Mogador, which was compelled to yield, and was occupied by a French garrison. Marshal Bugeaud gave battle to the Moors on the banks of the Isly, the frontier stream between Alberia unl Morocco, where he gained a complete victory on the 4th of August with very trifling loss. The Emperor of Morocco now suel for peace, and, the conditions prescribed by France having been accepted, the treaty was signed on the 10th of September. One of its articles stipulated that Abd-el-Kader should be expelled from Morocco.

These transactions were viewed with a certain amount of jealousy and disquietude by England. It was apprehended that the French meditated establishing themselves permanently at Tangier and along the southern shore of the straits. This would have threatened Gibraltar, and might have led to a contest between the two powers for predominance in the Mediterranean.

In 1847 the redoubtable Abd-el-Kader was once more in arms on the frontier of Morocco; but was so closely tracked and surrounded by the French under General de Lamericiere, that at last he surrendered himself prisoner, having stipulated that he should be conducted either to Alexandria or to St. Jean of Acre. This promise, however, was not fulfilled by the French government; the emir was conveyed, with his wives, children, and suite of domestics, to Toulon, and was ultimately placed in confinement in the château of Amboise. He was not released till 1853, by a decree of Napoleon III.

§ 12. The legislative session of 1847 opened under sombre auspices. The critical state of affairs, both foreign and immestic, evidently portended a serious conflict of political parties. The recent breach

of the English alliance, the Spanish marriages, and the arbitrary annexation of Cracow to Austria, against which France had ineffectually protested, were external questions certain to produce bitter disputes; while the internal situation was still more alarming. The preceding harvest had been bad, and had caused a considerable rise in the price of all the necessaries of life; work had become scarce, and the rate of wages had fallen; extensive distress and discontent among the agricultural and manufacturing classes was the natural consequence. The popular irritation was industriously fomented by agitators, whose doctrines resulted in disturbances in various parts of the country. Closely connected with this agitation among the suffering rural population was the clamour, which every day became more loud and urgent, for reform in various departments of the state-reform, electoral, parliamentary, and administrative. This was the theme of incessant declamation by the opposition deputies during the session of 1847; but the prime minister, M. Guizot, confident of a strong and compact majority, met them invariably by a consistent and determined refusal. Finding the government resolute in their unfortunate system of disregarding all applications for reform, the opposition leaders now determined to commence a general agitation throughout France, for the purpose of compelling attention to their demands. The plan adopted was to hold a series of banquets in Paris and the provinces, at which the views of the reformers might be freely developed and discussed in the most popular form, by means of political toasts and speeches.

The Chambers met on the 28th of December, 1847. In his speech from the throne Louis Philippe expressed his conviction that the constitution of 1830 offered all necessary guarantees both for the moral and material interests of the nation. The inference was that no reform was needed, and that none would be permitted. The address in reply produced a severe and prolonged contest. M. Guizot, however, remained immovable in his refusal of all concession; the various amendments of the opposition were rejected by large majorities, and the address was voted in entire conformity to the views of the cabinet. The struggle was now to be transferred to a different scene. A proposed reform banquet to be given by the electors of the 12th arrondissement of the city of Paris had been prohibited by the prefect of police. At a meeting of the opposition deputies it was resolved to hold the banquet notwithstanding; and it was finally fixed to take place on the 22nd of February, 1848. The banquet was inderdicted a second time, and it was announced that any unlawful assemblage would be dispersed by force. The reformers upon this submitted, and the banquet was abandoned. The king and his advisers, meanwhile, were in

a state of blind security and confidence; they considered the opposition as vanquished, and had no apprehension whatever of an approaching tumult. On the morning of the eventful 22nd of February the impulsive Parisian populace began to congregate by thousands in the neighbourhood of the Madeleine and the Rue Royale, shouting, "Vive la réforme! à bas les ministres!" and singing the Marseillaise. No troops made their appearance; but collisions occurred at several points between the mob and the municipal guard, in which the latter were defeated; but the day passed over without any serious hostilities, and the court maintained its fallacious persuasion that no dangerous results would follow. On the next day, the 23rd, the National Guard and the troops of the garrison of Paris were called out; it soon appeared that the spirit of faction and disorder was rife among the civic militia. Their unanimous cry, as they marched through the different quarters of the city, was "Vive la réforme!" This direct encouragement emboldened the leaders of the revolutionists; the members of the secret societies flew to arms; and in the skirmishes which followed between the populace and the regular troops, the National Guard everywhere interfered in favour of the former. Thus steadily confronted, both officers and soldiers hesitated to commit themselves to a general assault upon their fellow-citizens; they allowed themselves, if not to be gained over to the side of the rioters, at least to be reduced to inaction; and the insurrection thus triumphed almost without engaging in actual strife.

§ 13. Louis Philippe at length became acquainted with the true situation of affairs. In the afternoon of the 23rd M. Guizot tendered his resignation, which was promptly accepted, and published as an act of satisfaction on the part of the king to the demands of the people. Count Molé was charged with the formation of a new ministry. It was now generally expected that tranquillity would be at once restored. But about nine o'clock in the evening, by accident or design, a shot was fired in front of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where fifty soldiers were posted; the commanding officer ordered them to fire, and several persons in the crowd (some accounts say as many as eighty) were wounded or killed. The dead bodies were hastily placed on a tumbril, and paraded in procession through the streets. This spectacle raised the indignation of the multitude to the highest pitch; cries of vengeance resounded on all sides; fresh barricades were erected in all the most populous quarters of the city, and the soldiers, stupefied and panicstruck, renounced all further opposition to the revolt. The king now named Marshal Bugeaud to the supreme command of the whole military force at Paris, and, M. Molé having declined the task of constructing a ministry, summoned M. Thiers to the head of affairs.

This statesman, in conjunction with M. Odillon-Barrot, at eight o'clock on the morning of the 24th, issued a proclamation announcing their appointment as ministers, and stating that orders had been given to the troops to withdraw. This inconsiderate step gave the last blow to the monarchy of Louis Philippe. Marshal Bugeaud resigned his command; the soldiers quitted their ranks, and gave up their arms and ammunition to the insurgents; the National Guards united themselves with the masses of the people, who attacked and rifled the Palais Royal. The king, feeling that all was lost, signed an act of abdication in favour of his grandson the Comte de Paris, and withdrew to St. Cloud, while the mob occupied the Tuileries.

§ 14. An attempt was made to obtain the recognition of the Duchesse d' Orléans as Regent, and thus to preserve the throne to the heir of Louis Philippe, according to the terms of his abdication. The duchess proceeded to the Chamber of Deputies, holding by the hand her sons the Comte de Paris and the Duc de Chartres, and took her seat in front of the tribune. More than one member spoke earnestly in favour of the regency; but in the midst of the debate the Chamber was invaded by a tumultuous throng of armed men, and M. Marie, a violent republican, taking possession of the tribune, announced that the first duty of the legislature was to appoint a strong provisional government capable of re-establishing public confidence and order. MM. Cremieux, Ledru-Rollin, and Lamartine followed, declaring the proposed regency illegal (since the law had conferred it on the Duc de Nemours), and insisting on a new government and constitution to be sanctioned by the sovereign people. The proposition was hailed with vehement acclamations; fresh columns of the insurgent multitude pressed into the hall, and a sanguinary termination of the scene seemed imminent. The Duchesse d'Orléans and her children then retired precipitately; and the republicans remained undisputed masters of the field. They proceeded forthwith to nominate a provisional government, consisting of MM. Lamartine, Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Ledru-Rollin, Garnier-Pagès, Cremieux, and Marie; to these were afterwards added MM. Louis Blanc, A. Marrast, Flocon, and Albert, as secretaries to the government. On the same evening Lamartine proclaimed from the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville the establishment of a Republic. The old revolutionary watchwords of Liberté, Egalité, and Fraternité were once more adopted; and it was announced that an immediate appeal would be made to the whole French nation to ratify the act of the provisional government.

Such were the extraordinary events of the 24th of February, 1848. On reviewing its incidents, the conduct of the government, at a crisis known to be so fraught with peril, appears inexplicable

and almost incredible. A more singular specimen of weakness and incapacity has seldom been exhibited in the history of nations. The king himself, the princes his sons, M. Guizot, M. Thiers, M. Odillon-Barrot, seem to have been all alike bereft of that presence of mind and determination which were absolutely necessary to the safety of the constitution and the throne. Never did a strong and popularly organized government succumb with less dignity, or from causes apparently more insufficient. There was no powerful party in France, before the outbreak of the 22nd of February, which seriously desired the overthrow of the existing system: still less was the nation in general prepared to try the desperate experiment of a second republic. The Revolution of 1848 was immediately due to the lack of decision on the part of Louis Philippe, whose abdication ruined the cause of the monarchy.

The escape of the royal family from France was not accomplished without considerable difficulty. After many adventures they reached England on the morning of the 4th of March. They immediately proceeded to Claremont, which belonged to the King of the Belgians. There, after spending upwards of two years in entire privacy, Louis Philippe ended his chequered and almost romantic career on the

26th of August, 1850, at the age of 77.

FRANCE. 2 s

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE SECOND REPUBLIC A.D. 1848-1852.

- § 1. Difficulties of the provisional government; the atéliers nationaux; excesses of the Socialist clubs; sanguinary struggle of June, 1848; General Cavaignac Dictator. § 2. Republican constitution; Prince Louis Napoleon elected President. § 3. Revolutionary movements throughout Europe; war between Austria and Piedmont; appeal of Pope Pius IX. to the Catholic nations: French expedition to Rome; reinstatement of the Pope. § 4. Opposition of the Assembly to the President; law restricting universal suffrage; debates on the revision of the constitution, § 5. The coup d'état of December, 1851; dissolution of the Assembly; commotions in Paris; changes in the constitution. § 6. Establishment of the Second Empire.
- § 1. After the fall of Louis Philippe the provisional government found itself beset by immense difficulties. Dissensions quickly arose; the moderate members-Lamartine, Dupont de l'Eure, Garnier-Pagès, and Marrast-were opposed by the party of Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc, who held extravagant socialist or communist opinions. The first ground of conflict between these two sections was the vitally important question of the support of the industrial and labouring classes. The socialists insisted that it is the duty of a republic to provide employment for every citizen requiring it; this doctrine was embodied in a decree of the 27th of February (carried in spite of the earnest remonstrances of M. Lamartine), announcing the Organisation du Travail, and the institution of Atéliers nationaux, or national workshops, in which all applicants were to gain a fair remuneration for their labour at the expense of the state. Louis Blanc was placed at the head of the commission for this purpose. The rate of payment offered to the workmen was at first five francs a day: this was reduced by degrees to two francs, one franc and a half, and at last to eight francs per week. By the beginning of March no less than 65,000 persons were maintained in the atéliers nationaux.*

The general elections to the Constituent Assembly commenced on the 27th of April, and were to a great extent hostile to the extreme revolutionary party. The assembly met on the 4th of May, and consisted of nine hundred representatives elected by universal suffrage.

^{*} The expense of maintaining these workshops amounted, between the 9th of March and the 15th of June, 1848, to 14,174,967 fr., or nearly £567,000!—Official Report by M. Emile Thomas.

Its first act was to appoint a supreme executive commission, which was composed of MM. Lamartine, Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, and Ledru-Rollin, and was thus pretty evenly balanced between the two antagonist parties. On the 15th of May the mob dispersed the Assembly, only to be scattered in its turn by the National Guard. The government then declared war on the socialists, and determined to abolish the workshops. A decree of the Assembly, on the 22nd of June, ordered a certain number of the workmen to enrol themselves in the army; in case of refusal, they were no longer to be received in the national workshops. The consequence was a terrible and bloody insurrection of the operatives on the 23rd and three following days. The command of the army and the National Guard was placed in the hands of General Cavaignac, who was vigorously supported by Generals Lamoricière and Bedeau. On the 24th Paris was declared in a state of siege; General Cavaignac was nominated dictator with unlimited powers; and the executive committee resigned their offices. No less than eleven generals were killed and wounded; and the venerable Archbishop of Paris, Monsgr. Affre, lost his life by a random shot from the barricade on the Place de la Bastille, while endeavouring to interpose his mediation to put an end to this frightful carnage. Cavaignac then divested himself of the dictatorship, and was appointed president of the council, with the right of naming his ministers. On the 4th of July he issued a decree in very concise and peremptory terms, suppressing altogether the national workshops. It was submitted to in silence. The apostles of Socialism, after inundating Paris with the blood of thousands of her citizens, were for the moment thoroughly cowed and prostrated.

§ 2. The Assembly now proceeded seriously with its legislative labours, and a republican form of government was proclaimed on the 12th of November. The executive authority was to be exercised by a chief magistrate, bearing the title of President of the Republic; he was elected for four years, and was re-eligible only after the expiration of a further period of four years. There was to be a Council of State, named by the Assembly for six years; a vice-president of the republic was placed at its head, appointed by the Assembly from a list of three candidates presented by the president. The legislative power was to reside in a single Chamber numbering 750 members.

In September, Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, who was at this time residing in England,* was elected by five different departments

^{*} The prince had returned from his banishment in the United States in July, 1837. After the death of his mother he took up his abode in England. In August, 1840, having engaged in a second attempt to overturn the government of Louis Philippe, he was arrested at Boulogne, and

a representative to the National Assembly. He immediately crossed the Channel, and, having made his option to sit for the department of the Seine, took his place in the legislative chamber on the 29th of September. He had already been returned for Paris at an election in the previous month of June; but he had forborne to claim his seat. His illustrious name was now eagerly adopted as the symbol of a party. On the 1st of December he published an address, announcing himself as a candidate for the office of President; the election having been fixed to take place, by universal suffrage, on the 10th of the month. There were four other candidates: General Cavaignac, who was supported by the majority of the Assembly and most of the great provincial towns; M. Ledru-Rollin, M. Lamartine, and the ultra-democrat Raspail. Out of about 7,326,000 citizens who took part in the election, five millions and a half gave their suffrages for Louis Napoleon; whilst the votes for Cavaignac, who came next on the poll, fell short of one million and a half. On the 20th of December the new President was formally proclaimed, and took the oath prescribed by the constitution. He immediately entered on his official residence in the palace of the Elysée.

§ 3. The echo of the French Revolution of 1848 made itself heard throughout Continental Europe. The Hungarians, headed by Louis Kossuth, rose and gained what practically amounted to independence; Bohemia secured autonomy; in Vienna a revolution broke out in March, and Metternich was forced to take refuge in England; in May the emperor fled to Innsbrück, and terror and anarchy reigned throughout the empire. Meanwhile, Venetia and Lombardy threw off the Austrian yoke, and Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, declared war against the emperor, and marched upon Milan with 30,000 men. In the earlier engagements, at Goito, and other points near Mantua, the Sardinians remained masters of the field; but on July 25th, Radetsky, the Austrian general, won the battle of Custozza; on August 6th Milan was re-occupied by the imperialists, and shortly afterwards the emperor returned in triumph to Vienna. The decisive battle of Novara, gained by Marshal Radetsky over the Piedmontese on the 23rd of March, 1849, re-established the Austrian dominion in Italy. An armistice immediately ensued, and a treaty of peace was soon arranged, by which Piedmont renounced all pretensions to Lombardy, Parma, and Modena, and engaged to pay a heavy indemnity for the expenses of the war. Charles Albert now abdicated his crown in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel, afterwards King of Italy.

imprisoned at the Château of Ham. In May, 1846, he contrived to make his escape in the disguise of a workman, and again sought refuge in England.

Intense agitation was likewise excited at Rome, where the reigning pontiff, Pius IX., had for some years shown himself disposed to grant considerable reforms, and had appointed a liberal and constitutional government. A violent tumult was raised by the democrats in November, 1848, and the prime minister, Count Rossi, was brutally assassinated on his way to the opening of the legislative chamber. The palace of the Quirinal was next besieged by the armed populace, and fresh concessions were forcibly extorted from the pope. Finding that he was no longer an independent sovereign, Pius quitted Rome secretly and in disguise on the 24th of November, and took refuge at Gaeta in the Neapolitan territory. A revolutionary government was forthwith established at Rome, which decreed the deposition of the pope, and proclaimed a republic. Events of the same kind took place at Florence in February, 1849; the Grand Duke fled from his capital, and embarked for Gaeta;

and a provisional executive was immediately installed.

Pius IX. now made an appeal to the Catholic nations of Europe, and particularly to France, to interpose on his behalf. It appears that Louis Napoleon had already determined on undertaking an expedition for this purpose; and on the 25th of April the French expeditionary force, consisting of three divisions of infantry and a brigade of cavalry, under the orders of General Oudinot, disembarked at Civita Vecchia. On the 30th their advanced guard sustained a serious check from the republican troops, led by the famous Garibaldi, under the walls of Rome; a battalion which had rashly penetrated into the city was nearly cut to pieces, and more than 200 men were taken prisoners. The French general now found it necessary to commence a regular siege, which was continued till the 3rd of July, when the garrison consented to capitulate; the terms demanded, however, were refused, and on the following day the city surrendered unconditionally to the conquerors. Garibaldi and most of his followers escaped from Rome; the triumvir Mazzini fled to England. The re-establishment of the pontifical government was proclaimed without delay; but the pope did not return in person to Rome till the month of April, 1850. Meanwhile the city and the whole papal territory remained in the military occupation of the French troops.

§ 4. Louis Napoleon had neither the wish nor the power to remain in his present position. The growing necessities of his situation, and the reckless passions and animosities of contending factions, caused him to advance in the direction of absolute and arbitrary power. In order to render himself less subject to the dictation of the legislative body, the president changed his ministry on the 31st of October, 1849, and nominated as successors men willing to act under his own direct and independent authority. The new administration was

active and energetic; but the Assembly showed immediate symptoms of suspicion and resentment, and ere long a declared schism was apparent between the executive and the legislative power. A number of Socialists and red republicans had been returned as representatives for Paris at the last election; among them was the novelist Eugène Sue. The Assembly now began to be alarmed at the results of universal suffrage; and changes were proposed in consequence in the electoral law. The suffrage was restricted to citizens domiciled for three years together in the same commune: this alteration was carried, and three millions of voters were disfranchised, after a protracted and violent discussion, on the 31st of May, 1850. The president was known to be adverse to this measure, which roused the hostility of France against the Assembly. Posing as the champion of universal suffrage, and certain of the support of the army, the president carefully prepared to overthrow the unpopular Assembly. In the summer of 1850 he made two journeys through the departments. In January, 1851, a decree of the president deprived General Changarnier of his command of the garrison of Paris. This increased the irritation of the Assembly, and the state of affairs began to look so ominous, that both in Paris and the provinces an agitation commenced for a revision of the constitution of 1848. This project was warmly debated in the chamber for several days, from the 14th to the 19th of July, 1851. The real question in dispute was, whether the 45th article, which declared the president incapable of re-election till a period of four years had expired, should be retained or expunged. All parties, however, concurred in avoiding any direct mention of it; and the ultimate result was adverse to the proposed revision, since, although a large majority voted in its favour, their number did not reach the proportion prescribed by law.

This precipitated the course of events. Louis Napoleon now avowed his dissatisfaction with the law of the 31st of May, and proposed the re-establishment of universal suffrage. The antagonism between the president and the Assembly was thus brought to a crisis. In November a debate took place in the Assembly, in which it was expressly maintained that the president might and ought to be impeached in case he made any attempt against the safety of the state, and especially if he should endeavour to abrogate the 45th

article of the constitution.

§ 5. The celebrated "coup d'état"—planned with cool audacity, and executed with fearless courage-took place on the 2nd of December, 1851. All the necessary measures of precaution had been carefully arranged beforehand by the president and his three confidential agents, Count Morny, General St. Arnaud, and the prefect of police, M. de Maupas. The government printing-office

was surrounded during the night of the 1st by a detachment of gendarmerie, and various decrees and proclamations were secretly and rapidly put in type for publication on the morrow. At an early hour of the 2nd the prefect of police gave directions to his subordinate officers for the immediate arrest of sixteen prominent members of the representative Chamber, among whom were Generals Cavaignac, Changarnier, Lamoricière, and Bedeau; MM. Thiers, Roger du Nord, and Baze. This order was executed without resistance, and with perfect success: by seven o'clock in the morning the sixteen deputies, together with sixty other persons, active members of the Socialist clubs, were all safely lodged in the prison of Mazas. The hall of the Assembly was then invested by a strong military force under Colonel Espinasse; and the Champs Elysées, the Place de la Concorde, the garden of the Tuileries, the Carrousel, and the Quai d'Orsay, were at the same time occupied by troops. Proclamations appeared simultaneously on all the walls of Paris, to the amazement of the population, containing the following announcements: 1. The National Assembly is dissolved. 2. The law of the 31st of May is abolished, and universal suffrage restored. 3. The French people are convoked for the purpose of a general election on the 14th of December. 4. Paris and the department of the Seine are placed in a state of siege. 5. The Council of State is dissolved. Another decree published the list of a new ministry, in which Count Morny figured as minister of the interior; General St. Arnaud, of war; M. Fould, of finance; and M. Rouher, of justice. In a third proclamation, addressed to the French people, Louis Napoleon sketched the principles of a new constitution, which was to be immediately submitted to the national vote. A responsible chief magistrate named for ten years; ministers accountable to the executive power alone; a Council of State to originate and prepare the laws: a legislative body to discuss and vote them; and lastly, a Senate to guard and preserve the integrity of the constitution such were its most essential features. It was framed closely on the model of that dictated by the first Napoleon on the 18th of Brumaire; and was manifestly calculated to lead to similar results.

On the 3rd and 4th of December there were partial insurrections of the Parisian populace in those localities where the secret societies were dominant, and at one time the struggle seemed likely to become serious. But the troops were ably distributed and well commanded; and, though not without considerable bloodshed, all opposition was suppressed by the evening of the 4th.

The new Constitution, by which the power of Louis Napoleon as president was prolonged for a term of ten years, was accepted on the 20th of December, 1851, by the enormous amount of seven

millions and a half of affirmative votes.

Before the end of the following year the nation voted by more than seven millions of votes the establishment of the empire in the person of Louis Napoleon; on December 1st, 1852, the crown was offered to Napoleon III., and on December 2nd, the newly elected emperor made his solemn entry into Paris. By assuming the title of NAPOLEON III., he affirmed at once the legitimate sovereignty of the second Napoleon, in whose favour his father had attempted to abdicate (see p. 579), and his own title as heir of Napoleon I. under the Senatus-Consultum of 1804. Born on the 20th of April, 1808, Charles Louis Napoleon was the third son of Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland and Hortense Beauharnais.* The eldest son had died in infancy, and the second had been killed in Italy (1831), in a rising against the papal government, in which Louis Napoleon was taken prisoner. The irony of fate had decreed the revival of the empire by the grandson of the repudiated Josephine, in the same month in which the victor of Waterloo was borne to the grave.

^{*} See the Table, p. 545.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE SECOND EMPIRE AND THE WAR WITH GERMANY. A.D. 1852-1871.

- § 1. The new Imperial Constitution; Marriage of Napoleon III. § 2. The Empire is Peace; the Eastern Question. § 3. The war with Russia. § 4. Internal progress; Orsini's plot; repressive measures. § 5. Italy; the meeting at Plombières; New Year's Day, 1859; war with Austria; liberation of Lombardy; Convention of Villafranca. § 6. The French Catholics; annexation of Nice and Savov; affairs of Rome; revolt of Sicily and Naples: kingdom of Italy. § 7. Liberal Reforms; the expedition to Mexico; abandonment and death of Maximilian; disgrace of the tailure. § 8. Elections of 1863; new vigour of the opposition; Napoleon denounces the treaties of 1815; failure of his proposed congress, & 9. Convention of September. 1864, about Rome; clerical agitation. § 10. Bismarck at Biarritz; Napoleon's German policy; "The Seven Weeks' War;" compensation refused to France. § 11. Withdrawal from Rome, and reoccupation of Civita Vecchia. § 12. The affair of Luxemburg. § 13. Climax of the Empire in 1867; new powers of the Assembly. § 14. Military reorganization; republican disturbances. § 15. Elections of 1869; strength of the opposition; liberal concessions; The Senatus Consultum; the Ollivier ministry; the Plibiscite. § 16. The war with Germany; Saarbrück; Wörth; Spicheren; retreat to Châlons and Metz. § 17. State of Paris; change of ministry; battles round Metz; German advance on Paris. § 18. The catastrophe at Sedan; surrender of the Emperor. § 19. Fall of the Empire; Government of National Defence; investment of Paris. § 20. Surrender of Metz and Strasburg. § 21. Siege and capitulation of Paris. § 22. The National Assembly at Bordeaux; government of Thiers; terms of peace. § 23. Insurrection of the Commune. § 24. Peace of Frankfort; payment of the indemnity and liberation of French territory. § 25. The Third Republic.
- § 1. The emperor lost no time in notifying publicly the general principles upon which he intended to act in administering the new Constitution of 1852. "The existing Constitution," were his words, "proclaims that the head of the government whom you have chosen is responsible to you. This being so, it is necessary that his action should be free and untrammelled. Hence he must have ministers who are the honoured and efficient partakers of his counsels, but who, at the same time, are not a body composed of members mutually responsible for their official acts, which will be a constant

obstacle to the personal initiative of the head of the State, the expression of a policy emanating from the Chambers, and for that reason liable to the vicissitudes which impede consistency of procedure and the application of a regular system." In other words, the ministers were to be simply the passive instruments of the individual will of the emperor. In like manner it was necessary that the Legislative Body should be in perfect harmony with his ideas and opinions; "if otherwise, the nation will be contradicting its own decisions, and everything would have to be done over again." The constituencies, therefore, were to elect candidates whom he should recommend as having political views consonant with his own; the prefects were instructed to support such candidates openly with the whole weight of their authority, and to discountenance all whose principles might be of a different tendency. And when the legislators were elected, their powers were of the scantiest and most illusory nature. They possessed no right to initiate laws, and they could make no alteration in the projects submitted to them without the permission of the Council of State, the members of which were nominated by the emperor, and removable at pleasure. The senate, again, was a body altogether dependent on the will of the government; the emperor appointed its members, and assigned to them a salary, which was to be regulated, and might be wholly withheld, at his discretion.

On the 29th of January, 1853, Napoleon III. married Eugénie Marie de Guzman, Comtesse de Teba, a lady descended from one of the most illustrious families of Spain. It seemed a happy omen for the dynasty, when the Prince Imperial, Napoleon Eugène Louis, was born at the time of the Peace of Paris (16th of March, 1856); but the misfortunes of the family were crowned by his death while serving as a volunteer in the English army during the Zulu War (June 1, 1879).

§ 2. Napoleon III. had taken pains to announce, in order to allay the apprehensions naturally arising from the tumultuous memories of the first Empire, that the distinctive character of the new reign would be peace. "The Empire is peace," were his words at the Bordeaux banquet in 1851, "it is peace, for France desires it; and when France is satisfied the world is tranquil. Woe to him who shall be the first man in Europe to give the signal of a warlike collision, of which the consequences would be incalculable!" In spite of these assurances, a year had scarcely elapsed from the day of the emperor's accession to the throne, when France suddenly found herself on the verge of a war with the most formidable of the European powers; a war which was destined to cost her prodigious sacrifices both of treasure and of human blood, and which there is reason to believe might have been avoided

without difficulty, and without loss of national honour or

prestige.

The war with Russia originated in the complicated question known as the "Holy Places," over which France had possessed for upwards of three centuries * an acknowledged protectorate. The Christians of the Greek Church had gradually increased their privileges, and quarrels between the Greek and Latin churches ensued in Jerusalem. While the Latin Christians were supported by France, the Greek Church found a powerful friend in the Tsar. No sooner had the reins of government passed into the hands of Louis Napoleon, than he summoned the Ottoman Porte to fulfil its ancient engagements, and restore the sanctuaries to the representatives of France. The demand was pressed with so much urgency, that the Turkish authorities found it necessary to yield, and the required concessions were officially published in February, 1853.

The Emperor Nicholas, much irritated, remonstrated with such vehemence that he obtained in the course of a few weeks a firman revoking the agreement just entered into with the French. The Russian envoy, Prince Menschikoff, insisted in addition that the Tsar should be recognised henceforth as the legitimate protector of the Greek Church throughout the sultan's dominions. The reply of the Porte to the Russian ultimatum conceded some points, but the demand of a general protectorate was negatived; and the ambassador then intimated that, if the refusal should be persisted in, the Tsar might be compelled to occupy the Danubian Principalities. At this threat the combined fleets of France and England received orders to sail for Besika Bay, where they arrived on the 14th of June. The troops of the Russian emperor thereupon crossed the Pruth (June 22) into Moldavia and Wallachia, then tributary provinces of Turkey.

§ 3. The alliance and combined action between France and England in the Russian war was one of the earliest and most important successes of the Second Empire. The two powers were drawn together by considerations of mutual advantage. To Napoleon, conscious of all the sinister circumstances attending his recent elevation, it was a point of no small moment to secure countenance and support among the legitimate thrones of Europe. With regard to England, as soon as the aggressions of Russia menaced the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire, the affair became obviously one of European importance. The emperor's overtures were therefore accepted with alacrity, and a cordial understanding was effected between the cabinets of London

^{*} The original compact was made between Francis I. and the Sultan Solyman, Λ .D. 1529.

and Paris. For some time they laboured, with Austria and Prussia, by a series of diplomatic efforts, to prevent a final rupture; a joint scheme (known as the "Vienna Note") was transmitted for this purpose to St. Petersburg, and was at first accepted by Russia; but modifications having been introduced into it by the Turkish divan, to guard against the Russian claim of a protectorate, it failed in the end, and the last hope of preserving peace vanished.

In October, 1853, war was proclaimed by Turkey, on Russia's refusal to evacuate the Principalities. On the 30th of November, a squadron of Russian men-of-war attacked and destroyed an inferior number of Turkish vessels at anchor off the harbour of Sinope. This act of violence raised the indignation of Europe. The allied powers immediately ordered their fleets to enter the Black Sea, and to drive back into the harbour of Sevastopol any Russian vessel which might be found cruising in those waters. Napoleon III. hazarded a final appeal addressed directly to the Emperor Nicholas; but it was too late for an accommodation, and the reply was in the negative. The ambassadors were withdrawn on both sides early in February, 1854, and war was formally proclaimed at Paris on the 27th of March.

The leading incidents of the "Crimean War," as it is commonly called, are related in another volume of this series.* The French army was commanded at first by Marshal St. Arnaud, a chief actor in the coup d'état of December 2nd, who died just after the battle of the Alma. His successors were, first, General Canrobert, and afterwards General Pelissier, a soldier of great vigour, trained in wars of Africa. While the two armies co-operated cordially, and shared the terrible sufferings of the winter, the French won special honour by their share with the Sardinians in the last great battle on the river Tchernava (August 16, 1855), and by their capture of the Malakoff tower, after a deadly struggle, in the final assault on Sevastopol, led by General McMahon (September 8). Satisfied with this military glory, and with the advantage won for his dynasty by the alliance with England, the emperor was not sorry to find his people indisposed to the third campaign, for which the English were vigorously preparing; and the diplomacy of Austria devised the terms of an agreement. But the Peace of Paris (March 30, 1856) was by no means a complete settlement of existing difficulties. Little or no ground was gained by it, in point of fact, towards the final solution of the "Eastern question."

§ 4. France now enjoyed a brief period of public tranquillity, of which advantage was taken to develop the vast material resources of the country. Extraordinary activity was manifested, both in the

^{*} The Student's Hume, pp. 712-716, new ed.

capital and in the provinces, in the extension of the railway system, in sanitary improvements, in the construction of new roads and sumptuous buildings, and in commercial and financial speculations of all kinds. Paris began to present a new aspect under the transforming hands of M. Haussmann, Prefect of the Seine. The hospitalities of the imperial court were widely extended and magnificent; and the society of the capital became in the highest degree brilliant and luxurious.

On the 14th of January, 1858, the emperor and empress narrowly escaped destruction at the door of the Opera in the Rue Lepeletier by the explosion of some bombs filled with detonating powder, which were thrown under their carriage. The chief conspirator, Orsini, frankly acknowledged that he regarded Napoleon as one who, having the power to deliver Italy from the yoke of the foreigner, had, by neglecting to make use of it, become a public enemy, an obstacle to liberty, and whom therefore it was necessary to put out of the way. Being condemned to death, he wrote a remarkable letter to the emperor, not to implore mercy, but to adjure him to interfere actively in behalf of Italy against the oppressive dominion of Austria.

Under the impulse of natural indignation caused by this atrocious deed, the government proceeded to a series of repressive measures, the wisdom of which was more than doubtful. France was divided into five great military districts under the orders of five marshals, who were armed with very extensive authority. A new law was passed, called that of "Sureté générale," which placed in the hands of the civil magistrate an almost unlimited control over the liberty of individuals under certain circumstances. General Espinasse was named minister of the interior; and the country was thus subjected, in fact, to a military régime of very stringent character. The laws regulating the newspaper press were likewise administered with increased severity. The new enactments were canvassed with considerable warmth in the Legislative body, but passed in the end with very few dissentients.

§ 5. The first rumours of an approaching intervention by the Imperial government in the affairs of Italy may be said to date from July, 1858, when Count Cavour, Prime Minister of King Victor Emmanuel, held his celebrated interview with Napoleon at the baths of Plombières. After dexterously enlarging upon the determined enmity and restless intrigues of the secret societies of the peninsula, he suggested that the emperor's surest means to disarm them would be to support Sardinia in her efforts to subdue the power of Austria south of the Alps, and to place himself in the vanguard of the fight for Italian independence. Napoleon appears to have given a general assent to his proposals, and Cavour returned

well satisfied to Turin. A ferment of agitation now commenced throughout Northern Italy, diligently fomented by the Piedmontese government, and designed to provoke some decided movement on the part of Austria, which might justify Victor Emmanuel in calling for the promised interposition of France.

At the reception of the diplomatic body at the Tuileries on the 1st of January, 1859, the emperor addressed Baron Hübner, the Austrian ambassador, in terms which were interpreted as threatening a breach of friendly relations with his government. Differences had arisen with the cabinet of Vienna as to certain articles of the peace of Paris; and it was thought at first that the emperor's words alluded to these difficulties, and had no ulterior meaning. But a pamphlet entitled "Napoleon III. et l'Italie," published under the name of M. de la Guerronière, but well known to express the ideas prevailing at the Tuileries, set forth without reserve the necessity of making a complete change in the organization of the Italian Peninsula, which was to be liberated from all foreign dominations. and consolidated as an independent union of federal states. The

King of Sardinia made a warlike speech to his chambers.

Matters came to a crisis on the 22nd of April, when Austria forwarded to Piedmont a peremptory summons to disarm, with an intimation that war must follow in case of refusal. The Austrians passed the frontier of the Ticino on the 29th of April, and on the 3rd of May war was formally proclaimed at Paris. The emperor Napoleon quitted the Tuileries on the 10th, and established his head-quarters at Alessandria on the 14th. His army was under the orders of Marshals Canrobert and Baraguay d'Hilliers, and Generals MacMahon and Niel. The combined Franco-Sardinian forces amounted to 200,000 men. The first engagement of the campaign, which took place on the 20th of May near Montebello, ended in favour of the French, commanded by General Forey. The Piedmontese, under Victor Emmanuel in person and General Cialdini, attacked the enemy at Palestro on the 30th, and compelled the Austrians to retreat beyond the Ticino. On the 4th of June the allies crossed that frontier river at Turbigo and Buffalora, and a desperate action ensued, in which the Austrians, very strongly posted at the village of Magenta, maintained for some time the superiority, and nearly overpowered the French Imperial Guard; but late in the afternoon MacMahon succeeded in outflanking them. and being then taken between two fires, they were compelled to retreat, after fearful slaughter on both sides. General MacMahon was created a marshal on the field, with the title of Duke of Magenta.

On the 8th the French emperor and Victor Emmanuel entered Milan in triumph. The Austrians, abandoning many important towns and the line of the Po, retired beyond the Mincio, having as their base the famous "quadrilateral," formed by the fortresses of Peschiera, Verona, Legnago, and Mantua. On the 24th of June they were defeated in the decisive battle of Solferino, one of the most obstinately contested conflicts of the present century, and fell back within the formidable entrenchments of the quadrilateral, with their head-quarters at Verona.

Both armies were fully prepared for an active renewal of hostilities, when it was suddenly announced that Napoleon had sent his aide-de-camp on an important mission to the Emperor Francis Joseph, and that a suspension of arms was arranged. Amid universal astonishment, the two emperors held an interview on the 11th of July at Villafranca, and signed the preliminaries of peace. There is no doubt that fear of a union between Prussia and Austria, supported by all Germany, led Napoleon to hurry on negotiations for peace. As he declared in an address to the Council of State and the two Chambers at St. Cloud (July 19th), "I found myself obliged to attack in front an enemy entrenched behind his great fortresses, and in beginning a lengthened war of sieges I was confronted by Europe in arms, ready either to dispute our successes or to aggravate our reserves. It would have been necessary first to break down the obstacles thrown in our way by neutral territories, and afterwards to accept a conflict on the Rhine as well as on the Adige."

By the convention of Villafranca, the two emperors engaged to promote the formation of a confederacy of Italian states, under the "honorary presidency" of his holiness the pope. The Emperor of Austria gave up Lombardy to Napoleon, with the exception of the fortresses of Mantua and Peschiera; Napoleon agreeing to transfer the ceded territory to the king of Sardinia. Venetia was to remain subject to the Austrian sceptre, but at the same time was to form part of the Italian confederation. The Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena were to be restored to their dominions; and the two emperors undertook to demand from the pope the introduction of certain indispensable measures of reform in his government.

The definitive treaty of peace was signed at Zurich on the 10th of November, 1859; but its arrangements were overthrown by the demand of the inhabitants of Tuscany, of Parma, of Modena, and of the Legations of Romagna, to be annexed to the crown of Piedmont. In March, 1860, Victor Emmanuel incorporated Central Italy, except Rome and its territory, with his ancestral possessions.

§ 6. The insurrection in the legations against the papal government was regarded as sacrilegious by the whole of the Roman Catholic clergy; and although it was notorious that Pius IX. was maintained upon his throne by the force of French bayonets, the policy of the emperor in Italy did not escape censure by several

of the French prelates, who denounced it as savouring of complicity with the foes of the Church. Nor were the troubled waters at all calmed by the appearance of one of the emperor's semi-official utterances, styled "Le Pape et le Congrès," which, while professing to uphold the temporal authority of the Holy See, counselled the pope to acquiesce in the loss of the Emilian Legations, and to institute political reforms which would have amounted to a total change of government. He afterwards openly recommended the pope to submit to these sacrifices, in a letter addressed to him on the 31st of December, 1859. Upon this the Catholic press redoubled its remonstrances, and the excitement among the clergy rose to the highest pitch. The "Roman question" was from this time a serious element of opposition and of grave internal difficulty to the second empire; for the population of the provinces, under the guidance of the priesthood, conceived a deep-rooted persuasion that Napoleon was the enemy of the pope, and consequently of the Catholic Church and the Catholic faith; and it was found impossible to uproot this conviction, although in many particulars the imperial régime was more favourable to the Church and its ministers than the governments which preceded it.

The emperor of the French found himself, at the opening of the year 1860, in a position to manifest inconsistency with regard to his foreign policy. Instead of liberating Italy "from the Alps to the Adriatic," he had been compelled to leave the great province of Venetia still under Austrian dominion. Moreover, it had been stipulated at Villafranca that the dispossessed princes of Central Italy should be restored to their dominions; whereas it was clear, from the expressed determination of the inhabitants, that the whole of those states would shortly be united to the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel. On the other hand, Napoleon had thought fit to demand, by way of recompense for his signal services to the cause of Italian freedom, that the Duchy of Savoy and the County of Nice should be "re-annexed" to France. A treaty to that effect was signed at Turin on the 24th of March, 1860; and on that occasion Count Cayour, who regarded it as an encouragement to further aggressive enterprise on the part of Piedmont, remarked to the French envoy. "Now we are accomplices."

A few weeks later Garibaldi wrote a letter to the king, announcing that he had placed himself at the head of an expedition in aid of his insurgent countrymen against the Neapolitan government in Sicily. The movement was instantly hailed by the nation with vehement enthusiasm; and the cabinet of Turin, neither wishing nor daring to oppose it, resolved to support it openly. Victor Emmanuel despatched commissioners to sound the French emperor upon the subject. They had an interview with him at Chambéry;

and it is understood that he assented categorically to the proposed policy. Immediately after this transaction, Sardinia declared war upon the states of the Church; and her army, under General Cialdini, prepared to cross the frontier. France, having maintained for more than ten years past the character of protector of the papal government at Rome, could do no less than enter a protest against this aggression. Instructions to that effect were sent to the French agents in Italy: General Lamoricière, who commanded the pope's troops, was informed that, in case the Italians should invade the territory of the holy see, the emperor had given orders that their march should be opposed by force; and a similar intimation was made to Cialdini. The latter, however, who was of course aware of the secret understanding between his master and the cabinet of the Tuileries, coolly disregarded the imperial menace, and continued to move upon Ancona. Lamoricière, blindly relying on the assurance of support from France, advanced to meet him; the armies encountered at Castelfidardo on the 18th of September, where the pontifical troops were totally routed and dispersed. Lamoricière fled to Ancona, where he was forthwith blockaded by the Italians; and on the 29th of September he surrendered to Admiral Persano.

While the tactics of Napoleon had been so largely successful in the cause of Italian nationality, with which he seems to have sincerely sympathized, he was equally bound, on the other hand, to defend the interest of Catholicity and the independent sovereignty of the pope. Accordingly he despatched reinforcements to the army of occupation, and announced in the *Moniteur* that France "would continue to fulfil the mission entrusted to her, as represented by the presence of her flag in the capital of the Christian world." The same manifesto stated, further, that a final arrangement of the difficulties arising from the course of events in Italy could only be made by the great powers of Europe assembled in congress.

Garibaldi, meanwhile, pursued his career of rapid conquest in the kingdom of the two Sicilies. Early in September he crossed over to Calabria at the head of his heterogeneous forces, which comprised not only native Italians, but volunteers from France, England, Poland, Hungary, and other countries. Naples welcomed him with transport, and invested him with supreme power under the title of dictator. King Francis II. hastily abandoned the capital, and took refuge in the fortress of Gaeta. Here he maintained himself for some months; his safety being guaranteed by a squadron of French men-of-war stationed off the harbour. But the determination of the Neapolitans to shake off the Bourbon rule, and make common cause with their brethren in the North, was too manifest to be mistaken; and the French emperor was convinced ere long that it was

useless to place himself in opposition to the will of the nation. In February, 1861, he withdrew his fleet from Gaeta, upon which Francis capitulated to the Italians, and took his departure by sea to Civita Vecchia, whence he proceeded to Rome. The two Sicilies declared, by a plébiscite, for union with the northern kingdom, and Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed King of Italy on the 17th of March, 1861.

§ 7. Thus singularly capricious, ambiguous, and contradictory, was the policy of France throughout the struggle of Italian independence. It was a constant attempt to play two different parts which were logically incompatible. The contrast became marked and glaring between the stringency of the system pursued at home and the liberal enterprises in which France engaged abroad; and though, on the whole, the nation still acquiesced in the constitution which it had accepted with so much eagerness in 1852, it appears that certain representations were made in the course of this year to the government, which led to an ostensible change in regard to the action of the legislative chambers. The Duc de Morny is said to have been the chief projector of the reforms which were suddenly announced to the world in the Moniteur of November 24th, 1860.

Napoleon's sincere desires to promote the material welfare of France and to cherish the alliance with England were proved by the *Commercial Treaty* which he negotiated with Mr. Cobden in 1859-60.

M. Achille Fould, the newly appointed minister of finance, had lately projected important reforms in his department, which met with considerable favour in the Legislative Chamber, and might have led to satisfactory results; but at this juncture the emperor suddenly embarked in a distant foreign enterprise, which heavily taxed the resources of the treasury, and proved damaging to the military prestige of France—an enterprise, moreover, in which the nation had no real interest. This was the ill-starred expedition to Mexico.

The Mexican republic, ever since the fall of the dictator Santa Anna in 1855, had remained in a state of chronic disorder and intestine strife. The two contending parties were those of the Clericals or Monarchists, and the Liberals or Republicans. Benito Juarez, the leader of the liberals, had overthrown the clerical chief Miramon, in December, 1860, and his government was generally recognised throughout the country. But the clericals intrigued, both at home and abroad, to procure the establishment of a monarchical throne, and in the autumn of 1861 they despatched envoys to Vienna to ascertain whether, in case the Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Emperor of Austria, should be named

Sovereign of Mexico, such an arrangement would be acceptable to the imperial court. The Emperor of the French had been consulted previously, and in fact it was he, in conjunction with his prime counsellor Morny, who dictated the details of the transaction. It would seem that he had long indulged in dreamy speculations of this nature, with the object of securing the predominance of the Latin races in the New World. The scheme was fostered by his matrimonial connection with Spain, and the personal interest of the Empress Eugénie was warmly enlisted in its support. In order to realize it, it was necessary to break off amicable relations with the government of Juarez; and a pretext for so doing was found in the refusal of the Mexican congress to fulfil certain financial obligations with France, which had been contracted during the

presidency of Miramon.

The governments of England and Spain had grievances to urge against the Mexican Republic in common with France, and the three powers agreed to combine for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction for various outrages and injuries inflicted on their subjects in the course of the civil commotions. The three powers engaged by a convention signed in London on the 31st of October, 1861, to send a sufficient naval and military force to the coast of Mexico, and to effect their object if possible by negotiation, without proceeding to actual hostilities. It was expressly stipulated that the contracting parties were not to aim at any territorial acquisition or other private advantage, nor to exercise any coercive pressure upon the Mexicans in choosing their form of government. The allied armament reached Vera Cruz early in January, 1862, and the commissioners proceeded at once to draw up an ultimatum of their demands to be presented to the Mexican government. Juarez showed every disposition to accede to them, and the preliminaries of a pacific treaty were signed at La Soledad. But at this moment the French General Lorency. accompanied by Almonte, the avowed agent of the Absolutists at Mexico, landed at Vera Cruz. The French now threw off the mask, repudiated the convention of La Soledad, and announced in plain terms that the emperor's purpose was to overthrow Juarez, and to invest the Archduke Maximilian with the Crown. Dissensions arose in consequence among the allies; the Mexican authorities required that Almonte and his companions should be ordered to re-embark and quit the territory; the French refused compliance; and the English and Spanish commissioners then declared that this flagrant infraction of the convention of London made it impossible for them to take any further part in the expedition. They therefore withdrew their forces, and returned to Europe.

The French, strengthened by large reinforcements under General Forey, took Puebla and advanced to the city of Mexico (June 3,

1863), where an assembly of notables declared for the scheme which had been predetermined. The republic was to become a constitutional hereditary empire, and the crown was offered to the Archduke Maximilian, who, with his consort the Princess Charlotte (daughter of Leopold I., of Belgium), landed at S. Juan d'Alloa on the 29th of May, 1864.

Their new subjects seemed to have received them with indifference, or at all events without enthusiasm. General Forey, meanwhile, had made himself unpopular by the harshness of his military administration, which was carried to still more rigorous extremes by the folly of his subordinates. Such was the bitterness of public feeling against him, that he was recalled to France in the summer of 1863, and replaced in his command by General (afterwards Marshal) Bazaine. The French forces in Mexico numbered, at this time, nearly 40,000 men.

This strange enterprise, utterly unpopular in France, and denounced in the Chambers by M. Thiers and other leaders of the opposition, which had gained strength in the new elections (see § 8), received its death blow when the United States became free to act by the end of their great civil war in 1865. In consequence of an urgent and almost menacing representation from the Cabinet of Washington, which from the first had strongly objected to the intervention of France in the affairs of Mexico, Napoleon now resolved to recall his troops from that country. The French army accordingly embarked at Vera Cruz on the 12th of March, 1867, and the Marshal landed at Toulon on the 5th of May, where he

met with a cold and mortifying reception.

The position of Maximilian, thus cruelly abandoned, soon proved hopeless. He marched at the head of his army, not more than 9000 strong, to Queretaro. Here he was besieged by the Juarists; and, the place having been reduced to extremity by the failure of provisions, the emperor sent his favourite, Colonel Lopez, to the republican camp, to obtain, if possible, the means of withdrawing in safety from the Mexican territory. The request was sternly refused. Escobedo, knowing the desperate condition of the garrison, made a sudden attack on the night of the 15th of May, and gained entrance to the town by surprise, which is said to have been favoured by the cowardice or treachery of Lopez. Maximilian attempted to escape, but, being surrounded by the enemy, was compelled to surrender his sword, and become a prisoner of war. He appealed to the generosity of his captors, but the only reply was, that in the circumstances it was impossible to deal with him otherwise than according to the letter of the law; and his fate was evidently predetermined. He was tried, together with his generals Miramon and Mejia, on the 15th of June by a court martial, which

unanimously condemned them to be shot. Juarez rejected a last petition for mercy, and the sentence was executed on the 19th of June.

The tragic issue of the Mexican enterprise forms one of the darkest pages in the history of the Second Empire; and the just disgrace brought on the emperor by the fate of the young, chivalrous, and accomplished Maximilian, concurred with other sources of danger that were now arising to shake his throne.

§ 8. The various parties opposed to Napoleon III. had combined in a resolute aggressive movement at the general elections of 1863. On this occasion M. Thiers re-appeared on the political scene, and became a candidate for one of the circumscriptions of the city of Paris. He found himself side by side with advanced democrats, such as MM. Jules Favre, Jules Simon, Eugène Pelletan, and Picard. The minister of the interior, M. de Persigny, was unwise enough to protest publicly against the election of Thiers; and branded the coalition, in a circular to the préfets, as men who "sought to delude the country by turning against the emperor the very liberties which he had so recently inaugurated." But this gross violation of electoral freedom was of no avail. Paris returned the whole list of the opposition candidates. The example was partially imitated in some of the great provincial towns, and on the whole a considerable addition was made to the strength of the liberals as compared with previous years. The government, however, still commanded a large and decisive majority.

Napoleon opened the legislative session of 1864 by proclaiming that "the treaties of 1815 had ceased to exist;"—a phrase which gave rise to much uneasiness, as it was taken to imply that fresh schemes were afloat for modifying the political state of Europe, which might issue in renewed conflicts for ascendency. The emperor had already invited the great powers to meet in congress at Paris for the discussion of various pending questions; but the proposal was not favourably received.

More than one sharp passage of arms took place between M. Rouher, the emperor's "speaking minister," and M. Thiers, who argued vehemently in behalf of what he called "necessary liberties," namely, the freedom of the press, of national representation, of the individual, and of public opinion; and added that "what was now matter of deferential and respectful petition might one day be converted into a peremptory mandate."

§ 9. In pursuance of his favourite policy of "conciliation" in the affairs of Italy, the emperor signed, on the 15th of September, 1864, a convention with King Victor Emmanuel, to withdraw his troops gradually from the pontifical states, within two years. The King of Italy engaged to abstain from attacking the actual dominions of the pope, and to defend them by force against any attack which might be made upon them from without. The pope was to be at liberty to recruit his army from the subjects of foreign Catholic states. Italy undertook the charge of the public debt belonging to the former states of the Church. The convention was not to be practically binding, until Victor Emmanuel should have transferred his seat of government to another capital; which was understood to be the city of Florence, not Rome.

In the session of 1865, M. Thiers protested earnestly against this treaty, which he viewed as a certain prelude to the downfall of the temporal power, and as tending to injure the prestige of France both at home and in the eyes of Europe. The Vatican took no direct notice of the convention of September; but the famous Encyclical, "Quantâ curâ," and the Syllabus of Modern Errors, which were published soon afterwards, were considered as a pontifical manifesto in reply to this new aggression on the rights of the Church. The French government forbad the promulgation of these documents, in accordance with one of the articles of the Concordat of 1801. Notwithstanding this, several prelates announced them from the pulpit, and were visited with a severe reprimand. A paragraph in the address of the Chambers, which referred to this proceeding, called forth remonstrances in the senate from the Archbishops of Bordeaux and Rouen, and provoked an animated discussion, but it was voted with only two dissentients.

§ 10. It was in the autumn of this year that Count Bismarck proceeded to Biarritz, and had several interviews with the emperor Napoleon, which are believed to have been closely connected with the political complications of the day, and particularly with the impending rupture between Northern Germany and Austria. A few months earlier (March, 1865) Napoleon had sustained a severe loss in the death of the Duc de Morny, his most trusted, and perhaps his ablest counsellor, whose influence had for years been paramount in shaping the course of State policy in France. Deprived of his services, the emperor was no match for the German diplomatist, whose object on this occasion was to purchase the neutrality of France during the coming conflict, by means of some vague but tempting bait of future territorial aggrandisement. He is said to have offered to facilitate the annexation of Belgium to the French empire, or some equivalent acquisition on the banks of the Rhine. Napoleon fell into the snare, and consented, more or less distinctly, to an arrangement which left Prussia free to prosecute her ambitious designs, without danger of intervention from the side of

On the eve of the breaking out of hostilities between Prussia and Austria in 1866, the French emperor announced that his policy would be that of non-intervention; a line of conduct which he had already exemplified by conniving at the unjust dismemberment of the kingdom of Denmark in the affair of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. But such neutrality on the part of France was precisely what Prussia desired. Repeated warnings were addressed to the government as to the real views of that power, notably in a luminous speech of M. Thiers on the 6th of May. The gist of this speech was to defend the existing balance of power in Europe, as settled at the last general peace; and considerable sensation was caused by a speech of the emperor at Auxerre a few days afterwards, in which, as if in reply to M. Thiers, he proclaimed his detestation of the treaties of 1815, and hinted that events were at hand which would result in an advantageous extension of the frontiers of France. This confirmed the impression that he was acting upon a secret understanding with the cabinet of Berlin. the same time he was busy negotiating with Austria. The latter power consented, if the event of the war should be in its favour, to cede Venetia to the kingdom of Italy, receiving in exchange Silesia, which was to be severed from Prussia.

The proposition of a Congress for the adjustment of the various disputed questions having proved abortive, war became inevitable. The Prussian government, by a master-stroke of policy, had secured beforehand (April, 1866) the alliance and co-operation of Italy; so that Austria entered on the contest under the immense disadvantage of being compelled to divide her armies, and to defend at once her northern and her Transalpine frontiers.

Early in June the Prussians crossed the Elbe, and took possession of Saxony. The kingdom of Hanover and the Electorate of Hesse submitted almost without resistance. On the 3rd of July was fought the great and decisive battle of Königgrātz, or Sadowa, in which the Austrians were totally routed, and it was with great difficulty that Benedek made good his retreat upon Olmütz. It was found impossible to reorganize the army; and negotiations were resorted to under the mediation of the Emperor of the French. One of the first results of the victory of Sadowa was the cession of the province of Venetia to Napoleon III., to be by him transferred to the King of Italy.

By the first article of the proposed conditions of peace, Austria was excluded from all share in the reorganized German confederacy, implying, as a matter of course, that Prussia was to succeed to the "hegemony" which Austria relinquished. But this was not all. Prussia demanded that her recent conquest of Hanover, Saxony, and Electoral Hesse, should be officially recognised by France, and that those states should be permanently incorporated with her monarchy. The southern states, Bayaria, Wurtemburg, and Baden, were to

form for the present an independent confederation, with full liberty, if they should desire it, to unite themselves completely to Northern Germany. Secret treaties were concluded, placing their military force at the command of Prussia in case of attack by a common enemy, meaning France, against whom this alliance of all Germany was used with fatal effect in 1870.

Napoleon, on being summoned, within a month after the victory of Sadowa, to signify his consent to the Prussian annexations, replied by admitting the claim, but pointed out that these changes would very seriously affect the balance of power, and that he therefore expected, in fairness from the cabinet of Berlin, certain concessions of a nature to augment the defensive strength of France. Various propositions were discussed with this object; but Prussia, instead of making herself a party to any concessions calculated to soothe the wounded pride and vanity of France, sought additional elements of strength and preponderance by drawing still closer the bonds of her alliance with Russia.

The results of the campaign of Sadowa inflicted a serious loss of prestige upon Napoleon and his empire. From that moment it was clear that an effort must be made, sooner or later, to restore the balance; and war between France and the newly constituted union of Germany became a matter of certainty, though it might be deferred for a time.

§ 11. In accordance with the convention of the 15th of September. 1864, the French garrison was withdrawn from Rome in December. 1866. Garibaldi took advantage of their departure to organize a fresh insurrection against the pontifical government, the details of which belong to the history of Italy. The situation of the pope became alarming. The clerical press broke forth into loud exclamations against the audacious infractions of the late convention; and after much hesitation and discussion with the Italian government, Napoleon gave orders, with great personal reluctance, for a second armed intervention in defence of the papal sovereignty. Two divisions, under the command of General de Failly, were despatched from Toulon, and landed at Civita Vecchia on the 20th of October, 1867. In conjunction with the papal troops they marched immediately against the republicans, who had taken possession of Monte Rotondo, about twelve miles from Rome. A battle was fought on the 4th of November, at the village of Mentana, which ended in the total overthrow of Garibaldi, who capitulated with all his followers, and was sent prisoner to Varignano. The French expeditionary troops now retired from Rome and its neighbourhood, and occupied Civita Vecchia.

The Italian patriots were greatly exasperated by the renewal of French interposition, to the prejudice, as they viewed it, of

their national independence and unity. Nor were the friends of the Vatican much better satisfied, since, although the holy father was placed in safety for the time, his temporal authority was far

from being fully re-established.*

§ 12. Thus the position of the emperor grew more and more involved. Great disquietude prevailed with regard to the compensations which were to be demanded by France in consequence of the recent conquests achieved by Prussia. In the spring of 1867, the emperor opened negotiations with the King of the Netherlands, with a view to obtain the cession of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. which belonged to the Crown of Holland, but was at the same time a member of the German confederation, and was garrisoned by Prussian troops. Count Bismarck announced that the German parliament was not likely to consent to such a transaction, and for a short time war between France and Prussia was considered to be imminent; but the question was ultimately referred to a conference of the powers, which met in London on the 7th of May. A compromise was now agreed to; the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg was to be neutralized, the fortress dismantled, and the Prussian garrison was thereupon to evacuate the place. The danger of an immediate collision thus passed away; but France had little reason to congratulate herself on the result of her efforts to obtain a rectification of her frontiers, or other advantage tending to counterbalance the enormous power of Prussia.

§ 13. During the summer of 1867 King William of Prussia, attended by his minister Count Bismarck, visited the French capital on the occasion of the International Exhibition held that year. A brilliant crowd of sovereigns, princes, and notabilities from all quarters of Europe, were attracted to Paris to witness this imposing spectacle; and the Second Empire may be said to have reached at this date its culminating point of grandeur and glory. The emperor, in his speech on the day of the distribution of prizes, congratulated the country in high-flown terms on the result. Notwithstanding his grandiloquent phrases, sagacious observers could not but recognise many symptoms which augured ill for the prolonged

stability of the imperial régime.

A law had been proposed for the reorganization of the army, which met with vigorous opposition in the legislature, and became extremely unpopular throughout the country. Its object was to make a vast addition to the regular army, and to create an entirely new force, called the "Garde Nationale Mobile," consisting of a reserve of 400,000 men, which was to be called out only by a

^{*} It was not till 1870 that the French troops were finally withdrawn in consequence of the disastrous war with Germany, and Rome was made the capital of Victor Emmanuel.

decree of the emperor and a vote of the Chamber under special circumstances. The rural districts complained vehemently of this measure, which could not but prove a heavy blow to agriculture, by withdrawing multitudes of young men from their homes for five years' military training. But a similar system was known to exist in Germany; and such was the prevailing jealousy with regard to the movements and intentions of that power, that even in a time of profound peace it was deemed necessary to make careful preparation for all the eventualities of war. The scheme of the government was not accepted, however, till it had undergone very considerable alterations and reductions. Marshal Niel, minister of war, declared that the supplies voted were quite insufficient to carry out his views, and in consequence it was found impossible to complete the organization of the Garde Nationale Mobile.

By a decree of the 19th of January, 1867, the emperor substituted for the debate on the address at the opening of the session the right of questioning (interpellation) the government upon any point of public policy. Ministers were to be named by the emperor to attend the sittings of both Chambers for the purpose of explaining and defending the acts of the executive; and the representatives of the nation were authorized, under definite restrictions, to demand information from them as to the conduct of affairs, upon which they might debate, but were not to pronounce an opinion by any direct vote with reasons assigned. This was a very small step in advance of the former system. It was accompanied by two regulations upon the prosecution of offences by the press, and upon the right of public meeting, in both which cases restrictions were removed; and Napoleon described these changes, in one of his pompous announcements, as the "crowning of the edifice erected by the national will." But it does not seem to have been regarded in this light by the members of the legislature. The new privilege of interpellation produced some animated and interesting debates, particularly those upon the "Roman question." In reply to a memorable speech of M. Thiers, attacking the theory of "nationalities," which had prompted the emperor's interference in the case of Italy. M. Rouher, the emperor's "speaking minister," said, "Italy aspires to Rome, which she considers imperatively necessary to her unity; but we declare in the name of the French government, that Italy shall never take possession of Rome." "Never! never!" shouted the whole of the côté droit, starting enthusiastically to their feet. Little indeed did those who made and applauded such strenuous protestations foresee the events by which within three years they were to be so remorselessly refuted and scattered to the winds!

§ 14. Few occurrences of serious public importance took place during the year 1868. The Chambers were much occupied with the questions of the liberty of the press and the regulation of meetings for political purposes, in regard to which the government proposed changes of a liberal tendency. Peace was maintained, yet the army continued still on its full war footing, and the scheme of military reorganization was pursued with undiminished energy. The military contingent for the year was fixed at 100,000 men; the emperor, however, took occasion to declare publicly that "nothing menaced the tranquillity of Europe." Towards the end of the year a demonstration made by the radical opposition at the tomb of a late deputy, named Baudin, who had lost his life on the 3rd of December, 1851, during the insurrection which followed the coup d'état, caused great excitement both in Paris and the provinces, and led to consequences which brought much odium upon the government.

§ 15. The legislative body was dissolved in April, 1869, having served the prescribed term of six years; and a general election followed almost immediately. By means of extraordinary pressure on the constituencies, and corruption on a wider scale than ever, the government secured a preponderant majority in the new legislature; but the opposition was again signally triumphant in Paris, where more than 250,000 votes were given to candidates who proclaimed themselves irreconcilables. In the provinces, too, a rapid and decided advance of opinion was manifested in the direction of liberal changes in the constitution. On the meeting of the new Chamber, a notice of motion was given, signed by 116 deputies, setting forth "the necessity of enabling the country to participate more effectually in the direction of public affairs." The emperor, yielding to these expressions of popular feeling, announced on the 19th of July various measures tending to enlarge the powers and privileges of the legislative body; and promised further reforms, which were accepted by the senate. The Senatusconsultum conferred upon the Chamber the important right of initiating new laws, and it declared the ministers to be responsible, though stating at the same time that they were "dependent on the emperor." It was clear that an attempt was to be made, at all events ostensibly, to transform the empire into a parliamentary and constitutional system resembling that of England; but, while making these concessions, the emperor fully purposed to retain the substance of absolute power which he had seized in 1852.

Napoleon was now suffering from the inroads of a painful disease, which gradually impaired both his physical and mental energies. He was in no condition to undertake this difficult enterprise personally, and he was much at a loss for well-qualified instruments to carry it out. His best friends and ablest ministers had passed away; Marshal Niel, M. Billault, M. Walewski, M. Fould, in addition to the Duc de Morny, were all gone. In this emergency

he addressed himself to M. Émile Ollivier, who, originally a partisan of the republicans, had lately conceived the idea of bringing the imperial dynasty into harmony with liberal principles and institutions. M. Ollivier possessed great eloquence, considerable acuteness, and unbounded self-confidence: he held several secret consultations with the emperor at Compiègne: and in the last days of 1869, on the resignation of the existing ministry, he was entrusted with the task of forming a new cabinet, which was gazetted on the 2nd of January, 1870, and contained four distinguished members of the centre gauche, or constitutional party, which had hitherto disapproved of the empire.

On the 22nd of February the new ministers were questioned in the legislative chamber as to the character and details of their policy. Comte Daru, in reply, stated that, having been opposed in principle to the constitution of 1852, he had remained in strict retirement for twenty years, until to-day, when political liberty had once more assumed its place in the institutions of France. He was now come to defend and practise it. Perfect confidence and harmony, he said, reigned between him and his colleagues; and he concluded by announcing the following as the measures which they proposed to introduce: A new law upon elections, a municipal law. a law relating to the press, a law of "sureté générale," a law of decentralization, an industrial commission, and a financial budget. This programme was hailed with lively satisfaction by the liberals, and indeed by the majority of the house. The next day M. Émile Ollivier notified that the system of official candidatures would be forthwith abandoned, and that the government would be absolutely neutral with respect to elections. This was resisted by a few obstinate imperialists, but on a division the ministers were supported by a very large majority.

The next step was to vote the alterations in the constitution which were embodied in the recent Senatus-consultum. To these a further article was now added, by which the "constituent power" was withdrawn from the senate, and the right of legislation was attributed collectively to the emperor, the senate, and the legislative body. But the effect of these provisions was neutralized by another clause, which enacted that the constitution could not be modified except by the people, upon the proposition of the emperor.

The real drift of this was that, in the event of disagreement between the emperor and the legislative Chambers, the former might supersede and override them by appealing directly to the people; and the *plébiscite* was thus to be made the instrument by which, in the last resort, the emperor would remain virtually supreme. Under such conditions it was felt that the professed

recurrence to parliamentary government would prove but an illusion and a sham.

M. Émile Ollivier himself was at heart opposed to the plébiscite, and had only yielded to the personal instances of the emperor. Vigorous speeches were made against it in the Chamber, but without success. M. Buffet and Comte Daru, after remonstrating without effect, threw up their offices. The new constitution was accepted unanimously by the senate, and on the 23rd of April a decree appeared convoking the French nation in its "comices" (the Latin comitia), for the purpose of expressing itself upon the following proposition: "The people approves the liberal reforms effected in the constitution by the emperor since 1860, with the consent of the great bodies of the state, and ratifies the Senatus-consultum of the 20th of April, 1870." A proclamation by the emperor followed, exhorting all those who had placed him in power in 1849, to support him with their affirmative suffrages; and the minister assured the electors that in voting "yes" on this occasion they would vote for liberty, for the glory of France, for public tranquillity, and for the peaceful transmission of the empire from father to son. The struggle which now commenced was not confined to the question of any particular measures of reform in the existing constitution: its real import was a vote either favourable or adverse to the imperial dignity itself. It was understood in this sense on all sides.

The plébiscite, taken on the 8th of May, exhibited a total of 7.350,000 affirmative votes, against something more than one million and a half on the contrary side.* The victory was decisive in appearance; but, considering the extraordinary efforts made by the government officials throughout the country, the minority represented a disaffection to the empire more profound and determined than could have been expected. The most dangerous symptom was the vote of the army and navy, which gave (in round numbers) 310,000 ayes against 52,000 noes; revealing the avowed disaffection of nearly one-sixth of the military force on which the whole fabric of the empire rested. This unwelcome discovery was one motive to a warlike policy; and within a few weeks the nation was once more frightened from its repose by the sudden intelligence (July 3, 1870) that the throne of Spain had been offered to one of the princes of Hohenzollern, a distant relative of the royal family of Prussia, and had been accepted by him.

§ 16. Such was the extreme jealousy with which the French had regarded Prussia since the events of 1866, that the slightest

^{*} Count Cavour is said to have pronounced a plébiscite a very good thing for those who knew how to manipulate it. Is there not something suspicious in the recurrence of the 7½ millions in the votes of 1851, 1852, and 1870?

spark was sufficient to kindle the flames of open strife between the two nations; and, although there was no proof that the Hohenzollern candidature was due to the intrigues of the cabinet of Berlin, the French insisted that it must be so interpreted; that it was a deliberate insult to France, and constituted (unless at once withdrawn) a manifest casus belli.

It was in vain that the King of Prussia declared that he had given his consent only as head of the Hohenzollern family, and that Prince Antoine of Hohenzollern, in the name of his son Leopold, renounced his candidature for the crown (July 12). The French government insisted that his Prussian Majesty should not only express his approbation of that step, but must undertake for the future that Prince Leopold should never again be permitted to aspire to the Spanish Crown. It was clear that the king could not, without humiliation, entertain this application; and it is difficult to believe that there was not a fixed purpose, from this point of the negotiations, to drive Prussia into such a position as to make a

rupture inevitable.

On the king's refusal, public indignation rose to a high pitch in Paris, under the mistaken notion that the ambassador of France had been insulted, and that the national honour was attacked. The emperor seems to have been personally inclined to peace; but there was a strong party in his intimate councils who urged him with fatal effect in the opposite direction. At their head was the Empress Eugénie, who insisted that war was necessary for the interests and prestige of the dynasty. She was supported by the zealous Bonapartists of the early days of the empire, who disapproved the liberal reforms lately introduced, and hoped that by means of the nlébiscite a return would be effected to the old system of arbitrary personal government. The existing cabinet was divided in opinion. The Duc de Gramont and Marshal Lebœuf were eager for war, the latter affirming, as Minister of War, that "France was perfectly prepared, and probably would never be so well prepared again"; Émile Ollivier, though himself disposed to moderation, lacked the firmness and strength of character to restrain his colleagues; and the result was that in an evil hour the advocates of an appeal to arms prevailed, and the fate of the Second Empire was sealed. On the 15th of July statements were made to the two Chambers by the Duc de Gramont and M. Ollivier, which were tantamount to a declaration of war against Prussia. A vehement debate followed in the Legislative Chamber, in which the veteran Thiers exhausted all his eloquence in striving to arrest the Government on the brink of its perilous enterprise; but the division lists showed an overwhelming majority in favour of the ministerial programme. The Parisians received the intelligence with transports

of enthusiasm. Crowds of excited citizens paraded the boulevards, singing the Marseillaise and shouting "A Berlin!" "Vive l'Em-

pereur! vive la France! à bas la Prusse!"

Napoleon, having appointed the empress regent in his absence, quitted St. Cloud on the 28th of July, and arriving the same night at Metz, assumed the supreme command of the army, with Marshal Lebouf for his major-general. At the moment when the difference first arose with Prussia, the French army was on its peace footing; the arsenals, which had been almost drained by the Mexican expedition, were but scantily furnished, and the magazines were wretchedly ill-provided. Marshal Lebœuf estimated the effective force of the army at something more than 490,000 men; but it appears that at the opening of the campaign not more than 250,000 of all arms were actually under the standards, with about a thousand pieces of artillery. They formed seven army corps, besides the Imperial Guard, which was commanded by General Bourbaki and stationed at Metz, the head-quarters of the emperor. Marshal Mac-Mahon, with the 1st Corps, was posted in front of Strasburg, between the Rhine and the Vosges mountains; and the other divisions, under Marshal Bazaine and Generals de Failly, Frossard, and Ladmirault, extended from that position as far to the north as Thionville near Sierck. The line of operations was too long, and the means of communication between the different corps were badly organized.

The Prussians took the field with 380,000 men and 1200 cannon. They were commanded nominally by King William, but really by the celebrated Moltke, the ablest tactician and strategist in Europe. They constituted three distinct armies; the first, under the orders of General Steinmetz, assembled in the neighbourhood of Trèves; the second, under Prince Frederick Charles, took post in front of Mayence; the third, commanded by the Prince Royal of Prussia, with General Blumenthal as chief of the staff, was stationed in the Bavarian Palatinate, and was destined to invade France by way of Alsace. The Crown Prince's army was composed of the forces of the South German States, which, faithful to the secret treaties of 1866, at once declared for Prussia; thus extinguishing the one hope that France might have induced or forced them to join her by boldly crossing the Rhine at Strasburg; a move, besides, for which she was utterly unprepared. From the first, therefore, her enemy was not Prussia, but a united Germany.

The French, instead of boldly taking the initiative and crossing the Rhine, lost several days in inaction; indeed, their imperfect state of preparation made it impossible to undertake a forward movement. At length, on the 2nd of August, General Frossard advanced towards Saarbrück, where an insignificant skirmish took place, and the Prince Imperial, a youth of fourteen, received what was pretentiously styled his "baptism of fire." This trivial success had scarcely been announced, when the news arrived that a French division had been surprised and totally routed by the Crown Prince of Prussia at Weissemburg.

The Germans, having thus forced an entrance into French territory, advanced immediately against Marshal MacMahon, who held a strong position at Wörth, near the eastern slopes of the Vosges, with upwards of 40,000 men, and was routed in an obstinate battle fought on the 6th of August. The discomfited host poured through the passes of the Vosges, making no attempt to defend them, and reached Saverne in a pitiable state of disorder and panic. Here something like order was restored, and the remnant of the 1st Corps retreated to the camp of Châlons-sur-Marne. The whole of Alsace, together with the great road to Paris through Nancy, was thus thrown open to the invaders.

On the same day that MacMahon was defeated at Wörth, a second misfortune befell the French arms at Spicheren, near Forbach, where General Frossard was attacked and routed by the leading columns of the armies of Steinmetz and Prince Frederick Charles. Their momentary touch of German soil across the Saar was lost, and France had to submit to an invasion. The emperor, retreating to Metz, telegraphed the news to Paris with the ominous words, *Tout*

peut se rétablir (" All may yet be retrieved ").

These startling reverses caused consternation at the imperial head-quarters, and the gravest anxiety and perplexity prevailed as to the course to be pursued. At first it was proposed to retreat and form a junction with MacMahon at Châlons, so as to command the approaches to Paris; and this would doubtless have been the wisest and safest plan. It was abandoned, however, in consequence of the urgent entreaties of the empress-regent and her ministers, who declared that a withdrawal from Metz and Lorraine would have the worst possible effect at Paris, and might even prove the ruin of the dynasty. It was determined, therefore, to concentrate the army in the neighbourhood of Metz, the ancient capital of Lorraine; and this operation was completed by the 11th of August.

§ 17. Meanwhile indescribable alarm and agitation reigned at Paris. The empress immediately convoked the Chambers, declared the department of the Seine in a state of siege, and summoned under the standards of the National Guards all citizens under the age of forty. At the first sitting of the Legislative Body (August 9th) a violent attack was made both upon the Ollivier Ministry and upon the emperor. A vote of want of confidence in the ministry was adopted unanimously. Upon this M. Ollivier and his friends resigned, and the empress commissioned General Montauban,

Comte de Palikao, to form a cabinet, uniting with the premiership the office of Minister of War. The new ministers took measures forthwith to satisfy public opinion by making a change in the supreme command of the army; and on the 13th it was announced at Paris that Marshal Bazaine was appointed commander-in-chief. The emperor, whose return to Paris would have provoked a cry for his deposition, retired to MacMahon's camp at Châlons, narrowly escaping capture by the Prussians.

Marshal Bazaine had no sooner assumed the command, than he recurred to the original scheme of retreating from Metz, to unite his forces with MacMahon at Châlons. On the 14th of August the army commenced its march with that object; but the delays and hesitations of the last few days had enabled the Germans to come up in force, and the French were intercepted at Borny, or Courcelles, before they had completed the passage of the Moselle. The enemy, though repulsed in a fierce combat, nevertheless succeeded in his purpose of delaying their march, and gaining sufficient time to bar their farther progress towards Châlons. On the 15th they continued their retreat, but on the 16th they were attacked a second time by the army of Prince Frederick Charles, and the villages of Rezonville and Mars-la-tour witnessed the most desperate and equally contested battle of this memorable campaign. The result was not decisive; but the Germans now gained command of the direct road to Verdun, and Bazaine felt it necessary to retire towards Metz. On the 18th the Germans, with 180,000 men under King William and Moltke, assailed the French position at Armanvilliers, St. Privat, and Gravelotte. The French fought heroically, but in the end were overpowered, as usual, by numbers. The loss of the Germans on this decisive day is said to have amounted to upwards of 19,000 men. The victors proceeded without delay to blockade the unfortunate "army of the Rhine" in its entrenched camp at Metz, where it was isolated from the rest of France, and hemmed in by an impenetrable circle of iron.

Leaving the investment to the "Red Prince" (Frederick Charles), the king and his staff joined the Crown Prince's army, which was advancing upon Paris, town after town surrendering at the first summons of an advanced guard of cavalry. Only a few fortresses, such as Toul, Vitry, and Phalsbourg, held out bravely; while Strasburg, invested on the 10th of August, made a brilliant defence.

At Châlons, in an auxious consultation on the 17th, it was resolved that all the disposable troops in France should be concentrated forthwith under the walls of the capital, and General Trochu was named governor of Paris.

§ 18. Marshal MacMahon moved on the 21st of August from FRANCE, 2 U

Châlons to Reims. Here a despatch met him from Bazaine, which once more induced him to change his plans. Orders were given to march towards the north-east, with the object of succouring the army of the Rhine, which was believed to be already in motion from Metz. To oppose such a movement, and to co-operate on the advance to Paris, Moltke sent the Crown Prince of Saxony with a new army of 100,000 into the Ardennes. On the 23rd MacMahon set out north-eastwards in the direction of Montmédy. On the 27th he became aware of the march northwards of the armies of the Crown Prince and King of Saxony, and proposed to retire westwards. But the empress and the government at Paris insisted that he should continue his advance. The Prussians thereupon, having made a rapid flank movement towards the north, came into contact on the 30th with the French rear-guard at Beaumont. The 5th Corps, under General de Failly, was suddenly attacked at that point, and driven back in utter confusion upon Mouzon, with the loss of 3000 men. As his troops were by this time discouraged, and to a great extent demoralized, the marshal, not desiring to hazard a pitched battle, purposed to rally and re-unite the army at Sedan, and afterwards to proceed to Mezières, where a fresh corps d'armée was in course of formation. But the enemy allowed him no respite. Their victorious legions came up successively during the 31st, and in the great battle of the following day they completely surrounded the French army, which was formed in a semicircle in the rear of Sedan, having that fortress as its central point. Crossing the Meuse at daylight, by two bridges which the French had unaccountably neglected to destroy, the Bavarians made a fierce attack on the 12th French Corps at Bazeilles, a large village east of Sedan. A murderous conflict followed at this spot, where the French defended themselves with the utmost gallantry to the last extremity; but everything conspired to reduce them to an utterly desperate condition. Marshal MacMahon, while reconnoitring the enemy, received a wound which compelled him to quit the field; and the command was transferred to Colonel Ducrot, who was superseded by General Wimpffen, in virtue of a commission which he produced from the government at Paris. The change of command involved the confusion of opposite plans of retreat, while the Germans effected the prescribed junction on the plateau of Illey. After this it was clearly useless for the French to resist further. Their cavalry made a last effort, and charged repeatedly with headlong valour, but without success. The emperor, who had scarcely shown himself during the action, now interfered, and Wimpffen, after a warm remonstrance, convinced at length of the hopelessness of the situation, ordered a general retreat into

Sedan. The scene of confusion which thereupon ensued defies description.

The King of Prussia had already ordered his artillery to cease firing, and sent an officer to Napoleon's quarters to demand submission. An answer was promised next day, and at seven in the morning Napoleon drove to the Prussian head-quarters, preceded by General Reille with a note in which he formally resigned his sword into the hands of the conqueror. He was met by Count Bismarck, with whom he conversed for some time in the cottage of a weaver by the roadside; but King William refrained from making his appearance till it was announced that the capitulation was actually signed by General Winnpffen. He then gave a generous reception to his prisoner, and placed at his disposal the palace of Wilhelmshohe, near Cassel, as his abode during his captivity in Germany.

The disaster of Sedan inflicted upon France a total loss of 124,000 men. Of these 83,000 became prisoners of war in virtue

of the capitulation.

§ 19. Events at Paris, upon the tidings of the catastrophe of Sedan, succeeded each other with lightning-like rapidity. The blow was so cruel and so unexpected, that at first it produced a sort of general stupefaction; but this was quickly followed by an outburst of furious indignation against the government, and the streets and boulevards re-echoed with shouts of "déchéance! déchéance!" It was instantly apparent that the fall of the empire was irrevocably determined. The legislative body, meeting in intense excitement at midday on the 4th of September, named a committee of five members, who were to appoint a provisional ministry; and a constituent assembly was to be convoked as soon as circumstances would permit, to decide upon the future form of government. But their deliberations were cut short by a tumultuous invasion of the National Guards and the mob of Paris; upon which the frightened legislature at once took flight. In the midst of indescribable confusion, the crowd insisted on the immediate proclamation of a republic.

MM. Jules Favre and Gambetta placed themselves at the head of the insurgent multitude, and led the way to the Hôtel de Ville. There, at four in the afternoon, they formally declared the fall of Louis Napoleon and his dynasty, and the establishment of a republic in its place. The Empress-Regent escaped without opposition or accident to England, and took up her residence at Chislehurst in Kent. Her late ministers dispersed in all haste, and quitted France in various directions. Such was the inglorious

collapse of the second Bonapartist empire.

The administration which succeeded to power at this most

difficult and critical moment was composed almost entirely of the liberal members of the city of Paris in the late Chamber of Deputies. General Trochu, Governor of Paris, was named President: Jules Favre was Vice-President and Minister for Foreign Affairs; Gambetta took the department of the interior; Picard, of finances. M. Thiers had been earnestly solicited to take office, but he declined.

The great and pressing necessity which first presented itself to the "Government of National Defence" (as it was called) was to obtain a suspension of hostilities, and, if possible, moderate terms of peace. The King of Prussia had let fall the expression, that he was not at war with the French people, but only with the Emperor Napoleon; this was recalled and relied on as encouraging the hope that, since the empire was now a thing of the past, the conquerors might be disposed to deal liberally with the nation through its freely chosen representatives. But would they recognise the republican government as possessing the requisite authority to treat? This was extremely doubtful; but at all events it was imperative to make the attempt. The Germans appeared before Paris on the 19th of September, and on that day a meeting took place between Jules Favre and Count Bismarck, at M. de Rothschild's château at Ferrières. The Count demanded deeply humiliating terms—the surrender of Strasburg and its garrison, who were to become prisoners of war, the surrender of Toul and other fortresses, and the continuance of hostilities in and around Metz. He declined to permit a revictualling of Paris, except at the price of the occupation of some commanding fort, such as the Mont Valérien, by German troops. This last suggestion was too much for the patience of the French Minister; he at once took leave of the Count, returned to Paris, and, in the name of his colleagues, indignantly declared that France would never yield either "an inch of her territory or a stone of her fortresses."

Meanwhile the German armies completed the investment of the French capital: and on the 5th of October the King of Prussia fixed his head-quarters at Versailles. Some members of the Government of Defence had already removed to Tours, where they were afterwards joined by Gambetta, who escaped from Paris in a balloon, and now displayed marvellous energy in organizing a new resistance in the provinces.

§ 20. Marshal Bazaine and his army still continued to hold out at Metz: but their provisions were running short, and no further hope remained of raising the siege. Under these circumstances, the Marshal, with the advice of a council of war, despatched General Bover to Versailles to treat confidentially for a pacific arrangement. He arrived on the 14th, and a curious negotiation followed, which

at one time seemed to promise a reaction in favour of the Bonapartists and the Regency of the Empress. But in the end the project failed, the Empress steadily declining to sanction any terms which involved a surrender of French territory. The negotiation was broken off; in the course of a few days Bazaine found himself reduced to extremity, and on the 27th of October he capitulated. The "Army of the Rhine," which included three marshals, forty-seven general officers, and 173,000 men, now laid down their arms, after the example of their comrades at Sedan, and became prisoners of war.* Strasburg and Toul had been compelled to succumb about

a month previously.

§ 21. Our limits forbid us to enter upon a detailed description of the siege of Paris, or to follow the movements of the newly formed armies, which prolonged a brave though desultory resistance to the Germans on the banks of the Loire, and in the north and east. The defence of Paris lasted for upwards of four months-from the 21st of September, 1870, to the 28th of January, 1871-and was marked by singular patriotism and self-devotion on the part of the garrison and the population. The troops, under Generals Trochu, Ducrot, and Vinoy, attempted to effect a junction with the "Army of the Loire" under General Aurelle de Paladines, who had gained much credit by his success in retaking Orleans; but this scheme was foiled by the decisive repulse of that general on the 4th of December. In the mean time Manteuffel had taken Amiens (Nov. 27), and on the 6th of December occupied Rouen. Under Faidherbe, however, the French army of the north struggled bravely with Goeben at Bapaume (Jan. 3), and at St. Quentin (Jan. 19), but in the end was forced to retreat northwards. Under Chanzy, the Army of the Loire contested the possession of the country between Vendôme and Le Mans, while Bourbaki with another army made a dash at Belfort. Their efforts proved fruitless. Chanzy was overthrown at Le Mans on the 12th of January, and after a three days' battle at Montbéliard (Jan. 15-17) Bourbaki's army was defeated and forced to take refuge in Switzerland. The war was now practically over. On the 19th of January, the French made a grand but vain effort to pierce the enemy's lines in the direction of Versailles. After this disaster, the generals agreed that it was useless to attempt anything further in the hope of raising the blockade; and, as the stock of provisions in Paris was very nearly exhausted, the government, on the 23rd of January, authorized Jules Favre to proceed to Versailles and conclude an armistice upon the best terms

^{*} Bazaine was afterwards tried and condemned to death, which was commuted to perpetual imprisonment. He escaped, and published a vindication of his conduct; but the whole affair is one of those problems of contemporary history which await further revelation of the facts.

he could obtain. Count Bismarck, after much difficulty and hesitation, at last consented to a suspension of arms for three weeks, to extend to the whole of France. The further arrangements were tantamount to a capitulation. The troops of the line were to evacuate the city and be disarmed, with the exception of one division of 12,000 men. The National Guard, by an unfortunate error in judgment, were permitted to retain their arms. The forts around Paris were to be at once occupied by the Germans, and subsequently they were to enter the capital itself, but not till the expiration of the armistice. A general election was to take place without delay, and the National Assembly was convoked at Bordeaux for the 12th of February. Lastly, the city of Paris was to be mulcted in a war contribution of 200 millions of france, or \$8,000,000.

The convention was signed at Versailles on the 28th of January, and at twelve o'clock that night the last shots were fired from the Prussian batteries against Paris.

§ 22. The elections were now proceeded with, and the new National Assembly, the great majority of which was in favour of a pacific policy, met at Bordeaux on the 12th of February, 1871. Its first act was to place the supreme authority in the hands of M. Thiers, with the title of Head of the Executive Power and President of the Council of Ministers. Jules Favre retained the portfolio of Foreign Affairs,* The Assembly next commissioned the Government, in concert with a deputation of members, to arrange with the German authorities the preliminaries of peace. M. Thiers proceeded to Versailles on the 21st of February; and it was on this occasion that Count Bismarck, for the first time, specified in plain words the sacrifices which he proposed to exact from vanquished France. He demanded the cession of Alsace, comprising the departments of the Haut Rhin and Bas Rhin; and of "the new department of the Moselle," which included the greater part of Lorraine and the city of Metz. The enormous sum of six milliards of francs was likewise required by way of war indemnity; but the amount was reduced afterwards to five milliards, or £200,000,000 sterling. It was stipulated that the first instalment of one milliard should be paid in the course of the year 1871, and the other four milliards within three years from the exchange of the ratifications. Paris, the adjacent forts, and the conquered provinces, were to be evacuated by the Germans in proportion as the indemnity was defrayed; six departments in the east of France, including the strong frontier fortress of Belfort, were to be occupied until it was

^{*} The understanding arrived at on this occasion between the Government of M. Thiers and the different political parties is known as the "Pacte de Bordeaux."

acquitted in full. Finally, it was arranged that 30,000 German troops should enter Paris on the 1st of March, and hold possession of the Champs Elysées until the ratifications had been exchanged.

These articles were debated inch by inch with the utmost earnestness on both sides, and were not conceded at last by M. Thiers except under the stern pressure of absolute necessity.

The signatures were affixed on the 26th of February. The treaty was submitted to the Assembly at Bordeaux on the 28th, and was accepted by an immense majority. A resolution was passed at the same time, by which the representatives of the nation confirmed the depositions of Napoleon III. and his dynasty, and pronounced him "responsible for the ruin and dismemberment of France."

The ratifications were exchanged early on the morning of March 2nd; that transaction being hastened by the French in order to abridge the time fixed for the occupation of Paris by the troops of the conqueror. On the preceding day they had made their triumphal entry by the Arc de l'Étoile, had marched down the avenue of the Champs Elysées in the presence of the newly proclaimed emperor * and his son the Crown Prince, and had encamped in the Palace de la Concorde and the Champs de Mars. There was some apprehension that a collision might occur between the Germans and the exasperated populace, but this was happily avoided; and by cleven o'clock on the morning of the 3rd, the whole of the foreign soldiery had withdrawn from the capital.

§ 23. But scenes still more distressing than those hitherto witnessed were in store for the inhabitants of Paris. The ultra-democrats or socialists profited by this demonstration, so harassing to the feelings of the nation, to execute a seditious scheme which they had long been meditating. Under the pretence that the Germans might be tempted to lay hands upon the train of artillery belonging to the National Guard, they seized it, transported it to the heights of Montmartre, and pointed the guns towards the city. It was evidently necessary to recover possession of these formidable batteries, and General Vinoy was ordered to attempt this on the 18th of March. He carried the position of the insurgents with little difficulty, but the populace in overpowering masses assailed the artillerymen as they were removing the guns, and a bloody conflict followed, ending in the defeat of the regular troops and the triumph of the anarchists. The calamitous revolt of the "Commune" dates from this day.

^{*} King William of Prussia had been proclaimed German Emperor in the great hall of Louis XIV. and Napoleon at Versailles.

The Government of Versailles had to organize a new army of 130,000 men under Marshal MacMahon, and undertake a second siege of Paris. An entrance was effected on May 21st; but while the final struggle was proceeding, the leaders of the insurrection deliberately set fire to all the principal public buildings of the city. The palace of the Tuileries was committed to the flames, burned for three days, and became a mass of blackened ruins, which were afterwards pulled down. The ministry of finance, with all its valuable archives, was totally destroyed. The Hôtel de Ville was set on fire by express order of the "committee of public safety," and its works of art and precious collection of historical records were burnt. The Communists then decided to take the lives of the hostages confined at La Roquette and other prisons, in retaliation for those of their own partisans who had been executed by the "men of Versailles." Six victims—the Archbishop of Paris, M. Bonieau, President of the Court of Cassation, Deguerry, Curé of the Madeleine, and three other parish priests-were shot on the evening of May 24th in the courtvard at La Roquette, and met death with unshrinking courage. On the 26th, sixteen other priests, chiefly Jesuits, suffered the same fate, together with above forty military hostages.

After a series of sanguinary conflicts, which lasted for more than a week, the army of Versailles succeeded in driving the Communists from all their defensive positions, and quelling their resistance. The Buttes Chaumont and the heights of Belleville were carried on May 27th; on the 29th the rebel garrison of Vincennes surrendered at discretion, and this unnatural contest came to an end. The soldiers of Versailles showed no mercy in their hour of triumph. They were furious and implacable. All communists taken with arms in their hands were put to death on the spot; and hundreds, if not thousands, of prisoners were executed without form of trial. A military tribunal was forthwith opened at Versailles, before which persons charged with complicity in the insurrection were arraigned, and sentenced in due course to different degrees of punishment-death, imprisonment in a fortress, and transportation to the colonies. The precise numbers of the condemned will never be known.

§ 24. While Paris was groaning under the terrible calamities of civil war, the Versailles government had renewed negotiations with the Germans for the conclusion of a definitive peace. The communal outbreak had thrown serious difficulties in the way of the final settlement; and Prince Bismarck gave the envoys to understand that further sacrifices must be submitted to in order to gain their end. The evacuation of the department of the Seine and

others adjoining Paris was postponed for a longer period; the force composing the garrison of Paris was limited to 80,000 men; and the rest of the French army was required to remain in its cantonments beyond the Loire until the payment of the first instalment of the indemnity. These terms having been agreed to, the German chancellor offered no further objections; the treaty of peace was signed at Frankfort on the 10th of May; it was rapidly discussed and accepted by the national assembly at Versailles; and the formal ratifications were exchanged on the 21st, the very day on which the victorious army of the government entered Paris.

M. Thiers was no sooner master of the capital, than he took active measures to procure the stipulated evacuation of the French territory. On the 27th of June he opened a subscription for a loan of two milliards; and within twenty-four hours more than double the required amount was provided. The payments commenced immediately. On the receipt of the first milliard the Germans gave up possession of the forts around Paris, and withdrew from the departments of the Seine, Seine-et-Oise, Seine-et-Marne, and Oise. By the end of September only twelve departments remained in the occupation of the foreigner. Diplomatic relations were re-established between France and Germany at the beginning of 1872; and arrangements were entered into, after much tedious negotiation, for the liquidation of the remaining three milliards of the debt. A second loan was set on foot, and the appeal was responded to with a promptitude, zeal, and confidence, which called forth the astonishment and admiration of Europe. Nearly twelve times the amount required was subscribed in two days. The third milliard was paid in November, 1872; and France ultimately engaged to satisfy all outstanding claims in four instalments between the 5th of June and the 5th of September, 1873. She fulfilled this with scrupulous exactness; the Germans were equally true to their word; and on the 16th of September, 1873, the last regiments of the army of occupation repassed the frontier.*

§ 25. It was only after this deliverance was fully accomplished, that the Third Republic was organized; nor was this effected without an opposition on the part of the Conservatives, which caused the resignation of M. Thiers (May 24th, 1873). Under his successor, Marshal MacMahon, a restoration of the monarchy seemed at one time imminent. The marshal's disagreements with his republican ministry and chamber brought his seven years' presidency to a premature end, and he was succeeded by a decided

^{*} The ex-Emperor Napoleon III. died at Chislehurst, in Kent, January 9th, 1873.

republican, M. Grévy (January 30th, 1879). Under him and his successors France has again risen to a prominent position in Europe. With her army reorganized, and her navy strengthened, France, now allied with the powerful empire of the Tsars, is able to give to its inhabitants permanent security for their liberties and a period of peace and prosperity.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

AUTHORITIES FOR THE PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION.

The following is a selected list from the multitudinous publications relating to the history of the Revolution. Those works which are specially recommended are

marked thus (*):-

I. COMPLETE HISTORIES. - *Lacretelle, Précis Historique de la Révolution, and La Convention Nationale; Histoire de la Révolution, par deux Amis de la Liberté; *Barante, Histoire de la Convention Nationale and Histoire du Directoire ; A. Thiers, Histoire de la Révol., 10 vols., 8vo., 13th edit. The author is biassed by political prepossessions; his statements of facts are very frequently incorrect; and altogether the book must be read with extreme caution; Michelet, Révol. Française, 7 vols.; Quinet, Edgar, La Révolution, 2 vols.; Mignet, Histoire de la Révol. Française; Louis Blanc, Histoire de la Révol. Française, 12 vols.; *H. Taine, Les Origines de la France Contemporaine, 3 vols.; also translated by John Durand. 3 vols.; *Adolphe Schmidt, Tableau de la Révolution Française (giving the substance of contemporary police reports), 3 vols.; *Sybel, H. von, History of the French Revolution (Eng. trans.), 4 vols., a work of solid merit; *Martin, Henri, Histoire de France depuis 1789 jusqu'à nos jours, 3 vols. (unfinished).

IÍ. Works of Separate Periods.—
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A. Granier de Cassagnac, Hist. de Girondins et des Massacres de Septembre;
*A. de Tocqueville, L'ancien Régime et la Révol.; Edmond et Jules de Goncourt, Histoire de la Société Française pendant la Révol. et le Directoire; A. C. Thibaudeau, Mémoires sur la Convention et le Directoire; Mortimer-Terneaux, Histoire de la Terreur, 1792-1794, 8 vols. (from original documents); Wallon, H., Histoire du Tribunal Révolutionnaire de Paris, 5 vols.

III. CONTEMPORARY MEMOIRS.— Memoirs of—the Baron de Grimm; Lafay-ette; Weber; Bertrand de Moleville; *Marquis de Ferrières; *General Dumouriez; these last Malame Roland; *Madame de Campan; able for e Marquise de la Rochejaquelein; Murquis character.

de Bouillé. Madam de Staël's Considérations sur la Révol. Fran.; *Souvenirs sur Mirabrau et sur les Deux Premières Assemblées Législativ s, by Etienne Dumont; Mirabeau's Correspondence with La Marck is also of great value.

Among the various English works upon this period the following may be specified: -Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France; the Diary of Gouverneur Morris; Lectures on the French Revolution, by the late Professor Smyth, of Cambridge; The French Revolution, a History, by Thomas Carlyle; a volume of Essays on the French Revolution, reprinted from the Quarterly Review, by the late Right Hon. J. Wilson Croker, 1857; Alison, Sir A., History of Europe from 1789 to 1352, 14 vols.; *Fyffe, A. C., History of Modern Europe, 3 vols. (1792-1378); *The French Revolution, by H. Morse Stephens, 2 vols.; *L'Europe et la Révolution Française, by Albert Sorel, 4 vols.

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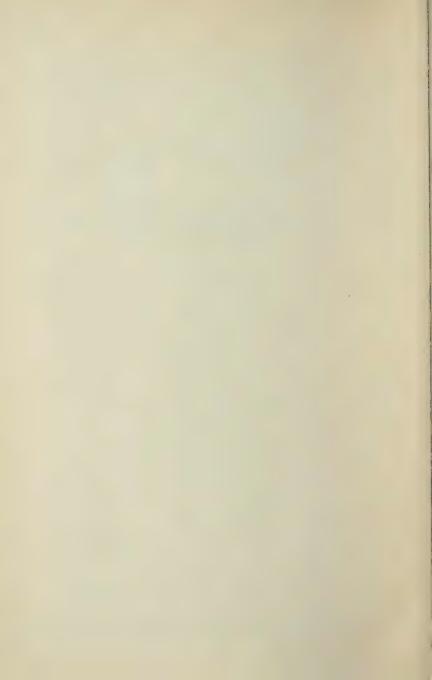
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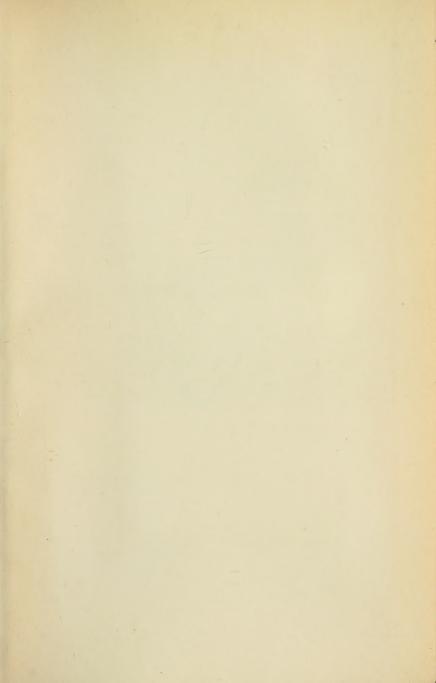
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